The OLD and NEW

TESTAMENT

Connected in the

HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS

AND

NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM THE

Declenſion of the KINGDOMS

OF

ISRAEL and *JUDAH*

TO THE

TIME *of* CHRIST.

By *HUMPHRET PRIDEAUX*, D.D.
DEAN of *NORWICH.*

PART I.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for R. KNAPLOCK, at the *Biſhop's Head* in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*; and J. TONSON, at *Shakeſpear's Head* over-againſt *Katharine-Street* in the *Strand.* MDCCXVIII.

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To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

DANIEL

Earl of *NOTTINGHAM*,

President of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council.

My LORD,

IT being by Your Recommendation to Your noble Father, that I was by him made Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, while he was Lord Chancellor of *England*; and it being also by Your Lordship's like favourable Recommendation of me to Her late Majesty Queen *Anne*, that I was promoted to be Dean of the same Church; I humbly offer unto Your Lordship this Product of my Studies, in a grateful Acknowledgment of the Favours I have received from You. And if the Pub-

lick receive any Benefit from it (as I hope ſome may) nothing is more juſt and reaſonable, than that they ſhould receive it through Your Lordſhip's Hands, who in having been ſo much a Patron to the Author have acquired thereby the beſt Title to all the Fruits of my Labours. What I now offer unto Your Lordſhip is only the firſt Part of what is intended. If God gives Life the ſecond ſhall follow, and beg its Paſſage into the World under the ſame Patronage. The only additional Favour I am now capable of receiving is Your Lordſhip's kind Acceptance of this Expreſſion of my Gratitude, which I humbly pray from Your Hands; and I am,

My LORD,

Your moſt Obedient, and

moſt Obliged Humble Servant,

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.

THE PREFACE.

THE calamitous diſtemper of the ſtone, and the unfortunate management I fell under after being cut for it, having driven me out of the pulpit, in wholly diſabling me for that duty of my profeſſion, that I might not be altogether uſeleſs, I undertook this work, hoping that the clearing of the ſacred hiſtory by the prophane, the connecting of the *Old Teſtament* with the *New* by an account of the times intervening, and the explaining of the prophecies that were fulfilled in them, might be of great uſe to many. What is now publiſhed is only the firſt part of my deſign. If God gives life the other will ſoon after follow; but if it ſhould pleaſe him, who is the diſpoſer of all things, that it happen otherwiſe, yet this hiſtory being brought down to the times, when the canon of the *Hebrew* ſcriptures was finiſhed, it may of it ſelf be reckoned a complete work. For it may ſerve as an epilogue to the *Old Teſtament*, in the ſame manner, as what after is to follow, will be a prologue to the *New*.

CHRONOLOGY and Geography being neceſſary helps to hiſtory, and good chronological tables being moſt uſeful for the one, as good maps are for the other, I have taken full care of the former, not only by adding ſuch tables in the concluſion of the

the work, as may anſwer this end, but alſo by digeſting the whole into the form of annals under the years *before Chriſt*, and the years of the Kings that then reigned over *Judea*; both which are added in the margin, at the beginning of every year in which the actions hapned that are related. And as to the latter, ſince Dr. *Wells*, *Cellarius*, and *Reland* have ſufficiently provided for it, both by good maps of the countries this hiſtory relates to, and alſo by accurate deſcriptions of them, I need do no more than refer the reader to what they have already done in this matter. What Dr. *Wells* hath done herein being witten in *Engliſh*, will beſt ſerve the *Engliſh* reader, but they that are alſo skill'd in the *Latin* tongue may moreover conſult the other two.

In the annals I have made uſe of no other æra but that of the years *before Chriſt*, reckoning it backward from the vulgar æra of *Chriſt*'s incarnation, and not from the true time of it. For learned men are not all agreed in the fixing of the true time of *Chriſt*'s incarnation, ſome placing it two years, and ſome four years before the vulgar æra. But where the vulgar æra begins, all know, that uſe it; and therefore the reckoning of the years *before Chriſt* backward from thence, makes it a fix'd and certain æra. The difference that is between the true year of our Saviour's incarnation, and that of the vulgar æra of it, proceeded from hence, that it was not till the 527th year of that æra that it was firſt brought into uſe. [a] *Dionyſius Exiguus*, a *Scythian* by birth, and then a *Roman* Abbot, was the firſt author of it; and *Beda* our countryman, taking it from him, uſed it in all his writings; and the recommendation which he gave it thereby, hath made it of common uſe among chriſtians ever ſince, eſpecially in theſe weſtern parts. Had all chriſtians calculated their time by it from the beginning of the church of *Chriſt*, (as it could be wiſhed they had) there could then have been no miſtake in it. But it being five hundred twenty ſeven years after *Chriſt*'s incarnation, before this æra of it was ever uſed, no wonder, that after ſo great a diſtance of time a miſtake was made in the fixing of the firſt year of it.

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[a] *See* Scaliger, Calviſius, *and other chronologers, in thoſe parts of their works, where they write of the vulgar æra of Chriſt. And ſee alſo* Du Pin's *hiſtory of eccleſiaſtical writers.* Cent. 6. p. 42. *and* Dr. Cave's Hiſtoria Literaria, p. 405.

THE æra from the creation of the world is of very common uſe in chronology; but this I have rejected, becauſe of the uncertainty of it, muſt chronologers following different opinions herein, ſome reckoning the time of the creation ſooner, and ſome later, and ſcarce any two agreeing in the ſame year for it.

THE *Julian* period is indeed a certain meaſure of time, but its certainty depends upon a reckoning backward, in the ſame manner as that of the æra *before Chriſt*. For it being a period of 7980 *Julian* years made out of the three cycles of the ſun, moon, and indiction, multiplied into each other; and the firſt year of it being that, in which all theſe three cycles begin together, this firſt year can be no otherwiſe fixed, than by computing backward from the preſent numbers of thoſe cycles through all the different combinations of them, till we come to that year in which the firſt year of every one of them meet together, which carries up the reckoning ſeveral hundred years before the creation, and fixeth the beginning of the period in an imaginary point of time before time was. And therefore, altho' from that beginning it computes downward, yet the whole of its certainty is by a backward reckoning from the preſent years of thoſe cycles. For according as they are, all muſt be reckoned upward even to the beginning of the period. So that altho' in appearance it reckons downward, yet in reality it is only a backward computation to tell us how many years ſince any thing was done from the preſent year. For in the numbers of the three cycles of the preſent year it hath a real and fix'd foundation for an upward reckoning, and ſo in any other year in which the ſaid numbers are known; whereas it hath none at all for a downward reckoning, but what is in the imagination only. And therefore this being the true and real uſe of the *Julian* period, the æra *before Chriſt*, for the times I treat of, ſerves all the purpoſes of chronology altogether as well, if not much better. For adding the years *before Chriſt* to thoſe ſince *Chriſt*, according to the vulgar æra, it immediately tells us how many years ſince any action before the time of *Chriſt* was done, and the *Julian* period can do no more; and indeed it cannot do thus much but by reduction, whereas it is done the other way directly, immediately, and at firſt ſight. However, in the tables I have put the *Julian* period, and have reduced to it not only the years *before Chriſt*, but alſo the years of the princes reigning in *Judea*, and the neighbouring countries,

tries, and all things elſe that are treated of in this hiſtory; and hereby the ſynchroniſms, or coincident times and tranſactions of other nations, may eaſily be known.

THE year I compute by in the annals is the *Julian* year, which begins from the firſt of *January*; and to this I reduce all the actions I treat of, tho' they were originally reckoned by other forms. The [b] *Greeks* before the time of *Meto* begun their year from the winter ſolſtice, and after from that of the ſummer. The *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, and ancient *Perſians*, reckoned the firſt of the month *Thoth* to be always the firſt day of their year, which conſiſting of three hundred ſixty five days, without a leap year, [c] it begun every fourth year one day ſooner than it did before, and ſo in the ſpace of one thouſand four hundred and ſixty years its beginning was carried backward through the whole ſolar year. The *Syrians* and the *Phœnicians* begun their year from the autumnal equinox, and ſo did alſo the *Hebrews*, till their coming up out of the land of *Egypt*. But that hapning in the month of *Niſan*, in commemoration of this deliverance they afterwards begun their year from [d] the beginning of that month, which uſually hapned about the time of the vernal equinox. And this form they ever after made uſe of in the calculating of the times of their faſts and feſtivals, and all other eccleſiaſtical times and concerns. But in all civil matters, as contracts, obligations, and ſuch other affairs, which were of a ſecular nature, they ſtill made uſe of the old form, and begun their year as formerly from the firſt of *Tiſri*; which hapned about the time of the autumnal equinox. And from hence they began [e] all their jubilees and ſabbattical years, and all other their computations of civil matters, as they ſtill do the years of the creation of the world, and the years of their æra of contracts; which are the only epocha's they now compute paſt times by. Anciently [f] the form of the year, which they made uſe of, was wholly inartificial. For it was not ſettled by any aſtronomical rules or calculations, but was made up of lunar months, ſet out by the phaſis or appearance of the moon. When they ſaw the new moon then they began their

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[b] Vide Scaligerum, Petavium alioſque Chronologos in eis locis ubi de anno Græcorum agunt.

[c] *So it was in the time of the laſt* Darius, *but afterwards the* Perſians *compenſated for the loſs of the leap year, by adding an intercalary month of thirty days every one hundred and thirtieth year.*

[d] Exod. xii. 2. [e] Levit. xxv. 9, 10. [f] Talmud in Tract. Ruſh Haſhanah. Maimonides in Kedduſh Hachodeſh. Selden de anno civili veterum Judæorum.

months,

months, which ſometimes conſiſted of twenty nine days, and ſometimes of thirty, according as the new moon did ſooner or later appear. The reaſon of this was becauſe the ſynodical courſe of the moon (that is, from new moon to new moon) being twenty nine days and an half, the half day, which a month of twenty nine days fell ſhort of it, was made up by adding it to the next month, which made it conſiſt of thirty days; ſo that their months conſiſted of twenty nine days and thirty days alternatively. None of them had fewer than twenty nine days, and therefore they never look'd for the new moon before the night following the twenty ninth day, and if they then ſaw it, the next day was the firſt day of the following month. Neither had any of their months more than thirty days, and therefore they never looked for the new moon after the night following the thirtieth day; but then, if they ſaw it not, they concluded that the appearance was obſtructed by the clouds, and made the next day the firſt of the following month, without expecting any longer; and of twelve of theſe months their common year conſiſted. But twelve lunar months falling eleven days ſhort of a ſolar year, every one of thoſe common years began eleven days ſooner than the former; which in thirty three years time would carry back the beginning of the year through all the four ſeaſons to the ſame point again, and get a whole year from the ſolar reckoning, (as is now done in *Turkey*, where this ſort of year is in uſe;) for the remedying of which their uſage was ſometimes in the third year, and ſometimes in the ſecond, to caſt in another month, and make their year then conſiſt of thirteen months; whereby they conſtantly reduced their lunar year, as far as ſuch an intercalation could effect it, to that of the ſun, and never ſuffered the one, for any more than a month, at any time to vary from the other. And this they were forced to do for the ſake of their feſtivals. For their feaſt of the paſſover (the firſt day of which [g] was always fix'd to the middle of their month *Niſan*) being to be celebrated by their eating of the paſchal lamb, and the offering up of the wave ſheaf, as the firſt fruits of their barley harveſt; and their feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, which was [h] kept the fiftieth day after the ſixteenth of *Niſan*, (which was the day,

[g] Exod. xii. 3—20. Levit. xxiii. 4—8. Numb. xxviii. 16, 17. [h] Levit. xxiii. 15, 16, 17. Deut. xvi. 9.

in which the wave ſheaf was offered) being to be celebrated by the offering of the two wave loaves, as the firſt-fruits of their [i] wheat harveſt; and their feaſt of tabernacles, which was always begun [k] in the fifteenth of *Tiſri*, being fix'd to the time [l] of their ingathering of all the fruits of the earth: The paſſover could not be obſerved, till the lambs were grown fit to be eaten, and the barley fit to be reaped; nor the pentecoſt till the wheat was ripe; nor the feaſt of tabernacles, till the ingatherings of the vineyard and olive yard were over. And therefore theſe feſtivals being fixed to theſe ſet ſeaſons of the year, the making of the intercalation above-mentioned, was neceſſary for the keeping them within a month ſooner or later always to them. The rule for the doing of this was, [m] whenever according to the courſe of the common year the fifteeenth day of *Niſan* (which was the firſt day of unleavened bread, and the firſt day of their paſchal ſolemnity) hapned to fall before the day of their vernal equinox, then they intercalated a month, and the paſchal ſolemnity was thereby carried on a month farther into the year, and all the other feſtivals with it. For according as the paſchal feſtival was fixed, ſo were all the reſt; that is, the pentecoſt fifty days after the ſecond day of the paſchal feaſt, (*i. e.* the ſixteenth of *Niſan*) on which the wave ſheaf was offered; and the feaſt of tabernacles ſix months after the beginning of the ſaid paſchal feaſt. For as the firſt day of the paſchal feaſt was the fifteenth of *Niſan*, (the fourteenth, on the evening of which the ſolemnity began in the ſlaying of the paſchal lambs, being but the eve of the paſſover) ſo the firſt day of the feaſt of tabernacles was on the fifteenth of *Tiſri*, juſt ſix months after. To make this the more clear let it be obſerved, that the *Hebrew* months were as followeth, 1. *Niſan*, 2. *Iyar*, 3. *Sivan*, 4. *Tamuz*, 5. *Ab*, 6. *Elul*, 7. *Tiſri*, 8. *Marcheſvan*, 9. *Ciſleu*, 10. *Thebeth*, 11. *Shebat*, 12. *Adar*. And theſe twelve made their common year. But in their intercalated years there was another month added after *Adar*, which they called *Veadar*, or the ſecond *Adar*; and then their year conſiſted of thirteen months. Suppoſing therefore their vernal

[i] *Here it is to be obſerved, that in* Judea *the barley harveſt was before the wheat harveſt, and ſo it was in* Egypt. *For the barley was in the ear when the wheat and rye were not grown up.* Exod. ix. 31, 32. [k] Levit. xxiii. 34, *and* 39. [l] Levit. xxiii. 39. [m] Talmud in Roſh Haſhanah. Maimonides in Kidduſh Hachodeſh. Selden de Anno Civili veterum Judæorum.

equinox

equinox ſhould have been on the tenth of *March*, (whereabout now it is) and that the fifteenth of *Niſan*, the firſt day of their paſſover, ſhould in the common courſe of their year happen to fall on the ninth of *March*, the day before the equinox; then on their foreſeeing of this they intercalated a month, and after their *Adar* added their *Veadar*, which ſometimes conſiſted of twenty nine days, and ſometimes of thirty according as it happened; at preſent we will ſuppoſe it to be of thirty days, and then the firſt of *Niſan*, which is to begin this year, inſtead of being on the twenty third of *February*, (as otherwiſe it would) muſt be carried on thirty days forward to the twenty fifth of *March*, and their paſſover to the eighth of *April* following. But the next year after beginning eleven days ſooner, for the reaſon I have mentioned, the firſt of *Niſan* muſt then have hapned on the fourteenth of *March*, and the firſt day of the paſſover on the twenty eighth of the ſame month. And the next year after that, the firſt of *Niſan* muſt for the ſame reaſon have hapned on the third of *March*, and the firſt day of the paſſover on the ſeventeenth of *March*. And the next year after that, according to this calculation, the firſt of *Niſan* would have hapned on the twentieth of *February*, and the firſt day of the paſſover on the ſixth of *March* following. But this being before the equinox, another intercalation of the month *Veadar* muſt have been made. And ſo after the ſame manner it went through all other years; whereby it came to paſs, that the firſt of *Niſan*, which was the beginning of their year, always was within fifteen days before or fifteen days after the vernal equinox, that is, within the compaſs of thirty days in the whole ſooner or later; and according as that was fixed, ſo were fixed alſo the beginnings of all their other months, and all the faſts and feaſts obſerved in them. But this inartificial way of forming their months and years, was in uſe among them only while they lived in their own land, and there might eaſily receive notice of what was ordained in this matter, by thoſe who had the care and ordering of it. For when they became diſperſed through all nations, they were forced to make uſe of cycles and aſtronomical calculations, for the fixing of their new moons, and intercalations, and the times of their feaſts, faſts, and other obſervances; that ſo they might be every where uniform herein. The firſt cycle they made uſe of for this pur-

poſe [n] was that of eighty four years. By this they fixed their paſchal feaſt, and by that their whole year beſides. And the uſe hereof the primitive chriſtians borrowed from them, and for ſome of the firſt centuries fixed their *Eaſter* in every year according to it. But this after ſome time being found to be faulty, *Meto*'s cycle of nineteen years [o] was after the council of *Nice* brought into uſe by them for this purpoſe inſtead of the other, and the *Jews* following their example herein, almoſt about the ſame time came into the ſame uſage alſo; and upon this cycle is founded the preſent form of their year. The firſt who began to work it into this ſhape, [p] was *Rabbi Samuel*, rector of the *Jewiſh* ſchool at *Sora* in *Meſopotamia*; *Rabbi Adda*, who was a great aſtronomer, purſued his Scheme; and after him *Rabbi Hillel* about the year of our Lord 360 brought it to that perfection in which now it is, and being *Naſi* or prince of their ſanhedrim, he gave it the authority of his ſanction, and by virtue thereof it hath ever ſince been obſerved by them, and they ſay always is to be obſerved to the coming of the *Meſſiah*. According to this form [q] there are within the compaſs of the ſaid nineteen years cycle, ſeven intercalated years, conſiſting of thirteen months, and twelve common years conſiſting of twelve months. Their intercalated years are the third, the ſixth, the eighth, the eleventh, the fourteenth, the ſeventeenth, and the nineteenth of that cycle; and when one round of this cycle is over, they begin another, and ſo conſtantly according to it fix their new moons, (at which all their months begin) and all their faſts and feaſts in every year. And this form of their year, it muſt be acknowledged, is very exactly and aſtronomically contrived, and may truly be reckoned the greateſt piece of art and ingenuity, that is to be found among that people. They who would thoroughly underſtand it may read *Maimonides*'s tract *Kidduſh Hachodaſh*, which hath been publiſhed in a very good *Latin* tranſlation by *Lewis de Veil*, unde the title *De Conſecratione Calendarum*, where he will find it very exactly and perſpicuouſly deſcribed.

THESE having been the forms of the *Jewiſh* year, that is,

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[n] Vide Bucherium de antiquo Paſchali Judæorum cyclo.

[o] Epiſtola Ambroſii 83. ad Epiſcopos per Æmiliam conſtitutos. *It was by the council of* Nice *referred to the church of* Alexandria *every year to fix the time of* Eaſter, *and they did it by* Meto's *cycle of nineteen years.*

[p] Juchaſin; Shelſheleth Haccabala; & Zemach David: & ex iiſdem Morinus in Exercitat. primas in Pentateuchum Samaritanum, cap. 3.

[q] Talmud in Roſh Haſhanah. Maimonides in Kidduſh Hachodeſh & Seldenus de anno civili veterum Judæorum.

the

the inartificial form uſed by the ancients in the land of *Canaan*, and the artificial and aſtronomical form now in uſe among the moderns thoughout all their diſperſions; according to neither of them can the days of the *Jewiſh* months be fixed to any certain days of the months in the *Julian* year. For in both of them the months being lunar, and the intercalations made of one whole lunar month at once, the days of thoſe months to the full extent of one full lunar month fell ſometimes ſooner, and ſometimes later in the ſolar form. Since the *Jewiſh* kalendar hath been fixed by *Rabbi Hillel* upon the certain foundations of aſtronomy, tables may indeed be made, which may point out to what day in that kalendar very day in the *Julian* year ſhall anſwer; but this cannot be done for the time before, becauſe while they went inartificially to work in this matter by the phaſis and appearance of the moon, both for the beginning of their months and years, and the making of their intercalations, they did not always do it exactly; but often varied from the aſtronomical truth herein. And this latter having been their way through all the times, of which this hiſtory treats, we cannot, when we find the day of any *Jewiſh* month mentioned either in the ſcriptures, or in *Joſephus*, reduce it exactly to its time in the *Julian* year, or there fix it any nearer, than within the compaſs of a month ſooner or later. *Kepler* indeed holds, that the *Jewiſh* year was a ſolar year conſiſting of twelve months of thirty days each, and an addition of five days after the laſt of them; and our countreymen, archbiſhop *Uſher* and Mr. *Lydiat*, two of the moſt eminent chronologers that any age hath produced, go into the ſame opinion. Such an year I acknowledge was in uſe among the *Chaldeans*, from whom *Abraham* was deſcended, and alſo among the *Egyptians*, with whom the *Iſraelites* long lived. And I doubt not, but that before their coming out of the land of *Egypt* they alſo reckoned their time by the ſame form. For the time of the flood is manifeſtly computed by it[r] in the book of *Geneſis*, an hundred and fifty days being there made equal to five months, which proves thoſe months to have been thirty day months. But that the *Iſraelites* made uſe of this ſort of year after their coming out of *Egypt*, can never be made conſiſting with the *Moſaical* law. According to that their year muſt be

[r] *Chap.* vii. 11. *compared with chap.* viii. 3, 4.

made

made up of months purely lunar, and could no otherwiſe, than by an intercalary month, be reduced to the ſolar form. And there being a neceſſity of making this intercalation for the keeping of their feſtivals to their proper ſeaſons, by this means it comes to paſs, that the beginnings of their months cannot be fixed to any certain day in the *Julian* kalendar, but they fell always within the compaſs of thirty days ſooner or later therein. That the thing may appear the clearer to the reader, I ſhall expreſs it in this following ſcheme, wherein the firſt column gives the names of the *Jewiſh* months, and the ſecond of the *Julian* months, within the compaſs of which the ſaid *Jewiſh* months ſet over againſt them have always ſooner or later their beginning and ending; and this is the neareſt view that can be given of the correſpondency of the one with the other.

1. *Niſan*,	*March*, *April*.	7. *Tiſri*,	*September*, *October*.
2. *Iyar*,	*April*, *May*.	8. *Marcheſvan*,	*October*, *November*.
3. *Sivan*,	*May*, *June*.	9. *Ciſleu*,	*November*, *December*.
4. *Tamuz*,	*June*, *July*.	10. *Tebeth*,	*December*, *January*.
5. *Ab*,	*July*, *Auguſt*.	11. *Shebat*,	*January*, *February*.
6. *Elul*.	*Auguſt*, *September*.	12 *Adar*,	*Feburary*, *March*.

The thirteenth month called *Veadar*, or the ſecond *Adar*, anſwered moſt at an end to our *March*, it being then only intercalated or caſt in, when the beginning of *Niſan* would otherwiſe be carried back into the end of *February*.

I have in the ſeries of this hiſtory, taken no notice either of the jubilees, or the ſabbatical years of the *Jews*, both becauſe of the uſeleſsneſs, and alſo of the uncertainty of them. They are uſeleſs, becauſe they help not to the explaining of any thing either in the holy ſcriptures, or the hiſtories of the times which I treat of; and they are uncertain, becauſe it doth not appear when or how they were obſerved. It is acknowledged by moſt learned men, that the jubilees were no more regarded after the *Baby-*

Babyloniſh captivity. And it is manifeſt from ſcripture, that the ſabbatical years where wholly neglected for many ages before it. For the deſolation, which hapned to the countrey of *Judea* under that captivity, is ſaid in the ſecond book of *Chronicles* (chap. xxxvi. 21.) to have been brought upon it for this very reaſon, that the land might enjoy its ſabbaths, that is, thoſe ſabbatical years of reſt, which the *Jews* in neglecting the law of God concerning this matter had deprived it of. And therefore if we reckon to this deſolation only the fifty two years, that were from the deſtruction of the city and temple of *Jeruſalem* to the end of the *Babyloniſh* captivity (in which the land was wholly deſolated) this will prove the obſerving of thoſe ſabbatical years to have been neglected for three hundred ſixty four years before that captivity. But if we add hereto the other eighteen years of that captivity, in which it was only in part deſolated, and take in the whole ſeventy years of it into this reckoning, it will then carry up the time of this neglect much higher, even to four hundred and ninety years before that captivity. And as to the jubilees there is no mention made of them any where through the whole ſcriptures, ſaving only in that law where they are enjoined; neither is there of their ſabbatical years, ſaving only in the ſame law, and the place in *Chronicles* above-mentioned. There are indeed two other places of ſcripture, which ſome underſtand concerning them, (that is, 2 *Kings* xix. 29. and *Jeremiah* xxxiv. 8, 9, 10.) But both theſe paſſages do better admit of other interpretations. For what is ſaid in the former of theſe ſeems rather to refer to the deſolations of the war, and the interruption of agriculture through the violences and calamity of it, than to a ſabbatical year, and ſo *Grotius*, and other learned men underſtand it. And what is ſaid in the other by *Jeremiah* about the releaſe of ſervants, doth not infer a ſabbatical year, nor a jubilee neither. For every *Hebrew* ſervant [f] was to be releaſed in the ſeventh year of his ſervitude, tho' it were neither a jubilee, nor a ſabbatical year, and therefore this inſtance infers neither of them. And thoſe who undertake to interpret the law, which enjoins theſe jubilees, and ſabbatical years, very much differ concerning them, both as to the time and manner of their obſervance. Some will have the reckoning both of

[f] Exodus xxi. 2.

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the ſabbatical years, and the jubilees to commence from the firſt entering of the *Iſraelites* into the land of *Canaan*, and therefore place the firſt ſabbatical year in the ſeventh year after that entrance, and the firſt jubilee alſo according hereto. But others ſay, that the land was ſeven years in conquering and dividing; and that the eighth year was the firſt, in which the *Iſraelites* began to ſow, and reap in it; and that therefore the fourteenth year was the firſt ſabbatical year; and according to this reckoning they put the firſt ſabbatical year, and the firſt jubilee, ſeven years later than the former, and ſo the numbers of all the reſt that follow. And then as to the time of the jubilee there is this diſpute, whether it be the ſame with the ſeventh ſabbatical year, or the next year after. The reaſon of this diſpute is, becauſe if it be on the year after the ſeventh ſabbatical year, then there will be two ſabbatical years together: (for the year of jubilee was alſo [t] a ſabbatical year,) and in this caſe there would be the loſs of two crops together; and then it will be asked, how could the people be ſupported? And they who, notwithſtanding this objection, determine for the year next after the ſeventh ſabbatical year to have been the year of jubilee, tho' [v] they have the ſcripture on their ſide in this particular, yet are not agreed where to begin the next week of years (or *Shemittah* as the *Jews* call it) after that ſeventh ſabbatical year, that is, whether the year of jubilee, or the next year after it, was to be the firſt year of that week or *Shemittah*. If the jubilee year were the firſt year of that week, then there would have been but five years for them to ſow and reap in between the jubilee (which was alſo a ſabbatical year) and the next ſabbatical year after; whereas [w] the ſcripture ſaith, they were to have ſix. And if the firſt year of the next *Shemittah*, were the next year after the jubilee, then the *Shemittah's* would not always ſucceed in an exact ſeries immediately one after the other, but after the ſeventh *Shemittah* the year of jubilee would intervene between that and the next, which diſagreeth with the opinion of many. However it is indeed the truth of the matter, and I know no objection againſt it, but that it expoſeth the error of thoſe, who thinking, that the ſabbatical years did always happen each exactly on the ſeventh year after the former, have in that order

[t] Levit. xxv. 11. [v] Levit. xxv. 10. [w] Levit. xxv. 3.

and

and ſeries placed them in their chronological computations, without conſidering, that after every forty ninth year a jubilee year did intervene between the *Shemittah*, that then ended, and the beginning of the next that followed. But they act moſt out of the way in this matter, who would confine *Daniel*'s prophecy of the ſeventy weeks to ſo many *Shemittah*'s, as if theſe ſeventy weeks fell in exactly with ſeventy *Shemittah*'s, that is, that the firſt week began with the firſt year of a *Shemittah* or ſabbatical week, and ended with a ſabbatical year, which was the laſt of a *Shemittah*, and ſo all the reſt down to the laſt of the whole number; and to this end ſome have perplexed themſelves in vain to find out ſabbatical years to ſuit their hypotheſis's, and fix them to times to which they did never belong; whereas the prophecy means no more than by the ſeventy weeks to expreſs ſeventy times ſeven years, that is, four hundred and ninety in the whole, without any relation had either to *Shemittah's* or ſabbatical years. And were it otherwiſe, the ſeventy weeks of *Daniel*, beſides the ſeventy *Shemittah's* muſt have contained nine years more for the nine jubilees, which muſt have hapned within the compaſs of the ſaid ſeventy *Shemittah's*, and thereby make the whole number of thoſe weeks to be four hundred ninety nine years, which no one that I know of hath ever yet ſaid. And therefore ſince there is nothing certain to be known, concerning theſe ſabbatical years and jubilees of the *Jews*, as to their ancient obſervance of them, and conſequently there can be no uſe made of them for the explication either of ſcripture or hiſtory, I have not troubled the reader with them in the body of this hiſtory, and I wiſh I have not troubled him too far in ſaying ſo much of them here in the preface.

In the ſeries of this hiſtory having often endeavoured to reduce the ſums of money mentioned therein to the value they would bear with us in this preſent age, whether gold or ſilver; I think it requiſite to lay down the rules whereby I make this reduction. It is to be obſerved therefore, in order hereto, that among the ancients the way of reckoning their money was by talents. So the *Hebrews*, ſo the *Babylonians*, ſo the *Greeks*, and ſo the *Romans* did reckon; and of theſe talents they had ſubdiviſions, which were uſually into mina's and drachms; *i. e.* of their talents into mina's, and of their mina's into drachms. The *Hebrews* had beſides theſe their ſhekels, and half ſhekels, or beka's, and

the *Romans* their denarii, which laſt were very near of the ſame value with the drachms of the *Greeks*. What was the value of an *Hebrew* talent appears from *Exodus* xxxviii. 25, 26. For there ſix hundred and three thouſand five hundred and fifty perſons being taxed at an half ſhekel an head, they muſt have paid in the whole three hundred and one thouſand ſeven hundred ſeventy five ſhekels, and that ſum is there ſaid to amount to an hundred talents, and one thouſand ſeven hundred ſeventy five ſhekels over; if therefore you deduct the one thouſand ſeven hundred ſeventy five ſhekels from the number three hundred and one thouſand ſeven hundred ſeventy five, and divide the remaining ſum, *i. e.* three hundred thouſand, by an hundred, this will prove each of thoſe talents to contain three thouſand ſhekels. Each of theſe ſhekels weighed about three ſhillings of our money, and ſixty of them [z] *Ezekiel* tells us made a mina; and therefore fifty of thoſe mina's made a talent. And as to their drachms, it appears by the goſpel of St. *Matthew*, that it was the fourth part of a ſhekel, that is, nine pence of our money. For there (chap. xvii. ver. 24.) the tribute money annually paid to the temple by every *Jew* (which was [y] half a ſhekel) is called Διδραχμον, (*i. e.* the two drachm piece) and therefore if an half ſhekel contained two drachms, a drachm muſt have been the quarter part of a ſhekel, and every ſhekel muſt have contained four of them, and ſo *Joſephus* tells us it did. For he [x] ſaith, that a ſhekel contained four *Attic* drachms, which is not exactly to be underſtood according to the weight, but according to the valuation in the currency of common payments. For according to the weight, the heavieſt *Attic* drachms did not exceed eight pence farthing half farthing of our money, and an *Hebrew* drachm, as I have ſaid, was nine pence; but what the *Attic* drachm fell ſhort of the *Hebrew* in weight might be made up in the fineneſs, and its ready currency in all countries, (which laſt the *Hebrew* drachm could not have) and ſo might be made equivalent in common eſtimation among the *Jews*. Allowing therefore a drachm, as well *Attic* as *Jewiſh*, as valued in *Judea*, to be equivalent to nine pence of our money, a beka or half ſhekel will be one ſhilling and ſix-pence, a ſhekel three ſhillings, a mina nine pound, and a talent four hundred and fifty pound. So was it in the time of *Moſes* and

[z] *Chap.* xlv. 12. [y] Talmud in Shekalim. [x] Antiq. lib. 3. c. 9.

Ezekiel, and ſo was it the ſame in the time of *Joſephus* among that people, for [a] he tells us, that an *Hebrew* mina contained two litra's and an half, which comes exactly to nine pound of our money. For a litra being the ſame with a *Roman* libra contained twelve ounces *Troy* weight, that is, ninety ſix drachms, and therefore two litra's and an half muſt contain two hundred and forty drachms, which being eſtimated at nine pence a drachm, according to the *Jewiſh* valuation, comes exactly to ſixty ſhekels, or nine pound of our money. And this account agreeth exactly with that of *Alexandria*. For [b] the *Alexandrian* talent contained twelve thouſand *Attic* drachms, and twelve thouſand *Attic* drachms, according to the *Jewiſh* valuation, being twelve thouſand of our nine pences, they amount to four hundred and fifty pound of ſterling money, which is the ſame value with the *Moſaic* talent. But here it is to be obſerved, that though the *Alexandrian* talent amounted to twelve thouſand *Attic* drachms, yet they themſelves reckoned it but at ſix thouſand drachms; becauſe every *Alexandrian* drachm contained [c] two *Attic* drachms, and therefore the *Septuagint* verſion being made by the *Alexandrian Jews*, they there render the *Hebrew* word *Shekel* by the *Greek* Δίδραχμον, which ſignifieth two drachms, becauſe two *Alexandrian* drachms made a ſhekel, two of them amounting to as much as four *Attic* drachms. And therefore computing the *Alexandrian* money according to the ſame method in which we have computed the *Jewiſh*, it will be as followeth. One drachm of *Alexandria* will be of our money eighteen pence; one didrachm or ſhekel conſiſting of two drachms of *Alexandria*, or four of *Attica*, will be three ſhillings; one mina, conſiſting of ſixty drachms or ſhekels, will be nine pound; and one talent, conſiſting of fifty mina's, will be four hundred and fifty pound, which is the talent [d] of *Moſes*, and ſo alſo is it the talent of [e] *Joſephus*. For he tells us, that an *Hebrew* talent contained an hundred *Greek* (*i. e. Attic*) mina's. For thoſe fifty mina's, which here make an *Alexandrian* talent, would be an hundred *Attic* mina's in the like method of valuation, the *Alexandrian* talent containing double as much as

[a] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 14. ch. 12. [b] Feſtus Pompeius. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus etiam dicit talentum Alexandrinum continere 125 libras Romanas; libræ autem Romanæ 125 continent drachmas Atticas 12000. [c] Varro æſtimat drachmas Alexandrinas duplo ſuperaſſe Atticaſve Tyria ve. [d] Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26. [e] Antiq. lib. 3. c. 7.

the *Attic* talent, both in the whole and alſo in all its parts, in whatſoever method both ſhall be equally diſtributed. Among the *Greeks* the eſtabliſhed rule was, [f] that one hundred drachms made a mina, and ſixty mina's a talent. But in ſome different ſtates their drachms being different, accordingly their mina's and talents were within the ſame proportion different alſo. But the money of *Attica* was the ſtandard, by which all the reſt were valued, according as they more or leſs differed from it. And therefore it being of moſt note, where-ever any *Greek* hiſtorian ſpeaks of talents, mina's, or drachms, if they be ſimply mentioned, it is always to be underſtood of talents, mina's, or drachms of *Attica*, and never of the talents, mina's, or drachms of any other place, unleſs it be expreſſed. Mr. *Brerewood*, going by the goldſmith's weights, [g] reckons an *Attic* drachm to be the ſame with a dram now in uſe in their ſhops, that is, the eighth part of an ounce, and therefore lays it at the value of ſeven pence half penny of our money, or the eighth part of a crown, which is or ought to be an ounce weight. But Dr. *Bernard* going more accurately to work, [h] lays the middle ſort of *Attic* drachms at eight pence farthing of our money, and the mina's and talents accordingly, in the proportions above-mentioned. The *Babylonian* talent, according to [i] *Pollux*, contained ſeven thouſand of thoſe drachms. The *Roman* talent [k] contained ſeventy two Italic mina's, which were the ſame with the *Roman* libra's; and ninety ſix *Roman* denarius's, each being of the value of ſeven pence half penny of our money, made a *Roman* libra. But all the valuations I have hitherto mentioned, muſt be underſtood only of ſilver money, and not of gold, for that was much higher. The proportion of gold to ſilver was among the ancients moſt commonly as ten to one; ſometimes it was raiſed to be as eleven to one, and ſometimes as twelve; and ſometmies as thirteen to one. In the time of King *Edward* the Firſt, it was here in *England* at the value of ten to one, but it is now gotten at ſixteen to one, and ſo I value it in all the reductions which I make in this hiſtory, of ancient ſums to the preſent value. But to

[f] Julii Pollucis Onomaſticon, lib. 10. cap. 6. [g] In libro de ponderibus & pretiis veterum nummorum. [h] In libro de menſuris & ponderibus antiquis. [i] Lib. 10. cap. 6. p. 437. [k] Feſtus Pompeius.

make

make the whole of this matter the eaſier to the reader, I will lay all of it before him, for his clear view, in this following table of valuations.

Hebrew money.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
An *Hebrew* drachm,	0000	00	09
Two drachms made a beka, or half ſhekel, which was the tribute-money paid by every *Jew* to the temple,	0000	01	06
Two beka's made a ſhekel,	0000	03	00
Sixty ſhekels made a mina,	0009	00	00
Fifty mina's made a talent,	0450	00	00
A talent of gold, ſixteen to one,	7200	00	00

Attic money, according to Mr. *Brerewood*.

An *Attic* drachm,	0000	00	07 1/2
An hundred drachms made a mina,	0003	02	06
Sixty mina's made a talent,	0187	10	00
A talent of gold, ſixteen to one.	3000	00	00

Attic money, according to Dr. *Bernard*.

An *Attic* drachm,	0000	00	08 1/2
An hundred drachms made a mina,	0003	08	09
Sixty mina's made a talent,	0206	05	00
A talent of gold, ſixteen to one,	3300	00	00

Babyloniſh money, according to Mr. *Brerewood*.

A *Babyloniſh* talent of ſilver, containing ſeven thouſand *Attic* drachms,	0218	15	00
A *Babyloniſh* talent in gold, ſixteen to one,	3500	00	00

Babyloniſh money, according to Dr. *Bernard*.

A *Babyloniſh* talent in ſilver,	0240	12	06
A *Babyloniſh* talent in gold, ſixteen to one,	3850	00	00

Alexandrian

Alexandrian money.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
A drachm of *Alexandria*, containing two *Attic* drachms, as valued by the *Jews*,	0000	01	06
A didrachm of *Alexandria*, containing two *Alexandrian* drachms, which was an *Hebrew* ſhekel,	0000	03	00
Sixty didrachms, or *Hebrew* ſhekels, made a mina,	0009	00	00
Fifty mina's made a talent,	0450	00	00
A talent of gold, ſixteen to one,	7200	00	00

Roman money.

Four ſeſtercius's made a *Roman* denarius,	0000	00	07½
Ninety ſix *Roman* denarius's made an *Italick* mina, which was the ſame with a *Roman* libra,	0003	00	00
Seventy two *Roman* libra's made a talent,	0216	00	00

If any deſire a fuller account of the money of the ancients, he may read Mr. *Brerewood de ponderibus & pretiis veterum nummorum*; Biſhop *Cumberland*, of the *Jewiſh* meaſures, weights, and moneys; Dr. *Bernard*, *de menſuris & ponderibus antiquis*; and others that have written of this argument. It ſufficeth for my preſent purpoſe, that I here inſert ſo much as may ſerve for a key to thoſe paſſages in the enſuing hiſtory, where any ſum of money, or any quantity of gold or ſilver is mentioned.

So little mention having been made of *Zoroaſtres* by the weſtern writers, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, the reader may perchance be ſurprized to find ſo much ſaid of him in this hiſtory, and his time placed ſo much later, than is vulgarly reckoned. But how ſparingly ſoever the *Greeks* or *Latins* may have been in ſpeaking of him, what hath been wanting in them hath been ſufficiently ſupplied by the *Perſians* and *Arabs*, who have given us large accounts of him, and have placed his time, where truly it was, that is, in the time of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*

ſtaſpis King of *Perſia*. Whatſoever we find written of him by the *Arabs*, is taken from the *Perſians*. For it was not till after the time of *Mahomet*, that the *Arabs* had any literature among them, but the *Perſians* had it long before. For we find in ſcripture, [m] that the *Perſians* had books and regiſters, in which all the actions of their Kings, and the hiſtories of their reigns were carefully recorded; and *Cteſias* [n] tells us the ſame, and that it was out of thoſe books and regiſters that he extracted his hiſtory which he wrote of the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* affairs, [o] in twenty three books. And *Perſia* being the countrey which was the ſcene of all *Zoroaſtres*'s doings, there it is that we may moſt likely expect the beſt account of him. And ſince he was there the founder, and great patriarch of the religion which was received, and reigned in that countrey from the time of *Darius Hyſtaſpis* to the death of *Yazdegerd*, for near eleven hundred and fifty years; and conſequently was among them (as he ſtill is among the remainder of that ſect) in the ſame eſteem and veneration, that *Mahomet* is among the *Mahometans*; no wonder that much hath been ſaid of him by their writers. And if thoſe writers have been as ancient, as thoſe of the *Greeks* and other nations, I know not why they ſhould not have the ſame authority. I acknowledge many fabulous things have crept into their writings concerning him, as there have into the *Roman* legends of their ſaints, and for the ſame reaſon, that is, to create in vulgar minds the greater veneration for him. What I have out of the latter, I am beholden for to Dr. *Hyde*'s book *De religione veterum Perſarum*, for I underſtand not the *Perſian* language. All that could be gotten out of both theſe ſorts of writers, concerning him or his religion, that carry with it any air of truth, is here carefully laid together, as alſo every thing elſe that is ſaid of either of them by the *Greeks*, or any other authentic writers. And out of all this put together is made up that account, which I have given of this famous impoſtor. And if the life of *Mahomet*, which I have formerly publiſh'd, be compared herewith, it will appear here-

[m] Ezra iv. 15, 19. v. 17. vi. 1, 2. Eſther vi. 1. [n] Apud Diodorum Siculum, lib. 2.
[o] Photius in excerptis.

by

by, how much of the way, which this latter impoſtor took for the propagating of his fraud, had been chalked out to him by the other. Both of them were very crafty knaves. But *Zoroaſtres* being a perſon of the greateſt learning of his time, and the other ſo wholly ignorant of it, that he could neither write nor read, he was by much the more eminent of the two, though the other hath had the greater ſucceſs in the propagation of his ſect; the *Magians* ſcarce having ever enlarged themſelves beyond the preſent bounds of the kingdom of *Perſia*, and ſome parts of *Meſopotamia*, *Arabia*, and *India*, whereas the *Mahometans* have overſpread a great part of the world. For which they have been beholden to the prevailing power of two mighty empires erected by them, that is, that of the *Saracens* firſt, and next that of the *Turks*, who having extended their conqueſts over many countries and kingdoms, have by the power of the ſword ſubjugated the inhabitants to their religion, as well as to their empire.

To make this hiſtory the more clear, I have found it neceſſary to take in within its compaſs the affairs of all the other eaſtern nations, as well as thoſe of the *Jews*, the latter not being thoroughly to be underſtood without the other. And as far as the *Grecian* affairs have been complicated with thoſe of *Perſia*, *Syria*, or *Egypt*, I have been obliged to take notice of them alſo. And without doing thus, I could not lead the reader to ſo clear a view of the completion of thoſe prophecies of the *Old Teſtament*, which I have in the enſuing hiſtory explained. For how could the completion of the prophecy which we have of *Xerxes*, and his ſtirring up of all againſt the realm of *Grecia* (*Daniel* xi. 2.) be underſtood, without having an account of the war which he made againſt *Grecia*? Or how could the fulfilling of the prophecies, which were delivered of *Alexander*, his ſwift victories, and his breaking by them the power of *Perſia*, (*Dan.* viii. 6. and *ch.* viii. 5, 6, 21. and *ch.* x. 20. and *ch.* xi. 3, 4.) be brought into a clear light, without laying before the reader the whole ſeries of thoſe wars whereby it was effected? Or how could the verification of the prophecies, concerning the four ſucceſſors of *Alexander*, written by the ſame prophet, (*Dan.* viii. 8. and

ch. xi.

ch. xi. 4.) be fully evidenced, without giving a thorough narrative of all thoſe tranſactions and wars, whereby it was brought to paſs, that the empire of that great conqueror was at length divided among four of his chief commanders? The inſtance given in theſe particulars may ſerve to ſatisfy the reader as to all the reſt.

To make all things the eaſier to the *Engliſh* reader, for whom I chiefly deſign this work, I have carefully avoided troubling him with any exotic words in the text. And where I have been forced in ſome places to inſert *Hebrew* words, I have choſen for his ſake to do it in *Engliſh* letters. All things elſe, that may be above a mere *Engliſh* reader, I have referred to the notes and quotations at the bottom of the page, and in them I quote every thing in *Engliſh*, where the *Engliſh* reader can examine what I quote, and there only where he cannot, are the references and quotations in any other language.

Several have in *Latin* written by way of annals of the times, of which I treat, as *Torniellus*, *Salianus*, *Cappellus*, and others. But above all of this kind are Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s annals of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, which is the exacteſt and moſt perfect work of chronology that hath been publiſhed; to which, I acknowledge, I have been much beholden; and altho' I have not always concurred with him; yet I have for the moſt part, eſpecially in the ordering and ſettling the years, to which I refer the actions that are related. For I look on what he hath done before me herein to be the ſureſt and ſafeſt clue I could conduct my ſelf by, through all the intricate labyrinths of ancient times, and therefore I have generally followed him in the fixing of the years, excepting only where I ſaw very good reaſon to do otherwiſe. But as to the other annaliſts I have mentioned, I have found it moſt an end only loſs of time to conſult them.

If I have been too large in my explication of the prophecy of *Daniel*'s ſeventy weeks, or in the account which I have given of the *Hebrew* ſcriptures, or in any other diſcourſe of like nature, occaſionally intermix'd in this work, the importance of the ſubjects muſt be my excuſe. For the chief deſign of this hiſtory, and my main end in writing it, being to clear the way to the better underſtanding of the holy ſcriptures, both of the

Old and the *New Teſtament*, I have thought my ſelf obliged in purſuit hereof to handle every thing to the full, as it came in my way, that might any wiſe tend hereto. And if the reader receiveth any benefit from it, let him give God the praiſe, who hath enabled me under a very calamitous and broken ſtate of health to finiſh this firſt part of my deſign, and ſtill to go on with my ſtudies for the compleating of the other.

Norwich,
Aug. 1. 1715.

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.

THE *Old* and *New* TESTAMENT

Connected in the

HISTORY

OF THE

Jews and Neighbouring Nations,

FROM THE

Declenſion of the Kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah* to the time of Christ.

BOOK I.

THE ancient Empire of the *Aſſyrians*, which had governed *Aſia* for above thirteen hundred years, being diſſolved on the death of *Sardanapalus*, there [a] aroſe up two Empires in its ſtead; the one founded by *Arbaces* Governour of *Media*, and the other by *Beleſis* Governour of *Babylon*; who were the two principal Commanders, that headed the Conſpiracy, whereby the former Empire was brought to an End; which they having on their Succeſs parted among Themſelves, *Beleſis* had *Babylon*, *Chaldea*, and *An.* 747.

[a] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. Athenæus, lib. 12. Herodotus, lib. 1. Juſtin. lib. 1. c. 3.

Arabia; and *Arbaces* all the reſt. This hapned in the ſeventh year after the building of *Rome*, and in the ſecond year of the eighth Olympiad, which was the ſeven hundred forty ſeventh year before *Chriſt*, i. e. before the beginning of the Vulgar Æra, by which we now compute the years from his Incarnation.

ARBACES is in Scripture called [b] *Tiglath-Pileſer* and [c] *Thilgath-Pilneſer*, in [d] *Ælian Thilgamus*, and by [e] *Caſtor Ninus junior*. He fixed his Royal Seat at *Niniveh*, the ſame place where the former *Aſſyrian* Kings had their Reſidence, and there he governed his new erected Empire nineteen years.

BELESIS is the ſame with *Nabonaſſar*, from the Beginning of whoſe Reign at *Babylon* commenceth the famous Aſtronomical Æra from him called the *Æra of Nabonaſſar*. He is by [f] *Nicolas Damaſcenus* called *Nanibrus*, and in the holy Scripture [g] *Baladan*, being the Father of *Merodac* or *Mordac Empadus*, who ſent an Embaſſy to King *Hezekiah* to congratulate him on his recovery from his ſickneſs, which will be hereafter ſpoken of.

AND theſe two Empires God was pleaſed to raiſe up to be his Inſtruments in their turns to puniſh the iniquities of his own People; the firſt for the overthrowing of the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, and the other for the overthrowing of the Kingdom of *Judah*, as ſhall be ſhewn in the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

An. 742. Ahaz 1. IN the ſixth year of *Tiglath Pileſer* [h] *Ahaz* began to reign over *Judah*, who being a very wicked and impious Prince, God ſtirred up againſt him *Rezin* King of *Syria* and *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, who confederating together invaded his Land with a great Army, and having haraſſed it all over pent him up in *Jeruſalem*, and there beſieged him.

THEIR deſign was [i] on the taking of that City to have wholly extirpated the Houſe of *David*, and to have ſet up a new King over *Judah*, the Son of *Tabeal*. Who this perſon was, is no where ſaid in Scripture, but he ſeemeth to have been ſome potent and factious *Jew*, who having revolted from his Maſter the King of *Judah*, excited and ſtirred up this war againſt him out of an ambitious aim of plucking him down from his Throne, and reigning in his ſtead.

BUT it being the will of God only to puniſh *Ahaz* for his wickedneſs, and not the whole family of *David*, for which he had always for the ſake of *David* expreſſed mercy and favour, he was pleaſed to prevent the miſchief by blaſting the whole deſign. And therefore he ſent the Prophet *Iſaiah* unto *Ahaz* to encourage him valiantly to withſtand the Enemy in the defence of the City, and to aſſure him, that they ſhould not prevail againſt him. And for this he gave him two ſigns, the one to be accompliſhed ſpeedily, and the other ſome Ages after.

THE firſt was that the Prophet ſhould take him a wife, who ſhould immediately on that marriage conceive a ſon, and that before that ſon ſhould be of age to diſcern between good and evil, both theſe Kings ſhould be cut off from the Land; which accordingly came to paſs. For the Prophet [k] immediately after taking a wife, before *Maher-ſhalal-haſh-baz*, the ſon born to him of that marriage, arrived to the age of diſcerning between

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[b] 2 Kings xv. 29. & xvi. 7, 10. [c] 1 Chron. v. 6. 2 Chron. xxviii. 20. [d] Hiſt. Animal. lib. 12. c. 21. [e] Euſeb. Chron. p. 46. [f] In Eclogis Valeſii, p. 426, &c. [g] Iſaiah xxxix. 1. [h] 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii. [i] Iſaiah vii. [k] Iſaiah viii.

good

SYRIA.

Taurus Mons
Euphrates Fl.
Samosata
Edessa
Massius Mons
Anthemusia, quæ et
Osroene
Olibera
Batnæ
Ballatha
Cannaba
Neronis
Bemmaris
COMMAGENE
Doliche
Germanica
Zeugma
Apamea
MESOPOTAMIAE
Carræ
Epiphania
Aliaria
Cyrrhus, quæ et Cyrus
Singa
Europus
Aniana
Amani Portæ
Imma
Pagræ
Cyrrhestica
Cæcilia
Anthemusium
Acraba
Pinara
Mannica
Alexandria
Bambyce, sive Hierapolis
Belius Flu.
Dauana
Cindarus
Batnæ
Gerræ
Nicephorium
Berrhœa
Paphara
Beroea
Callecome
Barbarissus
Callinicum
Litarbi
Ceph-yra
Chalcidene
Athis
Maguda
Ebeia
Rhesena
Seleucia
Antiochia
Chalcis
Thema
Resapha
Lydia
Androna
Alalis
Circesium
Gordiani sepulcrum
CHALDAEA
Daphne
Lysias
Aconaba
Oriza
Dura
Cabala
Asaph
Adada
Sura
Phatusæ Vicus
Apamea
Chalybon
Alamata
Thapsacus
Amphipolis
Euphrates Flu.
Pombedita
Fissenia
Palmyra, Thadmor
Balanæa
Seleucia ad Belum
Tolmidessa
Mariama
Larissa
Chaucha bene
Sitha
Bersabora
Nearda
Antaradus
Simyra
Eleutherus Flu.
Epiphanea
Dacira
Zaregarda Magia
BABYLONIAE FINES
Orthosia
Arca
Raphanea
Solitudo Palmyrena
Coara
Arethusa
Solaramia
Tripolis
Botrys
Mariame
Emesa
Byblus
Aphaca
Danaba
Laodicea Cabiosa, sive ad Libanum
Tybon
Paradisus
Heliopolis
Iabruda
COELESYRIA
Gaana
PROPRIA
Damascus
Asura
Arabes Scenitæ
Beana
DESERTA
MARE CILICIVM
MARIS
MEDITERRANEI PARS
Sidon
Serepta
Tyrus
Palætyrus
Abila
Abilene
Libanus Mons
Anti Libanus Mons
Amanus Mons
Taurus Mons
CILICIA CAMPESTRIS
Antiochia
Solæ Pompeiopolis
Tarsus
Mallos
Aegæ
Alexandria
Sinus Issicus
Issus
Pieria
Seleucia
Antiochia ad Taurum
Lamotis
Aleii campi
Cydnus Flu.
Pyramus Flu.
Pinarus Flu.
Orontes Flu.
Posidonium
Daphne
Lydia
Apamea
Seriana
Chalybonitis
Euphrates Flu.
Abboras Flu.
Chaboras Flu.
Zaitha Flu.
Sacoras Flu.
Orontes Flu.
Eleutherus Flu.
Belus Flu.
Chrysorrhoas Fluvius
Jordanes Flu.
Dei Facies Prom.
Caranus naus Aradiorum
Aradus Insula
Balanæa
Sidonius Mons
Libanus Mons
Anti Libanus Mons
Casius Mons
Cassiotis
Belus Mons
Massius Mons
Amanus Mons
Taurus Mons
Euphrates Flu.
Tigris Flu.
Chaboras Flu.
Abboras Flu.
Sacoras Flu.
Euphrates Flu.
Euphrates Flu.
Tigris Flu.
Euphrates Flu.
Euphrates Flu.
Euphrates

good and evil, both theſe Kings were ſlain, *Rezin* in the third year of *Ahaz*, and *Pekah* the next year after.

THE other ſign was, that [l] a virgin ſhould conceive, and bear a ſon, who ſhould be called *Emmanuel*, that is, God with us, the *Meſſias*, that was promiſed, God manifeſted in our nature, and for a while here dwelling with us to accompliſh the great work of our Salvation. Which Prophecy was then delivered to comfort and ſupport the drooping and deſponding Spirits of the Houſe of *David*; who ſeeing ſo great a force armed againſt them, and intending their deſtruction, were under terrible apprehenſions, as if their utter extirpation were then at hand. From which deſpair this prophecy fully relieved them, in aſſuring them, that their Houſe ſhould ſtand, and continue, till this prediction ſhould be accompliſhed, and the *Meſſias* born of their race in ſuch manner, as was hereby foretold.

AFTER this the two Kings according to the words of the Prophet failing of their deſign were forced to raiſe the Siege, and return home, without prevailing in the enterprize which they had undertaken.

BUT [m] *Ahaz* after this, inſtead of being reformed by the Mercy, growing more wicked and perverſe than before, in abſolutely rejecting the God of *Iſrael*, and cleaving to the worſt abominations of the heathen nations round him, even to the making of his Sons paſs through the Fire to *Molech*, the next year after [n] God brought again upon him the ſame two confederated Kings, from whom he had delivered him the former year, who coming with forces better appointed, and counſels better concerted than before, divided themſelves into three armies; the firſt under *Rezin* King of *Syria*, the ſecond under *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, and the third under *Zichri* a mighty man of *Ephraim*; and with theſe three armies, the more to diſtract him, they invaded him in three different parts of his Kingdom at the ſame time. *Rezin* in his ravage having loaded his army with Spoils, and taken a vaſt number of Captives, returned with them to *Damaſcus*, thinking it his beſt intereſt there to ſecure what he had gotten. *Pekah* with his army marched directly againſt *Ahaz*, who had got together the main ſtrength of his Kingdom to oppoſe this Invaſion; and thereby for ſome time did put a ſtop to the progreſs of this part of the enemies forces, but at length being encouraged by the departure of *Rezin* to give them Battel, he was overthrown with a moſt terrible deſtruction, an hundred and twenty thouſand of his men being ſlain in that day. Of which blow *Zichri* taking the advantage led his forces to *Jeruſalem*, and took the Royal City, where he ſlew *Maaſeiah* the King's Son, and moſt of the chief Governours and great Men of the Kingdom, whom he found there. And both theſe armies of *Iſrael* on their return carried with them vaſt ſpoils, and above two hundred thouſand perſons, whom they had taken Captive with intention to have ſold them for bondmen and bondwomen. But a Prophet from God having ſeverely rebuked them for this their exceſſive cruelty againſt their Brethren, whom God had delivered into their Hands, the Elders of the Land fearing the like wrath upon themſelves for the puniſhment hereof, would not permit them to bring the Captives to *Samaria*; whereon they were cloathed and relieved out of the ſpoils, and again ſent back unto their own homes.

An. 741. Ahaz 2.

AND the Land was no ſooner delivered from theſe enemies, but it was again invaded by others, who treated it with the ſame cruelty. For the *An.* 740. Ahaz 3.

[l] Iſaiah vii. 14. Mat. i. 23. [m] 2 Chron. xxviii. 2----5. [n] 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

Edomites and the *Philiſtines*, who next bordered on it, the former on the *South*, and the other on the *Weſt*, ſeeing *Judah* brought thus low took the advantage to ſeize on thoſe parts which lay next unto them, and by ravages and inrodes did all the miſchief to the reſt that lay in their power.

BUT *Ahaz* continuing ſtill hardned in his iniquity, notwithſtanding all this, which he had ſuffered for the puniſhment of it, would not ſeek the Lord his God, or return unto him from his evil ways, but putting his confidence rather in man, pillaged the Temple of all the Gold and Silver that was found therein, and ſent it to *Tiglath-Pileſer* King of *Aſſyria*, to engage him to come to his aſſiſtance againſt his enemies, promiſing thereon to become his Servant, and pay Tribute unto him.

THE King of *Aſſyria* having an opportunity hereby offered unto him, of adding *Syria* and *Paleſtine* to his Empire, readily laid hold of the invitation, and marched with a great army into thoſe parts, where having ſlain *Rezin* in battel, he took *Damaſcus*, and reduced all that Country under his Dominion. And hereby he put an end to the Kingdom of the *Syrians* in *Damaſcus*, after it had laſted there for ten Generations, that is, from the time of *Rezon* the Son of *Eliadah*, [o] who firſt founded it, while *Solomon* was King over *Iſrael*.

AFTER this *Tiglath-Pileſer* [p] marched againſt *Pekah*, and ſeized all that belonged to *Iſrael* beyond *Jordan*, and alſo all the Land of *Galilee*, and then went forward towards *Jeruſalem*, but rather to get more money of *Ahaz*, than to afford him any real help. For he aſſiſted him not for the recovery of any of thoſe places which had been taken from him during the War, either by the *Philiſtines*, *Edomites*, or other Enemies, but when he had got from him all that he could (for the raiſing of which *Ahaz* cut the veſſels of the Temple into pieces, and melted them down) he marched back to *Damaſcus*, and there wintered, without doing any thing more for him. So that in reality he was rather diſtreſſed, than any way helped by this alliance, the Land being almoſt as much exhauſted by the preſents and ſubſidies, which were extorted from him by this his pretended Friend and Ally, as it was by the ravages and pillages of his open Enemies. And moreover two laſting miſchiefs followed hereon. For 1*ſt*, inſtead of two petty Princes, whom he had afore for his Neighbours, and with either of which he was well able to cope, he had now this mighty King for his borderer, againſt whom no power of the Land was ſufficient to make any reſiſtance, and the ill effect hereof both *Iſrael* and *Judah* did afterwards ſufficiently feel. For it became at length to both of them the Cauſe of their deſtruction. 2*dly*, From this time the *Jews* were excluded all their Traffic into the *Southern* Sea, which had hitherto been one of the chiefeſt foundations of their riches.

THIS they had long carried on through the *Red Sea*, and the Streights of *Babelmandel*, not only to the Coaſts of *Africa*, on the Weſt, but alſo to thoſe of *Arabia*, *Perſia*, and *India*, on the Eaſt, and reaped a prodigious profit from it. King *David* was the firſt [q] who began it: For having [r] conquered the Kingdom of *Edom*, and reduced it to be a Province of his Empire, he thereby became Maſter of two Sea-port Towns on the *Red Sea*, *Elath*, and *Eſiongeber*, [s] which then belonged to that Kingdom; and ſee-

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[o] 1 Kings xi. 23—25. [p] 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii. [q] Eupolemus apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. [r] 2 Sam. viii. 14. 1 Kings xi. 15. 16. 1 Chron. xviii. 13. [s] 1 Kings ix. 26. 2 Chron. viii. 17.

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ing the advantage which might be made of the ſituation of theſe two places, he wiſely took the Benefit of it, and there begun this Traffic. There are two places mentioned in Scripture, to which it was from thence carried on, that is, *Ophir* and *Tarſhiſh*. From the former of theſe *David* in his time drew great profit. For the three thouſand Talents of Gold of *Ophir*, which he is ſaid (1 *Chron.* xxix. 4.) to have given to the Houſe of God, ſeem to be of that Gold of *Ophir*, which he himſelf had by his fleets in ſeveral voyages brought to him from thence. For what he had reſerved for this work out of the ſpoils of war, the tributes of the conquered Nations, and the publick revenues of his Kingdom, is before mentioned (*C.* xxiv. *v.* 14.) and amounted to * a prodigious Sum. The three thouſand Talents of the Gold of *Ophir*, which he added, was over and above this, and *out of his own proper goods*, or private Eſtate which he had, beſides what belonged to him as King. And how he could increaſe that ſo far, as out of that only to be able to give ſo great a Sum, can ſcarce any other way be accounted for, than by the great returns which were made him from this Traffic. For the Gold alone amounted to [t] above one and twenty Millions of our Money, beſides the ſeven thouſand Talents of refined Silver, [u] which were included in the ſame gift. After *David*, [w] *Solomon* carried on the ſame Traffic to *Ophir*, and had from thence in one voyage [x] four hundred and fifty Talents of Gold. And if *Solomon* got ſo much in one voyage, well might *David* have gained the Sum above-mentioned in the ſeveral voyages, which were made thither for him from the time that he had ſubdued the Land of *Edom* to the time of his Death, which was at leaſt twenty five years. But it muſt be acknowledged that *Solomon* much improved this Trade, not only by his greater wiſdom, but alſo by his greater application to all the buſineſs of it. For not being perplex'd and incumber'd with ſuch Wars, as his Father *David* was, he had more leiſure to attend thereto. And therefore for the better ſettling of it he [y] went in perſon to *Elath*, and *Eſiongeber*, and there took care by his own inſpection for the building of his Ships, the fortifying of both thoſe Ports, and the ſettling of every thing elſe, which might tend to the ſucceſsful carrying on of this Traffic, not only to *Ophir*, but to all other parts, where the Sea, on which theſe Ports lay, opened a paſſage. But his chiefeſt Care was to plant thoſe two Towns with ſuch Inhabitants as might be beſt able to ſerve him in this deſign. For which purpoſe he brought thither from the Sea Coaſts of *Paleſtine* as many, as he could get, of thoſe who had been there uſed to the Sea, eſpecially of the *Tyrians*, [z] whom his Friend and Ally, *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from thence furniſhed him with in great numbers, and theſe were the moſt uſeful to him in this Affair. For they being in thoſe days, and for many ages after

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* *This Sum is ſo prodigious, as gives reaſon to think that the Talents, whereby that Sum is reckoned, were another ſort of Talents of a far leſs value than the Moſaick Talents, of which an account is given in the Preface. For what is ſaid to be given by* David, (1 Chron. xxii. 14, 15, 16. *and* xxix. 3, 4, 5.) *and contributed by his Princes,* (xxix. 6, 7, 8.) *toward the building of the Temple at* Jeruſalem, *if valued by theſe Talents, exceeded the value of eight hundred Millions of our Money, which was enough wherewith to have built all that Temple of ſolid Silver.*

[t] *For three thouſand* Hebrew *Talents of Gold reduced to our Money amount to twenty one Millions and ſix hundred thouſand Pound Sterling.* [u] 1 Chron. xxix. 4. [w] 1 Kings ix. 26, 27, 28. & cap. x. 11, 22. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. cap. ix. 10---21. [x] 2 Chron. viii. 18. *The* 450 *Talents here mentioned amount to three Millions two hundred and forty thouſand Pound of our preſent Sterling Money.* [y] 2 Chron. viii. 17. [z] 1 Kings ix. 27. 2 Chron. viii. 18. & cap. ix. 10, 21.

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the moſt skilful of all others in ſea affairs, they were the beſt able to navigate his ſhips, and conduct his fleets, through long voyages. But the uſe of the Compaſs not being then known, the way of Navigation was in thoſe times only by Coaſting, which often made a voyage to be of three years, which now may be finiſhed almoſt in three months. However this Trade ſucceeded ſo far, and grew to ſo high a pitch under the wiſe management of *Solomon*, that thereby he drew to theſe two Ports, and from thence to *Jeruſalem*, all the Trade of *Africa*, *Arabia*, *Perſia*, and *India*, which was the chief fountain of thoſe immenſe riches which he acquired, and [a] whereby he exceeded all the Kings of the Earth in his time, as much as he did by his wiſdom, ſo that [b] he made ſilver to be at *Jeruſalem* as the ſtones of the ſtreet, by reaſon of the great plenty with which it there abounded during his reign. After the Diviſion of the Kingdom, *Edom* being of that part which remained to the Houſe of *David*, they ſtill continued to carry on this Trade [c] from thoſe two Ports, eſpecially from *Eſiongeber*, which they chiefly made uſe of till the time of *Jehoſaphat*. But he having there loſt his Fleet, which he had prepared to ſail from thence to *Ophir*, in partnerſhip with *Ahaziah* King of *Iſrael*, this ſpoiled the credit of that Harbour. For there being nigh the mouth of it [d] a ridge of Rocks, as this fleet was paſſing out of the Port, they were by a ſudden guſt of wind (which God ſent on purpoſe for the puniſhment of this Confederacy) driven upon thoſe Rocks, where [e] they were all broken to pieces and loſt. And therefore for the avoiding of the like miſchief for the future, the ſtation of the King's Ships was thenceforth removed to *Elath*, from whence *Jehoſaphat* the next year after ſent out another Fleet for the ſame place. For whereas it is ſaid, that he loſt the firſt Fleet for confederating with the idolatrous King of *Iſrael*, and we are told [f] in another place of his ſending forth a Fleet for *Ophir*, in which he would not permit *Ahaziah* to have any partnerſhip with him, this plainly proves the ſending out of two Fleets by *Jehoſaphat*, the firſt in partnerſhip with *Ahazia*, and the other without it. And thus this Affair was carried on from the time of *David* till the Death of *Jehoſaphat*. For till then the Land of *Edom* [g] was all in the Hands of the Kings of *Judah*, and was wholly governed by a Deputy or Viceroy there placed by them. But when *Jehoram* ſucceeded *Jehoſaphat*, and God for the puniſhment of the exceeding great wickedneſs of that Prince had withdrawn his protection from him, *Eſau*, according to the Prophecy of *Iſaac*, [h] did break the yoke of *Jacob* from off his Neck, after having ſerved him (as foretold by that Prophecy) for ſeveral Generations, that is, from the time of *David* till then. For on *Jehoram*'s having revolted from God, [i] the *Edomites* revolted from him, and having expelled his Viceroy choſe them a King of their own, and under his conduct recover'd their ancient Liberty, and were not after that any more ſubject to the Kings of *Judah*. And from this time the *Jewiſh* Traffic through the *Red Sea* had an interruption, till the reign of *Uzziah*. But he in the very beginning of his reign [k] having recovered *Elath* again to *Judah* fortified it anew, and having driven out the *Edomites* planted it again with his own people, and there renewed their

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[a] 1 Kings x. 23. 2 Chron. ix. 22. [b] 1 Kings x. 27. 2 Chron. ix. 27. [c] 1 Kings xxii. 48. 2 Chron. xx. 36. [d] *Becauſe of theſe Rocks it had the name of* Eſiongeber, *which ſignified the back bone of a Man, for theſe Rocks reſembled it.* [e] 1 Kings xxii. 48. 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37. [f] 1 Kings xxii. 49. [g] 1 Kings xxii. 47. [h] Gen. xxvii. 40. [i] 2 Kings viii. 20---22. [k] 2 Kings xiv. 22. 2 Chron. xxvi. 2.

old

PALAESTINA SEV TERRA SANCTA.

SEPTENTRIO

OCCIDENS

ORIENS

MERIDIES

MARE MAGNVM SIVE MEDITERRANEI PARS.

AEGYPTI PARS

ARABIA PETRAEA

Sidon
Libani pars seu Antilibanus
Hermon
Trachonitis
Sarepta
Thiala
Maachati
Assuranitis
Cabala
Tyrus
Sarra
Aurea
Argob
Belætyrus
Terra Chabul
Galilæa Superior
al. Gentium
Batanæa seu Regnum Basan
Achzib, Ecdippa
Scala Tyriorum
Ptolemais
Abdon
Zabulon
Risson Fluv.
Zippori
Bethlehem
Sycaminum
Iudæa
Lacus Genesareth
Caulonitis
Legio
Sunem
Iberias
Dora
Aphec
Iesreel
Thermæ Tiberiades
Cadara
Gilead
Hophet
Manasse Dimidia
Turris Stratonis
Cæsarea Palæstinæ
Tribus
Bethsan
Scythopolis
Iaramoth
Thirza
Succot
Regnum
Iaser
SAMARIA
Apollonia
Samaria
Sebaste
Salim
Betthar. Betaron
Chabarsabe
Sichem.
Neapolis
Antipatris
Ephraim
Ebal
Gad Tribus
Iope
Saron
Drusias
Acrabatene
Thena
Gazera
Bethel. Luz
Silo
Phasaelis
Menuith
Sichonis
Iabne. Iamnia
Thimna
Bethoron
Emmaus. Nicopolis
Archelais
Pisga Mt.
Mesbon
Kiriathiarim
Caba
Anatoth
Hierosolyma. Aelia
Hierichus
Galgal
Arver
Accaron Ekron
Asca
Rama
Bethsames
Bethlehem
Ephrata
Thecua
Dibon
Ar. seu Areopol
Azotus Asdod
Gallim
Mahela
Adullam. s.
Odolla
Libna
Cath
Eleutheropolis
Bethzur
Zeboim
Arnon Flu.
Cabathon
Dan Tribus
Regila
s. Cela
Hebron
Mamre
Machpelah
Luith
Madian
Afcalon
Sorec Flu.
Salim
Lachis
Ziph
Adam
Carioth
Portus Gazæorum
Simeon
Iuda
Enaim
Desertum Ziph
Gaza
Zic
Iag
Athar
Etam
Comorra
Zared Flu.
Bfcal Fl.
Bethbiserei
Gessuri
Engaddi
Carmel
Sodoma
Anthedon
Befor Flu.
Solitudo Maon
Zoar
Rhinocolura seu Rhinocorura
Raphea
Berfabe
Arad
Salis Statua
Cerara
Solitudo
Cades barnea
Masada Castellum
Spelunca Loti
Pompeii Tumulus
Sicher Fluvius Aegypti
Berfabea
Rithma
Ostracine
Duma
Iie Abarim
Sirbonis Lacus
Solitudo Paran
Rimon Perez
Theman
Chabriæ Castra
Casius Mons
Casiotes
Castellum
Libna
Mazeroth
Riffa
Oboth
Sepulcra Concupiscentiæ
Bezra
Eluſa
Kehelatha
Dedan
Tabeera
Sepher Mons
Phunon
Eboda
Harada
Desertum Sur
Makhelata
Zalmona
Tahath
Desertum Sinai
Thara
Petra, Arce
Sinai M.
Mitha
Horeb Mons
Haſmona
Hor Mons
Moſerot
Raphidim Maſſa et Meriba
Bne Iaakan
Horygidgad
Alus
Dophka
Iatbata
Desertum Etham
Elim
Sin desertum
Amalekitarum Regio
Abrona
Zin, siue Cades Desertum
Marah
Ezeongaber
Ilana
Madian
Phara
Sinus Arabici
Sinus Elaniticus
MADIANITIS

old Traffic, which was from thence carried on and continued till the reign of *Ahaz*. But then *Rezin* King of *Damaſcus* having in conjunction with *Pekah* King of *Iſrael* oppreſſed and weakened *Judah* to that degree, which I have mentioned, he took the advantage of it to ſeize *Elath*, and driving [l] out the *Jews* from thence planted it with *Syrians*, purpoſing thereby to draw to himſelf the whole profit of that Traffic of the Southern Seas, which the Kings of *Judah* had hitherto reaped by having that Port. But the next year after, *Tiglath-Pileſer* having conquered *Rezin*, and ſubdued the Kingdom of *Damaſcus*, he ſeized with it *Elath*, as then belonging to his new Conqueſt; and without having any regard to his Friend and Ally King *Ahaz*, or the juſt claim which he had thereto, kept it ever after, and thereby put an end to all that great profit, which the *Jews* till then had reaped from this Traffic, and transferred it to the *Syrians*, which became a great diminution of their Wealth. For although they did not always carry it on with the ſame full gales of Proſperity as in the time of King *Solomon*, yet it was conſtantly, as long as they had it, of very great advantage to them. For it included all the Trade of *India*, *Perſia*, *Africa*, and *Arabia*, which was carried on through the *Red Sea*. But after *Rezin* had thus diſpoſſeſſed them of it, they never had it any more reſtored to them, but were ever after wholly excluded from it. From thenceforth all the Merchandize that came that way, inſtead of being brought to *Jeruſalem* was carried elſewhere. But at what place the *Syrians* fixed their principal mart for it, while it was in their Hands, is no where ſaid. But at length we find the whole of this Trade engroſſed by the *Tyrians*, who managing it from the ſame Port, made it by the way [m] of *Rhinocorura* (a ſea-port town lying between the confines of *Egypt* and *Paleſtine*) center all at *Tyre*, and from thence they furniſhed all the Weſtern parts of the world with the wares of *Perſia*, *India*, *Africa*, and *Arabia*, which thus by the way of the *Red Sea* they traded to, and hereby they exceedingly enriched themſelves during the *Perſian* Empire, under the favour and protection of whoſe Kings they had the full poſſeſſion of this Trade. But when the *Ptolemys* prevailed in *Egypt*, they did by building [n] *Berenice*, *Myos-Hormos*, and other ports on the *Egyptian* or Weſtern ſide of the *Red Sea* (for *Elath* and *Eſiongeber* lay on the Eaſtern) and by ſending forth Fleets from thence to all thoſe Countries, to which the *Tyrians* traded from *Elath*, ſoon drew all this Trade into that Kingdom, and there fixed the chief Mart of it at *Alexandria*, [o] which was thereby made the greateſt Mart in the world, and there it continued for a great many ages after, and all the Traffic, which the Weſtern parts of the world from that time had with *Perſia*, *India*, *Arabia*, and the Eaſtern Coaſts of *Africa*, was wholly carried on through the *Red Sea*, and the Mouth of the *Nile*, till a way was found [p] a little above two hundred years ſince of ſailing to thoſe parts by the way of the *Cape of Good Hope*. After this the *Portugueſe* for ſome time managed this Trade, but now it is in a manner wholly got into the hands of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*. And this is a full account of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, from the time it was firſt begun by *David* and *Solomon* to our preſent age.

BUT though it be by all agreed, that the Trade to *Ophir* and *Tarſhiſh* was the ſame, that is now in the hands of our *Eaſt-India* Merchants, yet

[l] 2 Kings xvi. 6. [m] Strabo, lib. 16. [n] Strabo, lib. 17. [o] Strabo, lib. 17. p. 798.
[p] Anno Dom. 1497.

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there are great diſputes among learned men, in what parts of the Eaſtern World theſe two places lay. Some will have *Ophir* to have been the Iſland of *Zocatora*, which lies on the Eaſtern Coaſts of *Africa*, a little without the *Streights* of *Babelmandel*. Others will have it to be the Iſland anciently called *Taprobana*, now *Ceilon*, and for its being an Iſland they have the Authority of *Eupolemus* (an ancient Author quoted by *Euſebius*) on their ſide. For ſpeaking of *David*, he ſaith of him, [q] *That he built Ships at* Elath, *a City of* Arabia, *and from thence ſent Metal-men to the Iſland of* Urphe (*or* Ophir) *ſituated in the* Red Sea, *which was fruitful in yielding abundance of Gold, and the Metal-men brought it from thence to* Judea. But this being a Queſtion no way to be decided but from the Scriptures, all that is to be obſerved from thence is, *1ſt*, That from *Elath* to *Tarſhiſh* was a voyage [r] of three years going and coming; but in what compaſs of time the voyage to *Ophir* was compleated is not ſaid, and that therefore *Tarſhiſh* might be ſomewhere in the *Eaſt Indies*, but *Ophir* might be any where nearer home within the reach of thoſe Seas. *2dly*, That the Commodities brought from *Tarſhiſh* [s] *were Gold, and Silver, and Ivory, and Apes, and Peacocks:* and thoſe of *Ophir* [t] *were Gold, and Almug Trees, and precious Stones.* And therefore any place in the Southern, or great *Indian* Sea, at the diſtance of a then three years voyage from *Elath*, which can beſt furniſh the Merchants with Gold, Silver, Ivory, Apes, and Peacocks, may be gueſſed to be the *Tarſhiſh* of the Holy Scriptures, and any place within the compaſs of the ſame Southern Sea, that can beſt furniſh them with Gold, Almug-Trees, and precious Stones, and in that quantity of Gold as *Solomon* brought home in one voyage, may be gueſſed to be the *Orphir* in the ſaid Holy Scriptures mentioned. Only thus much I cannot forbear to ſay, That if the Southern part of *Arabia* did furniſh the World in thoſe times [v] with the beſt Gold, and in the greateſt quantity (as good Authors ſay) they that would have the *Ophir* of the Holy Scriptures to be there ſituated, ſeem of all others to have the beſt Foundation for their Conjecture. But more than Conjecture no one can have in this matter.

BUT for the better underſtanding of what *Eupolemus* above ſaith of *Ophir, that it was an Iſland in the Red Sea*, it is proper here to take notice, that he doth not there mean the *Arabian* Gulph, which lyeth between *Arabia* and *Egypt*, and is now commonly called the *Red Sea*; but [w] the great Southern Ocean, which extending it ſelf between *India* and *Africa* waſheth up to the Coaſt of *Arabia* and *Perſia*, where it appearing of a reddiſh Colour by reaſon of the fierceneſs of the Sun-beams conſtantly bearing upon it in that hot Climate, it was therefore called the *Red Sea*, and this alone was that, which was truly and properly called ſo by the Ancients. For the *Arabian* Gulph which hath now obtained that name, was never for any ſuch redneſs of it ſo called. For neither the Water (as ſome will have it) nor

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[q] Apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. [r] 1 Kings x. 22. 2 Chron. ix. 21. [s] 1 Kings x. 22. [t] 1 Kings x. 11. [v] Agatharcides (p. 60. *Edict* Oxon.) *tells us, That* the *Alileans* and *Caſſandrins* in the Southern parts of *Arabia* had Gold in that plenty among them, that they would give double the weight of Gold for Iron, triple its weight for Braſs, and ten times its weight for Silver, and that in digging the Earth they found it in gobbets of pure Gold, which needed no refining, and that the leaſt of them were as big as Olive-ſtones, but others much larger. *No other Author ſpeaks of any other place in the world, where it was ever found in the like plenty.*

[w] Dionyſii Periegeſis v. 38. & Comment. Euſtathii in eundem. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 765. Agathemeri Geographia, lib. 2. c. 11.

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the Sand (as others ſay) hath there any appearance of that colour, nor was it ever by any of the *Eaſterns* formerly ſo called. Throughout the whole Scripture of the Old Teſtament[x] it is called *Yam Suph*, that is *the weedy Sea*, by reaſon of the great quantity of Sea-weed which is therein, and the ſame name it alſo hath in the ancient *Syriac* Verſion, as well as in the *Targum*, or *Chaldee* Paraphraſes. But among the ancient Inhabitants of the Countries adjoining it was called *Yam Edom*, i. e. *the Sea of Edom*. For the ſons of *Edom* having poſſeſſed all that Countrey, which lying between the *Red Sea* and the Lake of *Sodom*, was by the *Greeks* called *Arabia Petræa*, they then named it from their father *Edom* the Land of *Edom*. And becauſe that, which we now call the *Red Sea* waſhed upon it, thence it was called *the Sea of Edom*, or in the Dialect of the *Greeks* the *Edomean* or *Idumean Sea*, in the ſame manner as that, which waſheth upon *Pamphylia*, was called the *Pamphylian Sea*, and that which waſheth upon *Tyrrhenia*, the *Tyrrhenian Sea*, and ſo in abundance of other inſtances. But the *Greeks*, who took this name from the *Phœnicians*, finding it by them to be called *Yam Edom*, inſtead of rendring it *the Sea of Edom*, or *the Idumean Sea*, as they ought, miſtook the word *Edom* to be an appellative inſtead of a proper name, and therefore rendred it ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα that is the *Red Sea*. For *Edom* in the Language of that Countrey ſignified *Red*, and it is ſaid in Scripture, that *Eſau*[y] having ſold his birth-right to his Brother *Jacob* for a Meſs of red pottage, he was for that reaſon called *Edom*, that is *the Red*. And [z] *Strabo*, [a] *Pliny*, [b] *Mela*, and [c] others, ſay, that this Sea was called ſo, not from any redneſs that was in it, but from a great King called *Erythrus*, who reigned in the Countrey adjoyning upon it, which Name *Erythrus* ſignifying the ſame in *Greek*, that *Edom* did in the *Phœnician* and *Hebrew* Languages, that is *the Red*, this plainly proves, that the great King *Erythrus* could be none other than *Edom*, who having planted his Poſterity in the Countrey, as I have ſaid, [d] from him it was called *the Land of Edom*, or with a *Greek* Termination *Edomæa*, or *Idumæa*, and from that Land the Sea, which waſhed upon it, was called *the Sea of Edom*, but the *Greeks* tranſlating *Edom* as an appellative into the word *Red*, which it ſignified, inſtead of rendring it in the ſame Sound, as a proper name, from this miſtake it was by them called the *Rea Sea*, and that name it hath retained ever ſince.

BUT fully to clear what hath been above ſaid, it is neceſſary farther to obſerve, that the *Idumæa* mentioned by *Strabo*, *Joſephus*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and other ancient writers, was not that *Land of Edom*, or *Idumæa*, which gave name to the *Red Sea*; but another ancient *Idumæa*, which was vaſtly larger than that *Idumæa* with thoſe Authors deſcribe. For [e] it included all that Land, which was afterwards from *Petra* the Metropolis of it called *Arabia Petræa*. For all this was inhabited by the Sons of *Edom*, and from thence it was anciently called the Land of *Edom*. But [f] on a Sedition which aroſe among them, a Party going off from the reſt, while the Land of *Judæa* lay deſolate during the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, they planted them-

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[x] *See* Exod. x. 19. xiii. 18, &c. [y] Gen. xxv. 30. [z] Lib. 16. p. 766. [a] Lib. 6. c. 23. [b] Lib. 3. Cap. 8. [c] Agatharcides Edit. Ox. p. 2. Q. Curtius, l. 8. c. 9. & lib. 10. c. 1. Philoſtratus, lib. 3. c. 15. Arrianus in Rerum Indicarum libro, p. 579. Edit. Blac. [d] *See* Fuller's *Miſcellanies*, lib. 4. c. 20. [e] *That it reached to the Red Sea appears from* 2 Chron. viii. 17. *for* Elath *and* Eſiongeber *Cities of* Edom *were Ports on the* Red Sea. [f] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 760.

ſelves on the South-Weſtern part of that Countrey, where they were called *Idumæans*, and that Land alone which they there poſſeſſed, was the *Idumæa* which thoſe Authors mention. Thoſe who remained behind, joining themſelves to the *Iſhmaelites*, were from *Nebaioth* or *Nabath* the [g] Son of *Iſhmael* called *Nabathæans*, and the Countrey which they poſſeſſed *Nabathæa*, and by that name we often hear of them in the ancient *Greek* and *Latin* Writers.

An. 739. Ahaz 4. BUT to return from whence I have digreſſed, *Ahaz* having gone ſo far with *Tiglath-Pileſer*, as hath been ſaid, found it neceſſary for him to overlook all Injuries to avoid provoking greater, and therefore carrying on the complement towards him, as if he had really been that Friend and Protector which he pretended to be, as ſoon as he heard that he was returned to *Damaſcus*, [h] he went thither to him to pay him that reſpect and obeiſance, which after having owned him as his Protector and Sovereign, he did now as his Client and Tributary owe unto him.

WHILE he was at *Damaſcus* on this occaſion, [i] he ſaw there an idolatrous Altar, of a form which he was much pleaſed with, whereon cauſing a pattern of it to be taken he ſent it to *Urijah*, the High Prieſt at *Jeruſalem*, to have another there made like unto it, and on his return having removed the Altar of the Lord out of its place in the Temple, ordered this new Altar to be ſet up in its ſtead. And thenceforth giving himſelf wholly up to Idolatry, [k] inſtead of the God of *Iſrael* he worſhipped the Gods of the *Syrians*, and the Gods of the other Nations round him, ſaying, that they helped their People, and that therefore he would worſhip them, that they might help him alſo. And accordingly having filled *Jeruſalem* and all *Judæa* with their Idols, and their Altars, he would ſuffer no other God but them only to be worſhipped in the Land; whereby having excluded the only true God, the Lord his Creator, whom alone he ought to have adored, he cauſed his Temple to be ſhut up, and utterly ſuppreſſed his worſhip throughout all his Kingdom. And this he did with an air and profeſſion of anger and defiance for that he had not delivered him in his diſtreſs, when the *Syrians* and *Iſraelites* came againſt him, as if it were in his power to revenge himſelf on the Almighty, and execute his wrath upon him that made him; to ſuch an extravagant height of folly and madneſs had his impiety carried him beyond all that had reigned before him in *Jeruſalem*, and in this he continued till at length he periſhed in it, being cut off in the flower of his age, before he had out-lived half his Days.

TIGLATH-PILESER on his return into *Aſſyria* carried with him great numbers of the People, whom he had taken Captive in the Kingdom of *Damaſcus*, and in the Land of *Iſrael*. Thoſe of *Damaſcus* he planted [l] in *Kir*, and thoſe of *Iſrael* [m] in *Halah*, and *Habor*, and *Hara*, and on the River *Gozan* in the Land of the *Medes*. *Kir* was a City in the hither part of *Media*, but *Halah*, *Habor*, *Hara*, and the River *Gozan* were farther remote. And herein was accompliſhed the Prophecy of the Prophet *Amos* [n] againſt *Iſrael*, wherein he foretold in the Days of *Uzziah* the Grandfather of *Ahaz*, that God would cauſe them to go into Captivity beyond *Damaſcus*, that is, unto places beyond where thoſe of *Damaſcus* ſhould be carried. St. *Stephen* [o] quoting this Prophecy renders it *beyond Babylon*. So

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[g] Gen. xxv. 13. [h] 2 Kings xvi. 10. [i] 2 Kings xvi. 10---16. [k] 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii. 22---25. [l] 2 Kings xvi. 9. [m] 1 Chron. v. 26. [n] Amos v. 26, 27. [o] Acts vii. 43.

the

the common Editions of the *Greek* Teſtament have it, and it is certainly true. For what was beyond *Kir* was alſo beyond *Babylon*, for *Kir* was beyond *Babylon*. But *Wicelius*'s Edition [p] hath *Damaſcus* in St. *Stephen*'s Speech alſo, and no doubt he had ancient Copies, which he followed herein.

THE planting of the Colonies by *Tiglath-Pileſer* in thoſe Cities of the *Medes*, plainly proves *Media* to have been then under the King of *Aſſyria*. For otherwiſe what had he to do to plant Colonies in that Country? And therefore *Tiglath-Pileſer* and *Arbaces* were not two diſtinct Kings, whereof one had *Media*, and the other *Aſſyria*, as [q] Archbiſhop *Uſher* ſuppoſeth, but muſt both be the ſame Perſon expreſſed under theſe two diſtinct Names. And [r] *Diodorus Siculus* poſitively tells us, that *Arbaces* had *Aſſyria* as well as *Media* for his Share in the Partition of the former Empire, and therefore there is no room for a *Tiglath-Pileſer*, or a *Ninus Junior*, diſtinct from him, to reign in *Aſſyria* during his time, but it muſt neceſſarily be one and the ſame Perſon, that was ſignified by all theſe different names.

PEKAH by this Conqueſt, which the *Aſſyrians* made upon him, being ſtripped of ſo large a part of his Kingdom, was hereby brought lower than he had afore brought King *Ahaz*. For he had now ſcarce any thing left but the City of *Samaria*, and the Territories of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and the half Tribe of *Manaſſeh* only, which bringing him into contempt with his People, as well as raiſing their Indignation againſt him, (as is moſt an end the Caſe of unfortunate Princes) *Hoſhea* the Son of *Elah* [s] roſe up againſt him, and ſlew him, after he had reigned in *Samaria* twenty Years. And hereby was fully accompliſhed that Prophecy [t] of *Iſaiah* concerning him, which is above related. After this the Elders of the Land ſeem to have taken the Government into their Hands. For *Hoſhea* had not the Kingdom till nine years after, that is, towards the end of the twelfth year of *Ahaz*.

IN the fourteenth year of *Ahaz* dyed *Tiglath-Pileſer* King of *Aſſyria*, after he had reigned [v] nineteen years, and *Salmaneſer* his Son (who in [w] *Tobit* is called *Enemeſſar* and in [x] *Hoſea Shalmon*) reigned in his ſtead. And as ſoon as he was ſettled in the Throne, he came into *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, and there [y] ſubjected *Samaria* to his Dominion, making *Hoſhea* the King thereof to become his Vaſſal, and pay Tribute unto him. In this Expedition among other prey, which he took and carried away with him, [z] was the *Golden Calf*, which *Jeroboam* had ſet up in *Bethel*, and had been there ever ſince his time worſhipped by the ten Tribes of *Iſrael*, that had revolted with him from the Houſe of *David*. The other *Golden Calf*, which was at the ſame time ſet up by him in *Dan* [a] had been taken thence about ten years before by *Tiglath-Pileſer*, in the Invaſion which he then made upon *Galilee*, in which Province that City ſtood. And therefore the Apoſtate *Iſraelites* being now deprived of the Idols which they had ſo long worſhipped, began again to return to the Lord their God, and to go up to *Jeruſalem* there to worſhip before him, and *Hoſhea* encouraged them herein. For whereas [b] the Kings of *Iſrael* had hitherto maintained Guards up-

An. 729. Ahaz 14.

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[p] *See Dr.* Mill's Greek *Teſtament*, Acts vii. 43. [q] Annales veteris Teſtamenti ſub anno Mundi 3257. [r] Lib. 2. [s] 2 Kings xv. 30. [t] Iſa. vii. 16. [v] Caſtor apud Euſeb. Chron. p. 46. [w] Chap. i. 2. [x] Chap. x. 14. [y] 2 Kings xvii. [z] Seder Olam Rabba, c. xxii. [a] Seder Olam Rabba, ibid.

on the Frontiers, to hinder all under their Subjection from going up to *Jeruſalem* to worſhip there, *Hoſhea* took away thoſe Guards, and gave free Liberty to all to worſhip the Lord their God according to his Laws in that place which he had choſen; and therefore when *Hezekiah* invited all *Iſrael*, that is, all thoſe of the ten revolted Tribes, as well as the other two, to come up to his Paſſover, *Hoſhea* hindred them not, [b] but permitted all that would to go up thereto. And when thoſe of his Subjects who were at that Feſtival, did on their return out of their zeal for the true worſhip of their God [c] break in pieces the Images, cut down the Groves, demoliſh the high places, and abſolutely deſtroyed all other Monuments of Idolatry throughout the whole Kingdom of *Samaria*, as will be hereafter related, *Hoſhea* forbad them not, but in all likelihood gave his conſent to it, and concurred with them herein. For he being King, without his encouraging of it, and giving his authority for it, could not have been done. And therefore he hath, as to Religion, the beſt Character given him in Scripture of all, that reigned before him over *Iſrael* from the diviſion of the Kingdom. For although he were not perfect in the true worſhip of God, and therefore it is ſaid of him, [d] That *he did evil in the ſight of the Lord*, yet it is ſubjoined in the next words, *but not ſo, as the Kings of Iſrael which were before him*. By which it appears, that his ways were leſs offenſive to God than were the ways of any of thoſe that had reigned before him in that Kingdom. However ſtill he was far from being perfectly righteous, which this alone ſufficiently proves, that he treacherouſly ſlew his Maſter to reign in his ſtead.

An. 727. Ahaz 16. Hezek. 1. *AHAZ* in the ſixteenth year of his Reign being ſmitten of God for his iniquities, [e] died in the thirty ſixth year of his age, and was buried in the City of *David*, but not with a Royal burial in the Sepulchres of the Kings. For from this honour he was excluded becauſe of his wicked reign, as were *Jehoram* and *Joaſh* before him, and *Manaſſeh* and *Ammon* after him for the ſame reaſon, it being the uſage of the *Jews* to lay this mark of infamy upon thoſe that reigned wickedly over them.

AFTER *Ahaz* reigned [f] *Hezekiah* his Son, a very worthy and religious Prince. He had in the laſt year of his Father's reign been admitted a Partner with him in the Kingdom, while he was languiſhing (as it may be ſuppoſed) under the ſickneſs, of which he died. However, as long as his Father lived he could make no alteration in that evil courſe of affairs, which he had put both Church and State into. But as ſoon as he was dead, and *Hezekiah* had the whole power in his hands, he immediately ſet himſelf with all his might to work a thorough Reformation in both.

An. 726. Hezek. 2. THE firſt thing which he did was to open the Houſe of God, which his Father had impiouſly ſhut up, and reſtore the true worſhip therein; in order whereto he called the Prieſts and Levites together out of all parts of the Land to attend their duty in the Temple, ordering them to remove his Father's new Altar, and to reſtore the Altar of the Lord to its place again, and purge the Temple of all other pollutions, with which it had been prophaned during the reign of his Father. But it not being till the end of the former year that *Ahaz* died, the beginning of the firſt month of the enſuing year (which is called *Niſan*, and correſponds partly with *March*

[b] 2 Chron. xxx. 10, 18. [c] 2 Chron. xxxi. 1. [d] 2 Chron. xxviii. 1. [e] 2 Kings xvi. 20. 2 Chron. xxviii. 27. [f] 2 Kings xviii. 2 Chron. xxix.

and

and partly with *April* in our Kalendar) was the fooneſt that they could be employed in this work, ſo that it not being compleated till the 16th day of that month, the Paſſover could not be kept that year in its regular time, which ought to have been begun on the 14th day of the ſaid Month of *Niſan*.

HOWEVER, the Houſe of the Lord being now ſanctified, and made fit for the ſervice of God, *Hezekiah* went up thither on the 17th day of that Month with the Rulers and great men of his Kingdom, where the People being gathered together he offered Sin-Offerings for the Kingdom, and the Sanctuary, and for *Judah* to make atonement to God for them, and for all *Iſrael*, and after that he offered Peace-Offerings, and in all other particulars reſtored the ſervice of God in the ſame manner as it had been performed in the pureſt times that had been before him, and there was great joy among all the good people of the Land thereon.

AND ſeeing the Paſſover could not be kept on the Regular time this year, becauſe neither the Temple, nor the Prieſts, nor the people were ſanctified in order hereto, and in this caſe [g] the Law of *Moſes* allowed a ſecond Paſſover to be kept from the 14th day of the ſecond Month, King *Hezekiah* having taken Counſel hereon with the chief Prieſts, and his Princes, and all the Congregation in *Jeruſalem* [h] decreed, that this ſecond Paſſover ſhould be kept by all the Congregation of *Iſrael* inſtead of the firſt, and accordingly he ſent Meſſengers to carry notice hereof not only through all *Judah*, but alſo through all the other Tribes of *Iſrael*, and to invite all that were of *Iſrael* to come to it. And accordingly on the day appointed there was at *Jeruſalem* a very great concourſe of people from all parts met together to ſolemnize the holy Feſtival, and that as well from thoſe Tribes that had ſeparated from the Houſe of *David*, as from thoſe who had ſtuck to it. For although many of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, and the reſt of thoſe Tribes laughed at *Hezekiah*'s Meſſengers when they invited them to this ſolemnity, becauſe of the impious contempt, which through long diſuſage they had contracted of it, yet a great multitude even from thoſe parts came to it, and very religiouſly joined in the obſervance of it, whereby it became the greateſt Paſſover that had been ſolemnized at *Jeruſalem* ſince the Days of King *Solomon*. And becauſe they had long neglected the obſerving of this ſolemn Feſtival, to make ſome amends for it they now doubled the time of its continuance. For whereas the Law directs it to be obſerved only ſeven days, they kept it fourteen with much joy and gladneſs of Heart, and reſolving from thenceforth to ſerve the God of *Iſrael* only, as ſoon as the ſolemnity was ended they went out into all the Coaſts of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and brake the Images in pieces, and cut down the Groves, and threw down the high places, and the Altars, and abſolutely deſtroyed all the monuments of Idolatry which were any where to be found, either in *Jeruſalem*, *Judæa*, or any of the Coaſts belonging thereto. And thoſe of the other Tribes on their return home did the ſame in all the reſt of *Iſrael*; ſo that the true worſhip of God was again univerſally reſtored throughout all the Land, and they might have received a bleſſing proportionable hereto, had they with the ſame zeal perſiſted in it.

AND the Brazen-Serpent, which *Moſes* had ſet up in the Wilderneſs, having been by many in the preceding times of iniquity made the object of

[g] Num. ix. 10, 11. [h] 2 Chron. xxx.

idolatrous

idolatrous Worſhip, [l] *Hezekiah* cauſed this alſo to be deſtroyed, whereas otherwiſe it might have ſerved, as well as the Pot of *Mannah*, and *Aaron*'s Rod, to have been a monument of the miraculous Mercy of God ſhewn to his people on their coming out of *Egypt*, and for this reaſon it ſeems to have been ſo long preſerved.

BUT notwithſtanding it is thus poſitively ſaid in the Holy Scripture, that the Brazen-Serpent was deſtroyed by *Hezekiah* in the manner as I have related, yet the impudence of the *Romaniſts* is ſuch, [k] that in the Church of St. *Ambroſe* at *Milan* they now keep and ſhew to their Devoto's a Brazen-Serpent, which they pretend to be the very ſame that *Moſes* did ſet up in the Wilderneſs, and upon this belief an idolatrous Devotion is there paid to it as groſs as was that of the *Jews*, for which *Hezekiah* cauſed it to be deſtroyed. But it muſt not be denied, that among their learned men there are thoſe who acknowledge the Cheat and diſclaim it.

ABOUT the beginning of the Reign of *Hezekiah* [l] *Sabacon* the *Ethiopian* having invaded *Egypt*, and taken *Boccharis* the King of that Country priſoner, cauſed him with great cruelty to be burnt alive, and then ſeizing his Kingdom reigned there in his ſtead. This is the ſame who in Scripture is called [m] *So*. And he having thus ſettled himſelf in *Egypt*, and after ſome time grown very potent there, *Hoſhea* King of *Samaria* entred into confederacy with him, hoping by his aſſiſtance to ſhake off the yoke of *Aſſyria*, and in confidence hereof he withdrew his Subjection from *Salmaneſer*, and would pay him no more Tribute, nor bring any more preſents unto him, as he had formerly uſed every year to do. Whereon [n] *Salmaneſer* in the beginning of the fourth year of *Hezekiah* marched with an army againſt him, and having ſubdued all the Country round pent him up in *Samaria*, and there beſieged him three years, at the end of which he took the City, and thereon putting *Hoſhea* in Chains he ſhut him up in priſon all his days, and carried the people into Captivity, placing them in *Halah*, and in *Habor*, and in the other Cities of the *Medes*, where *Tiglath-Pileſer* had afore placed thoſe whom he had carried into Captivity out of the ſame Land.

An. 724. Hezek. 4.

An. 721. Hezek. 7.

IN this Captivity [o] *Tobit* being taken out of his City of *Thisbe* in the Tribe of *Nepthali*, was with *Anna* his Wife, and *Tobias* his Son, carried into *Aſſyria*, where he became Purveyor to King *Salmaneſer*. But the reſt of his Brethren were carried into *Media*, as is aboveſaid, and planted there, as particularly were *Gabael* in *Rages*, and *Raguel* in *Ecbatana*, which proves *Media* to have been ſtill under the King of *Aſſyria*, and that there was no King in *Media* in thoſe days diſtinct from the King of *Aſſyria*.

THERE is in the xv[th] and xvi[th] Chapters of *Iſaiah* a very terrible Prophecy againſt *Moab*, bearing date in the firſt year of *Hezekiah*, wherein it was foretold, that within three years *Arne* and *Kir-Haraſheth*, the two principal Cities of that Country, ſhould be deſtroyed, and all the reſt of it brought to contempt, ruin, and deſolation, which muſt have been executed the ſame year that *Samaria* was firſt beſieged. It ſeemeth moſt likely that *Salmaneſer* to ſecure himſelf from any diſturbance on that ſide firſt invaded

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[l] 2 Kings xviii. 4. [k] Vid. Sigonii Hiſtoriam de Regno Italiæ, lib. 7. Torniellum in Annalibus ſub A. M. 3315. Tom. 2. p. 105. Buxtorfii Hiſtoriam ſerpentis ænei, cap. 6, &c.
[l] Herodotus, lib. 2. Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74. Euſebius in Chronico. [m] 2 Kings xvii. 4.
[n] 2 Kings xviii. [o] Tobit, *chap.* i.

Moab,

Moab, and having deſtroyed theſe two Cities brought all the reſt of that Countrey under his Subjection, and placed Garriſons therein ſufficient to put a ſtop to all Incurſions of the *Arabs*, which might that way be made upon him, before he would begin that Siege. For otherwiſe he could not have been able to carry it on with ſucceſs.

IN the ſame year that *Samaria* was taken, [p] *Mardoc-Empadus* begun his reign at *Babylon*. He was the Son of *Beleſis* or *Baladan*, or *Nabonaſſar*, (for by all theſe names was he called) and was the ſame, [q] who in Scripture is called *Merodach Baladan* the Son of *Baladan*. But after the death of his Father, ſeveral other Princes had ſucceeded in *Babylon* before the Crown came to him. For [r] *Nabonaſſar* dying when he had ſat in the Throne fourteen years, after him reigned *Nadius* two years, and after him *Chinzerus* and *Porus* jointly five years, and then after them *Jugæus* five years. But of theſe there being nothing on record beſides their Names in the Canon of *Ptolemy*, we have not hitherto taken any notice of them. After *Jugæus* ſucceed *Mardoc-Empadus* in the twenty ſeventh year after the beginning of his Father's Kingdom in *Babylon*, and reigned twelve years.

WHILE *Salmaneſer* was engaged in the Siege of *Samaria*, *Hezekiah* took the opportunity of recovering what had been loſt from his Kingdom in the Reign of his Father. And therefore [s] making war upon the *Philiſtins* he not only regained all the Cities of *Judah*, which they had ſeized during the time that *Pekah* and *Rezin* diſtreſſed the Land, but alſo diſpoſſeſſed them of almoſt all their own Countrey, excepting *Gaza* and *Gath*.

AS ſoon as the Siege of *Samaria* was over, *Salmaneſer* ſent to *Hezekiah* to demand the Tribute, which *Ahaz* had agreed to pay for the Kingdom of *Judæa* in the time of *Tiglath-Pileſer* his Father, but [t] *Hezekiah* truſting in the Lord his God would not hearken unto him, neither did he pay him any Tribute, or ſend any preſents unto him, which would immediately have brought *Salmaneſer* upon him with all his Power, but that he was diverted by another war. *An.* 720. Hezek. 8.

FOR [u] *Elulæus* King of *Tyre* ſeeing the *Philiſtins* brought low by the war, which *Hezekiah* had lately made upon them, laid hold of the opportunity of reducing *Gath* again under his obedience, which had ſome time before revolted from him. Whereon the *Gittites* applying themſelves to *Salmaneſer* engaged him in their cauſe, ſo that he marched with his whole army againſt the *Tyrians*. Whereon *Sidon*, *Acc*, (afterwards called *Ptolemais* and now *Acon*) and the other maritim Towns of *Phœnicia*, which had till then been ſubject to the *Tyrians*, revolted from them, and ſubmitted to *Salmaneſer*. But the *Tyrians* having in a ſea fight with twelve ſhips only beaten the *Aſſyrian* and *Phœnician* fleets both joyned together, which conſiſted of ſixty ſhips, this gave them ſuch a reputation in naval Affairs, and made their name ſo terrible in this ſort of war, that *Salmaneſer* would not venture to cope with them any more at ſea, but turning the war into a Siege left an army to block up the City, and returned into *Aſſyria*. The Forces which he left there much diſtreſſed the place by ſtopping their Aquæducts, and cutting off all the conveyance of water to them. To re-

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[p] Canon Ptolemæi. [q] Iſa. xxxix. 1. [r] Canon Ptolemæi. [s] 2 Kings xviii. 8. Joſephus Antiq. lib. 9. c. 13. [t] 2 Kings xviii. 7. [u] Annales Menandri apud Joſephum Antiq. lib. 9. c. 14. & contra Apionem, lib. 1.

lieve

lieve themſelves in this Exigency they digged wells, from whence they drew up water, and by the help of them held out five years, at the end of
An. 715. Hez. 13. which *Salmaneſer* dying, this delivered them for that time. But they being over puffed up with this ſucceſs, and growing very inſolent hereon, this provoked that Prophecy againſt them in the xxiii[d] Chapter of *Iſaiah*, which foretold the miſerable overthrow that ſhould afterwards happen unto them, and was accordingly effected by *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, as will be hereafter ſhewn.

IN the ninth year of *Hezekiah* dyed *Sabacon* or *So* King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned in that Countrey [w] eight years, and [x] *Sevechus* his ſon, whom [y] *Herodotus* called *Sethon*, reigned in his ſtead.

An. 714. Hez. 14. *SALMANESER* King of *Aſſyria* being dead after he had reigned fourteen years, *Sennacherib* [z] his ſon ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, and reigned about eight years. He is the ſame whom the Prophet *Iſaiah* (c. xx. 1.) calleth *Sargon*. As ſoon as he was ſettled in the Throne, he renewed the demand which his Father had made upon *Hezekiah* for the Tribute, which *Ahaz* had agreed to pay in the reign of *Tiglath-Pileſer* his Grandfather, and [a] on his refuſal to comply with him herein denounced war againſt him, and marched with a great army into *Judea* to fall upon him. This was in the fourteenth year of the Reign of King *Hezekiah*.

IN this ſame year [b] *Hezekiah* falling ſick of the peſtilence, had a Meſſage from God by the Prophet *Iſaiah* to ſet his Houſe in order, and prepare for death. But on his hearty prayer to God he obtained another Meſſage from him by the ſame Prophet, which promiſed him Life for fifteen years longer, and alſo deliverance from the *Aſſyrians*, who were then coming againſt him; and to give him thorough Aſſurance hereof by a miraculous Sign, God did at his requeſt make the Sun go backward ten degrees upon the Sun-Dyal of *Ahaz*. And accordingly a lump of figs having been by the Prophet's direction made into a Plaiſter, and laid to the Peſtilential boil, he recovered within three days, and went up to the Houſe of God to return thanks unto him for ſo wonderful a deliverance.

An. 713. Hez. 15. *MERODACH BALADAN* King of *Babylon* (the ſame who in *Ptolemy*'s Canon is called *Mardoc-Empadus)* hearing of this miraculous recovery [c] ſent Ambaſſadors unto him to congratulate him hereon, which *Hezekiah* was much pleaſed with. Their coming on this occaſion ſeemeth principally to have been for two reaſons. The firſt, to enquire about the miracle of the Sun's retrogradation (for the *Chaldeans* being above all other Nations then given to the ſtudy of Aſtronomy, were very curious in their enquiries after ſuch matters.) And the other, to enter into an Alliance with him againſt *Sennacherib*, whoſe growing power the *Babylonians* had reaſon to fear, as well as the *Jews*. And to make the *Babylonians* put the greater value upon his alliance on this account, ſeems to be the reaſon that *Hezekiah* ſhewed thoſe Ambaſſadors from them all the riches of his Houſe, his Treaſures, his Armory, and all his ſtores and ſtrength for War. But by this he having expreſſed the vanity and pride of his mind, God ſent him by the Prophet *Iſaiah* a rebuking Meſſage for it, and alſo a Prophecy of what the *Babylonians* ſhould afterwards do unto his family, in order to the humbling of that pride with which his heart was then elated.

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[w] Africanus apud Syncellum p. 74. [x] Africanus ibid. [y] Lib. 2. [z] Tobit i. 15.
[a] 2 Kings xviii. 2 Chron. xxxii. Iſaiah xxxvi. [b] 2 Kings xx. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24. Iſaiah xxxviii. [c] 2 Kings xx. Iſaiah xxxix.

TOWARDS the end of the fourteenth year of *Hezekiah*'s reign [d] *Sennacherib* came up with a great army againſt the fenced Cities of *Judah*, and took ſeveral of them, and laid ſiege to *Lachiſh*, threatning *Jeruſalem* it ſelf next. Whereon *Hezekiah* taking advice of his Princes and chief Counſellors made all manner of Preparations for its defence, repairing the walls, and making new ones where they were wanting, and fortifying them with Towers, and all other works and buildings neceſſary for their defence. And he provided alſo Darts and Shields in great abundance, and all other Arms and Artillery, which might be any way uſeful for the defending of the place, and the annoying of the Enemy on their coming againſt it. And he cauſed all the people to be enroll'd and marſhall'd for the war, that were fit and able for it, placing over them Captains of Experience to inſtruct them in all military Exerciſes, and to conduct and lead them forth againſt the Enemy, whenever there ſhould be an occaſion for it. And he took care alſo to ſtop up all the Wells that were without the Walls of *Jeruſalem* for a great compaſs round the City, and diverted all Brooks and Water-courſes from coming that way, thereby to diſtreſs the Enemy for want of Water, ſhould they come and ſet down before that place. And farther, to ſtrenghten himſelf the more againſt ſo potent and formidable an Enemy, he entered into alliance with the King of *Egypt* for their mutual defence. But [e] the Prophet *Iſaiah* condemned this alliance, as carrying with it a diſtruſt in God, telling the *Jews* that they ſhould confide in him alone for their deliverance, who would himſelf come down to fight for Mount *Zion*, and deliver and preſerve *Jeruſalem* from the power of the enemy that was then riſen up againſt it: And that whatſoever truſt they ſhould place in *Egypt* ſhould all come to nothing, and be of no benefit to them, but rather turn to their ſhame, their reproach, and their confuſion, and ſo in the event it accordingly happened.

HOWEVER *Sennacherib* being informed of all theſe preparations which *Hezekiah* had made for his defence, and perceiving thereby how difficult a work it would be to take ſo ſtrong a City, when ſo well appointed and provided for its defence, he became inclined to hearken to Terms of accommodation, and therefore on *Hezekiah*'s ſending to treat with him, it was agreed that *Hezekiah* paying unto him [f] three hundred Talents of Silver, and thirty Talents of Gold for the preſent, and duly rendring his Tribute for the future, there ſhould be Peace. But when *Sennacherib* had received the money he had little regard to this agreement, but ſoon after broke it, and again renewed the war, as will be hereafter ſhewn. However for the preſent he gave him ſome reſpit and marched againſt *Egypt*, and the better to open his way into that Countrey [g] he ſent *Tartan* one of his Generals before him to take *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*, from the taking of which place the Prophet *Iſaiah* dates the beginning of the war which *Sennacherib* had with the *Egyptians*, wherein, according as that Prophet [h] had foretold, he much afflicted that people three years together, deſtroying

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[d] 2 Kings xx. 2 Chron. xxxii. Iſaiah xxxvi. [e] Iſaiah xxx, xxxi. [f] *An* Hebrew *Talent according to the Scripture* (Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26, 27.) *containing three thouſand Shekels, and every Shekel being three Shillings of our money, theſe three hundred Talents of Silver muſt contain of our money one hundred thirty five thouſand pound, and the thirty Talents of Gold two hundred and ſixteen thouſand pound. So the whole Sum here paid by* Hezekiah *amounted to three hundred fifty one thouſand pound of our money.* [g] Iſaiah xx. 1. [h] Iſaiah xx. 3, 4. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 1, 2.

their Cities, and carrying multitudes of them into Captivity. At that time *Sevechus* the ſon of *Sabacon* or *So* the *Ethiopian* was King of *Egypt*, whom *Herodotus* [j] calls *Sethon*, and repreſents him as a Prince of ſo fooliſh a conduct, as was moſt likely to bring ſuch a Calamity upon his Kingdom, whenſoever it ſhould be aſſaulted by an enemy. For affecting the office of a Prieſt he neglected that of a King, and cauſing himſelf to be conſecrated chief Pontif of *Vulcan* gave himſelf wholly up to Superſtition, and having no regard to the warlike defence of his Kingdom, he ſo far neglected and diſcouraged the Military order, which were there maintained for it, that he took from them their Tenures, which in the time of the former Kings his Predeceſſors had been allowed them for their ſupport, which gave them ſuch a juſt cauſe of offence and indignation againſt him, that when he had need for their valour on this occaſion, they would not fight for him, whereon he was forced to raiſe an Army of ſuch raw and inexperienced men as he could get out of the Shopkeepers, Tradeſmen, Labourers, and ſuch like People, which being wholly unable to cope with ſuch an Army of Veterans as *Sennacherib* brought againſt them, he did with great eaſe overrun the Countrey, and work what devaſtation in it he pleaſed. And at this time ſeems to have been brought upon *No-Amon*, a famous City in *Egypt*, that deſtruction which the Prophet *Nahum* ſpeaks of (*Ch.* iii. 10.) where he tells us, that her Inhabitants were carryed into Captivity, her young children daſh'd in Pieces in the top of her Streets, and her great men divided by lot among the Conquerors, and put into Chains to be led away as Slaves and Captives. All which he tells us happened while *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* were her ſtrength, which plainly points out unto us this time, when an *Ethiopian* Prince reigned over *Egypt*. For *Sabacon* or *So* the Father of *Sevechus* was an *Ethiopian*, who made himſelf King of *Egypt* by Conqueſt, and therefore during his and his Son's reign *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* were as one Countrey, and they mutually helped each other, an inſtance whereof will not be wanting in this War.

NO-AMON in *Egypt* was [k] the ſame with *Thebes*, famous for its hundred Gates, and vaſt number of Inhabitants. The *Greeks* called it *Dioſpolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, becauſe of a famous Temple there built to *Jupiter*. And for the ſame reaſon was it called *No-Amon* by the *Egyptians*. For *Amon* was the name of *Jupiter* among that People.

IT is to be obſerved that the deſtruction of *No-Amon* mentioned in *Nahum* muſt have been ſome time before that of *Niniveh*. For the former is hiſtorically related by him as paſt, and the other only prophetically foretold as to come. And therefore *Niniveh* having been deſtroyed in the twenty ninth year of *Joſiah*, as will hereafter be ſhewn, this deſtruction of *No-Amon* muſt have been long before, and in no time more likely, than when *Sennacherib* made this war upon *Egypt*, and harraſſed it from one end to the other for three years together. They who refer this deſtruction of *No-Amon* ſpoken of by *Nahum* to the Invaſion of *Nebuchadnezzar*, place it after the deſtruction of *Niniveh*, and thereby make one part of the Text inconſiſtent with the other.

BUT *Sennacherib* did not end this war with the ſame Succeſs as he begun it. For [l] having laid ſiege to *Peluſium*, and ſpent much time in it, he was at length forced to break up from thence, and retreat out of *Egypt*,

[j] Herod. lib. 2. [k] Vide Bochart. Phaleg. Part I. lib. 1. c. 1. [l] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 1.

becauſe

becauſe of *Tirhakah* King of *Ethiopia*. For he being come into *Egypt* with a great Army to help *Sevechus* his Kinſman, was on a full march towards *Peluſium* to relieve the place, which *Sennacherib* hearing of durſt not abide his coming, but raiſed the ſiege and returning into *Judea* encamped again [m] at *Lachiſh*, where he renewed the war with *Hezekiah* notwithſtanding the agreement of Peace which he had afore made with him; and to let him know as much he ſent *Tartan*, *Rabſaris*, and *Rabſhakeh*, three of his principal Captains, with that proud and blaſphemous meſſage, which we have at full recited [n] in two places of the Holy Scripture. It was delivered to the King's Officers from under the Walls of *Jeruſalem* in the hearing of all the People, and in the *Hebrew* tongue. For they hoped thereby to draw the People to a Revolt, but they failing of ſucceſs herein returned to *Sennacherib* without their deſign. The perſon appointed to deliver this Meſſage was *Rabſhakeh*, who by his ready ſpeaking of the *Hebrew* tongue ſeems to have been an Apoſtate *Jew*, or elſe one of the Captivity of *Iſrael*. By office he was the King's chief cup-bearer, as his name imports. On their return they found *Sennacherib* decamped from *Lachiſh*, and laying ſiege to *Libnah*, where hearing that *Tirhakah* on his finding him gone from *Peluſium* was marching after him, as in purſuit of one flying from him, he led forth his army againſt him, and gave him a great overthrow. For it was [o] from God by the Prophet *Iſaiah* afore laid as a burthen upon *Egypt*, and as a burthen upon *Ethiopia* thus to be puniſhed by him, and he was no more than as God's Executioner herein. But before [p] he went forth to this laſt war he ſent again to *Hezekiah*, adding a moſt blaſphemous Letter to his former Meſſage, defying therein both him, and alſo the Lord his God, in a moſt impious manner, which juſtly provoked the wrath of God againſt him to that degree, as brought a moſt diſmal deſtruction upon him to the cutting off of almoſt all his Army. For when ſwelling with his freſh victory over the *Ethiopians*, he was on his full march towards *Jeruſalem*, with thorough purpoſe utterly to deſtroy that place and all in it, an Angel of the Lord went forth, and in one night ſmote in the Camp of the *Aſſyrians* an hundred fourſcore and five thouſand men, ſo that when he aroſe in the morning he found almoſt all his Army dead Corps, with which being terrifyed he fled out of *Judea* in great confuſion, and made all the haſte he could back again to *Niniveh*, where he dwelt all the remainder of his Life in diſhonour, ſhame, and regret. This hapned in the eighteenth year of King *Hezekiah*, and four years after *Sennacherib* firſt came into thoſe parts. After this *Hezekiah* reigned the reſt of his time in great peace and proſperity, being feared and honoured by all the Nations round him, by reaſon of the favour which they ſaw he had with the Lord his God, in the great and wonderful deliverance which he had vouchſafed unto him. So that none of them after this would any more lift up their hand againſt him.

An. 710. Hez. 18.

THE *Babyloniſh Talmud* hath it, that this deſtruction upon the Army of the *Aſſyrians* was executed by lightning, and ſome of the *Targums* are quoted for ſaying the ſame thing. But it ſeemeth moſt likely, that it was

[m] 2 Kings xviii. 17, 18, &c. 2 Chron. xxxii, 9, 10, &c. Iſaiah xxxvi. [n] 2 Kings xviii. 19, 20, &c. Iſaiah xxxvi. 4, 5, &c. [o] Iſaiah xviii. *and* xx. [p] Iſaiah xxxvii. 2 Kings xix. 2 Chron. xxxii.

effected by bringing on them the hot wind, which [q] is frequent in thoſe parts, and often, when it lights among a multitude, deſtroys great numbers of them in a moment, as it frequently happens in thoſe vaſt Caravans of the *Mahometans*, who go their annual Pilgrimages to *Mecca*. And the words of [r] *Iſaiah* which threatned *Sennacherib* with a blaſt, that God would ſend upon him, ſeem to denote this thing.

HERODOTUS [s] gives us from the relation of the *Egyptian* Prieſts ſome kind of a diſguiſed account of this deliverance from the *Aſſyrians*, in a fabulous application of it to the City of *Peluſium*, inſtead of *Jeruſalem*, and to *Sethon* the *Egyptian* King inſtead of *Hezekiah*: By whoſe piety he ſaith it was obtained, that while the King of *Aſſyria* laid ſiege to *Peluſium*, a great number of Rats were miraculouſly ſent into his Army, which in one night did eat all their Shield-ſtraps, Quivers, and Bow-ſtrings, ſo that on their riſing the next morning finding themſelves without arms for the carrying on of the war, they were forced to raiſe the Siege and be gone. And it is particularly to be remarked that *Herodotus* calls the King of *Aſſyria*, to whom he ſaith this hapned, by the ſame name of *Sennacherib*, as the Scriptures do, and the time in both doth alſo well agree, which plainly ſhews, that it is the ſame fact that is referred to by *Herodotus*, although much diſguiſed in the relation, which may eaſily be accounted for, when we conſider that it comes to us through the hands of ſuch as had the greateſt averſion both to the Nation and the Religion of the *Jews*, and therefore would relate nothing in ſuch manner as might give any reputation to either.

An. 709. *Hez.* 19. AFTER this terrible blow, and the loſs of ſo great an Army, *Sennacherib* was ſo weakned, that he had no way of again recovering himſelf, which making him to fall into contempt among his Subjects, ſeveral of his Provinces revolted from him, and particularly *Media*, which was the largeſt and the moſt conſiderable of all his Empire. For the *Medes*, when they heard in how low a condition he was returned to *Niniveh*, immediately ſhook off his Yoke, and ſet [t] up for themſelves in a ſort of Democratical Government; but ſoon growing ſick of the Confuſions, which this cauſed among them, they were forced to have recourſe to Monarchy for the remedy, and the next year after choſe *Deioces* for their King, whom they had formerly made great uſe of, as a common Arbitrator of their differences, and for the great proof which he had given of his juſtice and abilities on ſuch occaſions, they advanced him to this dignity. He began his reign in the nineteenth year of King *Hezekiah*, and having repaired, beautified, and enlarged the City of *Ecbatana*, he made it the Royal Seat of his Kingdom, and reigned there with great wiſdom, honour, and proſperity, fifty three years, during which time it growing to be a great City, he is for this reaſon reckoned by the *Greeks* to have been the Founder of it.

THE ſame year [v] *Arkianus* began his reign at *Babylon* after the deceaſe of *Mardoc-Empadus*, or *Merodach-Baladan*, who ended his life with the former year, after having reigned over the *Babylonians* twelve years.

SENNACHERIB after his return to *Niniveh* being enflamed with rage for his great loſs and diſappointment, as if he would revenge himſelf

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[q] Thevenot's *Travels*, Part 2. Book 1. c. 20. *and* P. 2. B. 2. c. 16. *and* P. 1. B. 2. c. 20. *This wind is by the Prophet* Jeremiah LI. 1. *called* a deſtroying wind, *where the* Arabic *verſion renders it*, An hot peſtilential wind. [r] Iſaiah xxxvii. 7. 2 Kings xix. 7. [s] Lib. 2. [t] Herodotus, Lib. 1. [v] Can. Ptol.

upon

upon his Subjects for it, grew thenceforth [w] very cruel and tyrannical in the management of his Government, eſpecially towards the *Jews* and *Iſraelites*, abundance of which he cauſed every day to be ſlain and caſt into the ſtreets, by which ſavage humour having made himſelf ſo intolerable, that he could be no longer born by his own family, his two eldeſt Sons [x] *Adramelech* and *Sharezar* conſpired againſt him, and falling upon him while he was worſhipping in the Houſe of *Niſroch* his God, they there ſlew him with the Sword, and thereon having made their eſcape into the Land of *Armenia*, *Eſarhaddon* his third Son reigned in his ſtead. Some Commentators [y] will have it, that he had vowed to ſacrifice theſe his two Sons to appeaſe his Gods, and make them the more favourable to him for the reſtoration of his affairs, and that it was to prevent this that they thus ſacrificed him. But for this there is no other foundation, but that ſcarce any thing elſe can be thought of, which can afford any excuſe for ſo wicked and barbarous a parricide.

ESARHADDON begun his reign over *Aſſyria* about the twenty ſecond year of King *Hezekiah*, which was the laſt of the reign of *Sevechus* or *Sethon*, in the Kingdom of *Egypt*, who dying after he had reigned fourteen years [z] was ſucceeded by *Tirhakah*, the ſame who came with the *Ethiopian* Army to his help. He was the third and laſt of that race, that reigned in *Egypt*. *An.* 706. Hez. 22.

IN the twenty third year of *Hezekiah*, *Arkianus* dying without iſſue, there followed an [a] interregnum of two years in the Kingdom of *Babylon*, before they could agree upon a Succeſſor. At length [a] *Belibus* being advanced to the Throne ſat in it three years. After him ſucceeded [a] *Apronadius*, and reigned ſix years. *An.* 705. Hez. 23.

THE ſame year that *Apronadius* began his Reign at *Babylon*, *Hezekiah* ended his at *Jeruſalem*. For [b] he died there after he had reigned twenty and nine years, and all *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* did him honour at his Death. For they buried him with great Solemnity in the chiefeſt and higheſt place of the Sepulchres of the Sons of *David*, expreſſing thereby that they looked on him as the worthieſt, and beſt of all, that had reigned over them of that family ſince him, that was the firſt Founder of it. *An.* 699. Hez. 29.

THE Burial-place called the Sepulchres of the Kings of the Houſe of *David* (which hath been afore ſpoken of) was a very ſumptuous and ſtately thing [c]. It lies now without the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, but as it is ſuppoſed, was formerly [d] within them before that City was deſtroyed by the *Romans*. It conſiſts of a large Court of about 120 foot ſquare, with a Gallery or Cloyſter on the left hand, which Court and Gallery, with the Pillars that ſupported it, were cut out of the ſolid marble rock. At the end of the Gallery there is a narrow paſſage or hole, through which there is an en-

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[w] Tobit i. 18. [x] 2 Kings xix. 37. 2 Chron. xxxii. 21. Iſaiah xxxvii. 38.

[y] *Biſhop* Patrick *on* 2 Kings xix. 37. Salianus ſub Anno ante Chriſtum, 729. [z] Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74. [a] Ptol. Can. [b] 2 Kings xx. 21. 2 Chron. xxxii. 33.

[c] Thevenot's *Travels*, Part 1. Book 2. c. 40. Maundrell's *Journey from* Aleppo *to* Jeruſalem, *p.* 76.

[d] Maimonides *in his Tract* Beth Habbechirah, *c.* 7. *ſaith*, In *Jeruſalem* they do not allow a Sepulchre, except the Sepulchres of the Houſe of *David*, and the Sepulchre of *Huldah* the Propheteſs, which were there from the days of the former Prophets. *This proves theſe Sepulchres to have been within the walls of* Jeruſalem, *and that the words of Scripture which place them in the City of* David *are ſtrictly to be underſtood.*

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trance into a large Room or Hall of about 24 foot ſquare, within which are ſeveral leſſer Rooms one within another, with ſtone-doors opening into them; all which Rooms with the great Room were all likewiſe cut out of the ſolid marble rock. In the ſides of thoſe leſſer Rooms are ſeveral Niches, in which the Corps of the deceaſed Kings were depoſited in ſtone coffins. In the innermoſt or chiefeſt of theſe Rooms was the body of *Hezekiah* laid in a Nich, perchance cut of purpoſe at that time for it in the upper end of that Room to do him the greater honour. And all this remains entire even to this day. It ſeems to have been the work of King *Solomon*, for it could not have been made without vaſt expence, and it is the only true remainder of old *Jeruſalem*, which is now to be ſeen in that place.

HEZEKIAH during his reign much improved the City of *Jeruſalem* not only by [e] new fortifying of it, erecting Magazines therein, and filling them with all manner of Armory, which were in uſe in thoſe days; but alſo by building [f] a new Aquæduct, which was of great convenience to the Inhabitants for the ſupplying of them with water. And for [g] the better promoting of Religion he maintained skilful Scribes to collate together and write out Copies of the Holy Scripture, and it is particularly mentioned that the Proverbs of *Solomon* were thus collected together, and wrote out by thoſe men.

AND in his time the [h] *Simeonites* being ſtreightned in their Habitations much enlarged their Borders towards the South. For falling on the *Amalekites*, who dwelt in part of *Mount Seir* and in the rich valley adjoyning, they ſmote them, and utterly deſtroyed them, and dwelt in their rooms.

An. 698. Manaſ. 1. BUT it was the misfortune of this good King *Hezekiah* to be ſucceeded by a ſon, who was the wickedeſt and worſt of the whole Race. For after him reigned [i] *Manaſſeh*, who being a minor only of twelve years old at his coming to the Crown, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of ſuch of the Nobility for his Guardians, and chief Miniſters, who being ill affected to his Father's reformation took care to breed him up in the greateſt averſion to it, that they were able, corrupting his youth with the worſt of principles, both as to Religion and Government; ſo that when he grew up, he proved the moſt impious towards God, and moſt tyrannical and wicked towards his Subjects, of any that had ever reigned either in *Jeruſalem* or *Samaria* over the Tribes of *Iſrael*. For he not only reſtored all the Idolatry of *Ahaz*, but went much beyond him in every abomination, whereby the true worſhip of God might be ſuppreſs'd, and his moſt holy Name diſhonoured in the Land. For whereas *Ahaz* did only ſhut up the Houſe of God, he converted it into an Houſe of all manner of idolatrous Prophanations, ſetting up an Image in the Sanctuary, and erecting Altars for *Baalim*, and all the Hoſt of Heaven, in both its Courts. And he alſo practiſed Witchcrafts and Enchantments, and dealt with familiar Spirits, and made his children paſs thorough the Fire to *Molech*, and filled *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* with his High places, Idols, Groves, and Altars erected to falſe Gods, and brought in all manner of other idolatrous Prophanations, whereby the true Religion might be moſt corrupted, and all manner of Impiety be moſt promoted in the Kingdom. And to all theſe ways of abomination he made *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* to conform, raiſing a terrible Perſe-

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[e] 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. Eccleſiaſticus xlviii. 17. [f] 2 Kings xx. 20. 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. Eccleſiaſticus xlviii. 17. [g] Prov. xxv. 1. [h] 1 Chron. iv. 39---43. [i] 2 Kings xxi. 2 Chron. xxxiii.

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cution againſt all that would not comply with him herein, whereby he filled the whole Land with innocent blood, of which he did ſhed very much in the carrying on of theſe and his other wicked purpoſes. And when God ſent his Prophets to him to tell him of theſe his iniquities, and to exhort him to depart from them, he treated them with contempt and outrage, and [k] ſeveral of them he put to death. And particularly it is ſaid, that *Iſaiah* the Prophet on this account ſuffered Martyrdom under him, by being cruelly ſawn aſunder. This was [l] an old Tradition among the *Jews*, and the holy Apoſtle St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* (*Ch.* xi. *ver.* 37.) having among the torments undergone by the Prophets and Martyrs of foregoing times, reckoned that of being ſawn aſunder, he [m] is generally thought in that place to have had reſpect hereto. By which horrid iniquities and abominations God was ſo juſtly incenſed againſt the Land, that he declared hereon, [n] that he would ſtretch out over *Jeruſalem* the line of *Samaria*, and the plummet of the Houſe of *Ahab*, and wipe *Jeruſalem* clean of all its Inhabitants as a man wipeth a Diſh and turneth it, when empty, upſide down. Which accordingly was executed upon it in the deſtruction of that City, and the deſolation, which was brought upon all *Judah* at the ſame time. And among all the iniquities that drew down theſe heavy Judgments upon that City and Land, the ſins of *Manaſſeh* are always reckoned as [o] the moſt provoking cauſe; by which an eſtimate may be beſt made of the greatneſs of them.

IN the fifth year of *Manaſſeh* died [p] *Apronadius* King of *Babylon*, and was ſucceeded by [p] *Regibilus*, who reigned only one year. After him [p] *Meſeſſimordacus* had the Kingdom and held it four years. *An.* 694. Manaſ. 5.

IN the eleventh year of *Manaſſeh* [q] dyed *Tirhakah* King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned there eighteen years, who was the laſt of the *Ethiopian* Kings that reigned in that Countrey. The *Egyptians* after his death not being able to agree about the Succeſſion continued for [r] two years together in a ſtate of Anarchy, and great confuſion, till [s] at length twelve of the principal Nobility conſpiring together ſeized the kingdom, and dividing it among themſelves into twelve parts, governed it by joint confederacy fifteen years. *An.* 688. Man. 11.

THE ſame year that this hapned in *Egypt* by the death of *Tirhakah*, the like hapned in *Babylon* by the death of *Meſeſſimordacus*. For he leaving no ſon behind him to inherit the kingdom, [t] an interregnum of Anarchy and confuſion followed there for eight years together, of which *Eſarhaddon* King of *Aſſyria* taking the advantage ſeized *Babylon*, and adding it to his former Empire thenceforth [u] reigned over both for thirteen years. He is in the Canon of *Ptolemy* called *Aſſar-Addinus*. And in the Scriptures he is ſpoken of as King [w] of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria* jointly together. In *Ezra* he *An.* 680. Man. 19.

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[k] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 4. [l] Talmud Hieroſol. in Sanhedrin, fol. 28. col. 3. Talmud Babylon in Jevammoth, fol. 49. col. 2. & in Sanhedrin, fol. 103. col. 2. Shalſheleth Hakkabalah, fol. 19. col. 1. Yalkut lib. Regum, fol. 38. col. 4. [m] Vid. Juſtin. Martyr. in Dialogo cum Tryphone. Hieronymum in Eſaiam, c. 20. & 57. Epiphanium & alios.

[n] 2 Kings xxi. 13. [o] 2 Kings xxiii. 26. & xxiv. 3. Jeremiah xv. 4. [p] Can. Ptol.

[q] Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74. [r] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. [s] Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. [t] Can. Ptolemæi. [u] Canon Ptol. [w] *He is ſaid as King of* Aſſyria *to have brought a Colony out of* Babylon *into* Samaria, 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ezra. iv. 9, 10. *which he could not have done, if he had not been King of* Babylon, *as well as of* Aſſyria *at that time. And in* 2 Chron. xxiii. 11. *he is ſaid as King of* Aſſyria *to have taken* Manaſſeh *priſoner, and to have carried him to* Babylon, *which argues him at that time to have been King of* Babylon *alſo.*

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is called [x] *Asnapper*, and hath there the honourable epithets of the *great* and *noble* added to his name by the Author of that Book, which argues him to have been a Prince of great excellency and worth in his time, and far exceeding all others that had reigned before him in either of the kingdoms.

An. 677. Man. 22. IN the twenty second year of *Manasseh*, *Esarhaddon*, after he had now entered on the fourth year of his reign in *Babylon*, and fully settled his authority there, began to set his thoughts on the recovery of what had been lost to the Empire of the *Assyrians* in *Syria* and *Palestine* on the destruction of his Father's army in *Judæa*, and on that doleful retreat, which thereon he was forced to make from thence, and being encouraged to this undertaking by the great augmentation of strength, which he had acquired by adding *Babylon* and *Chaldea* to his former kingdom of *Assyria*, he prepared a great army, and marched into those parts, and again added them to the *Assyrian* Empire. And then was accomplished the Prophecy, which was spoken by *Isaiah* in the first year of *Ahaz* against *Samaria*, [y] that within threescore and five years *Ephraim* should be absolutely broken, so as from thenceforth to be no more a people. For this year being exactly sixty five years from the first of *Ahaz*, *Esarhaddon*, after he had settled all affairs in *Syria*, marched into the Land of *Israel*, and there taking captive all those, who were the remains of the former Captivity, (excepting only some few, who escaped his hands, and continued still in the Land) carried them away into *Babylon* and *Assyria*. And then to prevent the Land from becoming desolate, he brought others from [z] *Babylon*, and from *Cutha*, and from *Avah*, and *Hamath*, and *Sepharvaim*, to dwell in the Cities of *Samaria* in their stead. And so the ten Tribes of *Israel*, which had separated from the House of *David*, were brought to a full and utter destruction, and never after recovered themselves again. For those, who were thus carried away as well in this, as the former Captivities (excepting only some few, who joyning themselves to the *Jews* in the Land of their Captivity returned with them) soon going into the usages, and idolatry of the Nations among whom they were planted, (to which they were too much addicted while in their own Land) after a while became wholly absorb'd, and swallowed up in them, and thenceforth utterly losing their name, their language, and their memorial, were never after any more spoke of. And whereas there is a sect of *Samaritans* still remaining in *Samaria*, *Sichem*, and other Towns thereabout, even to this day, who still have the Law of *Moses* in a character peculiar to themselves, and in a dialect very little, if any thing at all, different from that of the *Jews*; yet these are not of the descendents of the *Israelites*, but of those Nations which *Esarhaddon* brought to dwell in that Countrey in their stead, after the others had been carried thence into captivity. And for this reason the *Jews* call them by no other name, than that of *Cuthites*, (the name of one of those Nations, whom *Esarhaddon* had planted there) and have that utter hatred and aversion to them, that reckoning them among the worst of Hereticks they express on all occasions a greater detestation of them, than they do even of the Christians themselves.

ESARHADDON, after he had thus possessed himself of the Land of *Israel*, sent some of his Princes with part of his Army into *Judea*, to re-

[x] Ezra iv. 10. [y] Isaiah vii. 8. [z] 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ezra iv. 2, 10.

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duce that Countrey alſo under his ſubjection, who [a] having vanquiſhed *Manaſſeh* in battel, and taken him hid in a thicket of Thorns, brought him priſoner to *Eſarhaddon*, who bound him in fetters and carryed him to *Babylon*; where his chains and his priſon having brought him to himſelf, and a due ſenſe of his great ſin, wherewith he had ſinned againſt the Lord his God, he returned unto him with repentance and prayer, and in his affliction greatly humbled himſelf before him; whereon God being intreated by him, he mollifyed the heart of the King of *Babylon* towards him, ſo that on a Treaty he was again reſtored to his liberty, and returned to *Jeruſalem*; and then knowing the Lord to be God he aboliſhed all thoſe idolatrous prophanations both out of the Temple and out of all other parts of the Land, which he had in his wickedneſs introduced into them, and again reſtored in all things the Reformation of King *Hezekiah* his Father, and walked according thereto all the remainder of his life, worſhipping the Lord his God only, and none other, and all *Judah* conformed to him herein. So that he continued in proſperity after this to the end of his Reign, which was the longeſt of any of the Kings that had ſat on the Throne of *David* either before or after him. For he reigned full fifty five years, and theſe being all reckoned to his Reign without any chaſm, it is argued from hence, that his Captivity at *Babylon* could not have been long, but that he was within a very ſhort time after again releaſed from it.

AND to this time may be referred the completion of the Prophecy of *Iſaiah* concerning [b] the removal of *Shebna*, the chief miniſter of ſtate, and the advancement of *Eliakim* the ſon of *Hilkiah* in his place. Both of them had been miniſters of ſtate under King *Hezekiah*, *Shebna* having been his ſcribe or ſecretary, and *Eliakim* the maſter of his houſhold. And their Hiſtory, as far as may be collected from the words of the Prophet appears to be thus. *Shebna* being a very wicked man was a fit perſon to ſerve the luſts and evil inclinations of *Manaſſeh* in the firſt part of his reign, and therefore was made his firſt miniſter of ſtate, and *Eliakim*, who was of a quite contrary character was quite laid aſide. But on the Revolution that hapned on the coming of the army of the *Aſſyrians*, *Shebna* [c] was taken priſoner with his maſter, and carried to *Babylon*, and there detained in captivity [d] to his death. And therefore *Manaſſeh* on his repentance, and return to *Jeruſalem*, having reſolved on other meaſures, called for *Eliakim*, and put the management of all his affairs into his hands, who being a perſon of great wiſdom, juſtice, and piety, ſoon re-eſtabliſhed them upon the ſame foot as they had been in the days of *Hezekiah*, and ſo preſerved them in peace and proſperity all his time, to the great honour of the King, and the good of all his people, and therefore he hath the character given him of being [e] a Father to the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, and to all the Houſe of *Judah*, and that having [f] the key and government of the Houſe of *David* upon his ſhoulders he was the great ſupport of it all his days. This *Eliakim* is ſuppoſed to have been of the pontifical family, and to have himſelf in the time of *Manaſſeh* born the office of High-Prieſt, and to have been the ſame who is mentioned by the name of *Joakim*, or *Eliakim* in the Hiſtory of *Judith*, as High-Prieſt at that time. For *Joakim* and *Elia-*

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[a] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. Joſephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 4. [b] Iſaiah xxii. 15---25. [c] Iſaiah xxii. 17. [d] Iſaiah xxii. 18. [e] Iſaiah xxii. 21. [f] Iſaiah xxii. 22.

kim are both the ſame name, being both of the ſame ſignification in the *Hebrew* tongue, and therefore the ſaid High-Prieſt in *Judith* is in the *Syriac* verſion, and alſo in *Jerom's Latin* verſion of that Book, called promiſcuouſly by both theſe names. But of this more will be ſaid hereafter in its proper place.

An. 676. Manaſſ. 23. THE Nations which *Eſarhaddon* had brought to dwell in the Cities of *Samaria*, inſtead of the *Iſraelites* who had been carried thence, being on their ſettling in that Countrey [g] much infeſted with Lions, and the King of *Babylon* being told that it was becauſe they worſhipped not the God of the Countrey, he ordered that one of the Prieſts, which had been carried thence, ſhould be ſent back to teach theſe new Inhabitants how to worſhip the God of *Iſrael*. But they only took him hereon into the number of their former Deities, and worſhipped him jointly with the Gods of the Nations from whence they came. And in this corruption of joining the worſhip of their falſe Gods with that of the true, they continued till the building of the *Samaritan* Temple on Mount *Gerizim* by *Sanballat*. But on that occaſion abundance of *Jews* falling off to them, they reduced them from this Idolatry to the worſhip of the true God only, as ſhall be hereafter related, and they have continued in the ſame worſhip ever ſince, even to this day.

An. 671. Manaſſ. 28. IN the eight and twentieth year of the reign of *Manaſſeh*, the twelve confederated Sovereigns of *Egypt*, after they had jointly reigned there fifteen years, falling [h] out among themſelves, expelled *Pſammitichus*, one of their number, out of his ſhare which he had hitherto had with them in the Government of the kingdom, and drove him into baniſhment; whereon flying into the fens near the Sea he lay hid there, till having gotten together out of the *Arabian* Free-booters, and the Pirates of *Caria* and *Ionia*, ſuch a number of ſoldiers, as with the *Egyptians* of his party made a conſiderable army, he marched with it againſt the other eleven, and having overthrown them in battel ſlew ſeveral of them, and drove the reſt out of the Land, and thereon ſeizing the whole kingdom to himſelf reigned over it in great proſperity fifty and four years.

An. 670. Manaſſ. 29. AS ſoon as he was well ſettled in the kingdom, he [i] entered into a war with the King of *Aſſyria* about the boundaries of their two Empires, which laſted many years. For after the *Aſſyrians* had conquered *Syria*, *Paleſtine* only ſeparating their reſpective Territories, it became a conſtant bone of contention between them, as it was between the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucidæ* afterwards, both parties ſtriving which of the two ſhould have the maſtery of this Province, and according as they prevailed ſometimes the one and ſometimes the other poſſeſſed themſelves of it. From the time of *Hezekiah* it appears to have been in the hands of the *Egyptians* till the captivity of *Manaſſeh*. But when *Eſarhaddon* had conquered *Judea*, and carried the King priſoner to *Babylon* (as hath been above-mentioned) it's plain that from thenceforth the King of *Aſſyria* became maſter of all, even to the very entry of *Egypt*; and the *Egyptians* being at that time divided under ſeveral Princes, and in civil wars among themſelves, were in no capacity to put a ſtop to this progreſs. But when *Pſammitichus* had gained the whole Monarchy to himſelf, and again ſettled the affairs of that kingdom upon its former foundation, (which hapned about ſeven years af-

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[g] 2 Kings xvii. [h] Herodotus lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus lib. 1. [i] Herodot. lib. 2.

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ter the Captivity of *Manaſſeh*) he thought it time to look to the frontiers of his Kingdom, and ſecure them as well as he could againſt the power of this growing neighbour, and therefore marched with an army into *Paleſtine* for this purpoſe. But in the entry thereof he found *Aſhdod*, one of the firſt Towns of that Countrey, ſo ſtrong a barrier againſt him, that it [k] coſt him a blockade of nine and twenty years before he could make himſelf maſter of it.

THIS place had formerly been [l] one of the five capital Cities of the Countrey of the *Philiſtins*. After this the *Egyptians* got poſſeſſion of it, and by well fortifying of it made it ſo ſtrong a barrier of their Empire on that ſide, that *Sennacherib* could not enter *Egypt*, [m] till he had by *Tartan*, one of his Generals, made himſelf maſter of it; and when he had gotten it into his poſſeſſion, finding the importance of the place, he added ſo much to its ſtrength, that notwithſtanding his unfortunate retreat out of *Egypt*, and the terrible loſs of his army in *Judea* immediately after, the *Aſſyrians* ſtill kept it even to this time; and it was not without that long and tedious ſiege, which I have mentioned, that the *Egyptians* at laſt became again maſters of it. And when they had gotten it, they found it in ſuch a manner waſted and reduced by ſo long a war, that it did them but little ſervice afterwards, it being then no more than the carcaſs of that City which it had formerly been. And therefore the Prophet *Jeremiah* ſpeaking of it calls it [n] *the Remnant of Aſhdod*, intimating thereby that it was then only the poor remains of what it had been in times foregoing.

BUT notwithſtanding this long ſiege, the whole war did not reſt there. While part of the army lay at the blockade, the reſt carried on the war againſt the other parts of *Paleſtine*, and ſo it continued many years, which obliged *Manaſſeh* [o] to fortify *Jeruſalem* anew, and to put ſtrong Garriſons into all his frontier Towns againſt them. For ſince his releaſe from the captivity of the *Aſſyrians*, and the reſtoration of his kingdom again to him, he was obliged to become their homager, and engage on their ſide in this war againſt the *Egyptians*, although they had been his former allies. And the better to enable him to ſupport himſelf herein, and alſo the more firmly to fix him in his fidelity to them, they ſeem at this time to have put under his command all the other parts of the Land of *Canaan*, that is, all that had formerly been poſſeſſed by the Kings of *Samaria*, as well as what belong'd to him as King of *Judah*. For it is certain that *Joſiah* his Grandſon had all this, (as will hereafter be ſhewn) that is, not only the two Tribes which made up the Kingdom of *Judah*, but alſo all that had formerly been poſſeſſed by the other ten under the Kings of *Iſrael*. And the moſt probable account that can be given of his coming by all this, is, that it was all given to *Manaſſeh* on this occaſion to hold in homage of the Kings of *Aſſyria*, and that after his death it was continued to his Son and Grandſon on the ſame conditions, in the performance of which that good and juſt Prince King *Joſiah* afterwards loſt his life, as will be ſhewn in its proper place.

IN the thirty firſt year of *Manaſſeh* dyed *Eſarhaddon*, afer he had reigned with great felicity thirty nine years over the *Aſſyrians*, and thirteen over the *Babylonians*, and [p] *Saoſduchinus* his Son reigned in his ſtead. He is the ſame who in the Book of *Judith* is called [q] *Nabuchodonoſor*. In the *An.* 668. Manaſſ. 31.

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[k] Herodotus lib. 2. [l] 1 Samuel vi. 17. [m] Iſaiah xx. 1. [n] Jeremiah xxv. 20.
[o] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. [p] Canon Ptol. [q] Judith i. 1.

An. 656. Manaſſ. 43. beginning of the twelfth year of his reign, which was the forty third of *Manaſſeh*, [t] he fought a great battel in the plains of *Ragau* with *Deioces* King of *Media*, (who in the book of *Judith* is called [u] *Arphaxad*) and having overthrown him, and put him to flight, purſued after him to the adjacent mountains, where he made his retreat, and there having overtaken him he cut him off and all his army; and thereon following his blow, and making the beſt of the advantage he had gotten, he made himſelf maſter of many of the Cities of *Media*, and among them took [w] *Ecbatana* it ſelf, the Royal Seat of the *Median* Empire, and after having miſerably defaced it returned in great triumph to *Niniveh*, and there took his pleaſure in banqueting and feaſting, both he and his army, for an hundred and twenty days.

AFTER this time of feaſting was over, [x] he called his Officers, Nobles, and chief Counſellors together, to take an account of what tributary Countries and Provinces had not gone with him to the war. For he had ſummoned them all to attend him herein, and finding that none of the Weſtern Countries had paid any regard to his commands in this matter, he made a Decree, that *Holofernes* the chief Captain of his army ſhould go forth to execute the wrath of his Lord upon them for it. And accordingly the

An. 655. Manaſſ. 44. next year after he marched weſtward with an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe, and there waſted and deſtroyed a great many of thoſe Nations; till at length coming into *Judea*, and laying ſiege to *Bethulia*, he was there deſtroyed, and all his army cut in pieces, in the manner as is in the Book of *Judith* at full related.

THAT *Arphaxad* in the ſaid Book of *Judith* was *Deioces*, and *Nabuchodonoſor Saoſduchinus*, appears from hence, that *Arphaxad* is ſaid to be that King of *Media* who was [y] the founder of *Ecbatana*, which all other writers agree to have been *Deioces*. And the beginning of the twelfth year of *Saoſduchinus* exactly agreeth with the laſt year of *Deioces*, when this battel of *Ragau* is ſaid to have been fought. And there are ſeveral particulars in that Hiſtory, which make it utterly inconſiſtent with any other times. For it was [z] while *Niniveh* was the Metropolis of the *Aſſyrian* Empire; it was [a] while the *Perſians*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and *Egyptians* were ſubject to them; it was [b] while the *Median* Empire was in being, and not long after the building of *Ecbatana*; none of which could be after the Captivity of *Judah*, where ſome would place this Hiſtory. For before that time *Niniveh* had been long deſtroyed, and both the *Aſſyrian* and *Median* Empires had been wholly extinguiſhed, and the *Perſians* inſtead of being ſubject to the *Aſſyrians* had made themſelves Lords over them, and over all the other Nations of the *Eaſt*, from the *Helleſpont* to the River *Indus*. For ſo far they had extended and eſtabliſhed their Empire, before the *Jews* were returned from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, and ſettled again in their own Countrey. And therefore we muſt go much higher than the times after that Captivity to find a proper ſcene for the matters in that Book related, and it can be no where laid more agreeably both with Scripture, and prophane Hiſtory, than in the time where I have placed it.

THIS Book of *Judith* was originally written [c] in the *Chaldee* language by ſome *Jew* of *Babylon*; (which is not now extant) and from thence at

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[t] Judith i. 5. [u] Judith i. 1. [w] Judith i. 14. [x] Judith ii. [y] Judith i. 2. [z] Judith i. 1. [a] Judith i. 7....10. [b] Judith i. 1, 2. [c] Hieronomi Prefatio in Librum Judith.

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the deſire of *Pauta* and *Euſtochium* was by St. *Jerom* tranſlated into the *Latin* tongue, which is the Tranſlation that is now extant in the vulgar *Latin* edition of the Bible, of which he himſelf ſaith in the Preface before it, that he did not tranſlate it word for word, but only render'd it according to the ſenſe of the Author, and that cutting off all the corruptions of various readings which he found in different copies, he did put only that into the tranſlation which he judged to be the true and entire ſenſe of the Original. But beſides this tranſlation of St. *Jerom* there are two others, one in *Greek*, and the other in *Syriac*. That which is in *Greek* is attributed to *Theodotion*, who flouriſhed in the time of *Commodus*, who was made *Roman* Emperor in the year of *Chriſt* 180. But it muſt be much ancienter. For *Clemens Romanus* in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* (which was wrote near 120 years before) brings a quotation out of it. The *Syriac* tranſlation was made from the *Greek*, and ſo was alſo the *Engliſh*, which we at preſent have among the Apocryphal writings in our Bible. And it is to be obſerved, that all theſe three verſions laſt mentioned have ſeveral particulars which are not in *Jerom*'s, and ſome of theſe ſeem to be thoſe various readings, which he profeſſeth to have cut off as corruptions of the Text. And particularly that which is added in the thirteenth verſe of the firſt chapter appears to be of this ſort. For there the battel of *Ragau* is placed in the ſeventeenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*, which is directly contradictory to what is in the former part of the ſame chapter. For there it is poſitively ſaid, that it was in the twelfth year of his reign, and agreeable hereto *Jerom*'s verſion placeth the expedition of *Holofernes* (that was the next year after) in the thirteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*, which is the truth of the matter, whereas the other following the blunder of the former contradiction makes another by placing it in the eighteenth year of his reign, and ſo renders that part of the Hiſtory wholly inconſiſtent with it ſelf. And therefore certainly in this particular *Jerom*'s verſion is to be preferr'd, which gives good reaſon to think, that it ought to be ſo in all the reſt, wherever there is any difference between them.

BUT ſtill, whether the Book be a true or a feigned Hiſtory, is what learned men are not agreed in: The Romaniſts will have it all to be true, for they have received it into the Canon of divine writ. But on the other hand it is the opinion of [b] *Grotius*, that it is wholly a parabolical fiction, written in the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, when he came into *Judea* to raiſe a perſecution againſt the *Jewiſh* Church, and that the deſign of it was to confirm the *Jews* under that perſecution in their hopes, that God would ſend them a deliverance. "That therein by *Judith* is meant *Judea*, by "*Bethulia* the Temple, or Houſe of God, and by the ſword, which went "out from thence the prayers of the Saints, that *Nabuchodonoſor* doth there "denote the Devil, and the kingdom of *Aſſyria* the Devil's kingdom, "pride: That by *Holofernes* is there meant the inſtrument or agent of the "Devil in that perſecution, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who made himſelf ma-"ſter of *Judea*, that fair widow, ſo called becauſe deſtitute of relief. That "*Eliakim* ſignifies God, who would ariſe in her defence, and at length "cut off that inſtrument of the Devil, who would have corrupted her." This particular explication of the Parable (as he will have it to be) is I con-

[b] In Præfatione ad Annotationes in Libram Judith.

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feſs the peculiar fancy of this great Man. But otherwiſe there are abundance of other learned writers among the Proteſtants, who agree with him in the general, that this Book is rather a parabolical than a real Hiſtory, made for the inſtructing and comforting of the people of the *Jews* under that figure, and not to give them a Narrative of any thing really done. And their reaſon for it is, that they think it utterly inconſiſtent with all times where it hath been endeavoured to be placed, either before or after the Captivity of the *Jews*. My putting it in the time of *Manaſſeh* takes off all the Objections, which are brought to prove its inconſiſtency with the times after the Captivity, which I confeſs are unanſwerable.

BUT where it here ſtands the objections from the other part ſtill remain, and they are theſe following. 1*ſt*, That *Joakim* or *Eliakim* (for they are acknowledged to be both [c] the ſame name) is ſaid in the Hiſtory of *Judith* to have been then High-prieſt. But there is none of that name to be found either in the Scriptures, or in *Joſephus*, that was High-prieſt before the Captivity. 2*dly*, *Achior* the *Ammonite* in his ſpeech to *Holofernes*, (*Chap.* v. 18.) there ſpeaks of the Temple, as having been lately caſt to the ground, which was not done till the laſt year of the reign of *Zedekiah*, and therefore this cannot be conſiſtent with any time before it. And the 3[d] *Verſe* of the iv[th] *Chapter* plainly puts it after the Captivity. For there the Text is, that the People of the *Jews* were newly returned from their Captivity, when *Holofernes* invaded *Judea*. 3*dly*, The chief management of the publick affairs of the ſtate are in that book placed wholly in the High-prieſt without any mention made of the King throughout the whole of it, or implying in the leaſt, that there was then any ſuch Government in the Land, which renders it wholly inconſiſtent with any other times, than thoſe in which there was no King in *Judah*. 4*thly*, That in the concluſion of the Book, *Judith* is ſaid to have lived an hundred and five years, and that none made the children of *Iſrael* any more afraid in all her days, nor a long time after her death. But ſuppoſing her to have been forty five years old when ſhe went out to *Holofernes*, (and in an older age ſhe cannot well be ſuppoſed to have beauty enough to charm ſuch a man) to make her an hundred and five years old there muſt be ſixty years more added to her life, which will carry down her death to the fourth year of *Zedekiah*, when the ſtate of the *Jews* had for ſeveral years been exceedingly diſturb'd by the *Babylonians*, and was within a little while after totally ſubverted by them, which makes both her life and her death abſolutely inconſiſtent with the times in which they are above placed.

TO the firſt of theſe objections it may be anſwered; 1*ſt*, That tho' there be no ſuch perſon as *Joakim*, or *Eliakim*, named in Scripture to have been High-prieſt before the Captivity, yet this is no argument, but that there might have been ſuch an one. For the Scripture no where profeſſeth to give us an exact catalogue of all ſuch as had been High-prieſts till the Captivity. That which looks moſt like it is what we have in the ſixth Chapter of the firſt Book of *Chronicles*. But that is only a direct lineal deſcent of the Pontifical family from *Aaron* to *Joſadak* the ſon of *Seraiah*, who was High-prieſt at the Captivity, and not a catalogue of ſuch as had born

[c] *For they are both of the ſame ſignification*, El *being the name of God in one, as* Jehovah *is the other, and the latter part of the name is the ſame in both; and therefore as* Jehoiakim *or* Joakim *King of* Judah *is called alſo* Eliakim, *ſo this High-prieſt is in the Verſion of* Jerom *called promiſcuouſly by both names.*

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the pontifical office. For ſeveral are in that pedigree who never were High-prieſts, and ſeveral are left out that were. The High-prieſts of the family of *Eli* are inſtances of the latter. For they are left out of that pedigree, tho' they were High-prieſts. And thoſe of the true race, who were excluded by them, are inſtances of the former. For they are in it, tho' they never were High-prieſts. And it is very likely, that from the time of *Solomon* to the Captivity many more ſuch inſtances might have happened to hinder that pedigree from being an exact Catalogue of the High-prieſts. For on the minority, or ſome other unqualifying defect of the right Heir, the next collateral muſt have been admitted to the office, whoſe name could not come into the pedigree; and on the failing of an elder branch (as might have hapned) the Heir of the next collateral branch muſt have come into the office. And then the anceſtors of the collateral ſucceſſor muſt be in the pedigree, though they had never been in the office. And thoſe of the elder branch, though they had been in the office, could not be in the pedigree, becauſe it had failed. For it is only the pedigree of *Joſadack* the ſon of *Seraiah*, who was High-prieſt at the Captivity, which is in a direct line from *Aaron*, given us in the vi^th^ Chapter of the firſt Book of *Chronicles*. And it being the uſage of the *Jews* in their pedigrees to paſs from a remote anceſtor to a remote deſcendent, by leaving out thoſe who are between, of which abundance of inſtances may be given in Scripture, it's poſſible this alſo might have hapned in this caſe. And thus much is certain, that four High-prieſts named in Scripture are not in that pedigree, i. e. *Jehoiada*, and *Zechariah* his ſon, who were High-prieſts in the reign of *Joaſh*; *Azariah*, who was High-prieſt in the reign of *Uzziah*; and *Urijah*, who was High-prieſt in the reign of *Ahaz*, Kings of *Judah*. There are indeed two *Azariah's* named in that pedigree, beſides the *Azariah* who was the father of *Seraiah*, but neither of theſe two could be the *Azariah* that was High-prieſt in the time of *Uzziah*. For [d] *Amariah* the ſon of the laſt of the ſaid two *Azariah's* in that pedigree, was High-prieſt in the time of *Jehoſaphat*, five generations before. As to the pedigrees of the High-prieſts in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, they are but imperfect parts of that which we have in the vi^th^ Chapter of the firſt Book of *Chronicles*. As for the Catalogue of *Joſephus*, it is ſo corrupted, that ſcarce five of the names in it agree with any thing that we have in Scripture. And therefore putting all this together, *Joakim* or *Eliakim* might have been High-prieſt in the time of *Manaſſeh*, tho' there be no mention of him as ſuch by either of his names, either in the Holy Scriptures or in the Hiſtory of *Joſephus*. But 2*dly*, That this *Joakim* or *Eliakim* (for both, as hath been afore obſerv'd, is the ſame name) is not named in Scripture, is not certainly true. For there are ſome, who will have *Eliakim* the ſon of *Hilkiah*, that is afore ſpoken of, to have been the perſon, and underſtand what is ſaid in the xxii^d^ Chapter of *Iſaiah*, ver. 21. of the robe and the girdle, which he was to put on, as meant of the Pontifical robe and girdle, and therefore infer from hence that he was High-prieſt, and [e] St. *Jerom* and St. *Cyril* among the ancients both were of this opinion. And it muſt be ſaid, that what is there propheſied of him by *Iſaiah*, that God would commit the government of the ſtate to his hands in the room of *Shebna*, who was chief Miniſter before him, and that he ſhould be a father to the Inha-

[d] 2 Chron. xix. 11. [e] In Eſaiam xxii.

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bitants of *Jeruſalem*, and to the Houſe of *Judah*, and that the key of the Houſe of *David* ſhould be laid upon his ſhoulder, to open and to ſhut without controul, as he ſhould think fit, doth very well agree with that part which *Joakim* is ſaid to have acted in the Book of *Judith*. But that he was the ſame perſon, is what I durſt not from that, which is brought to prove it, lay much ſtreſs upon, neither is there any need of it for the ſatisfying of this objection; what I have elſe ſaid being ſufficient for it.

2*dly*, As to the objection from the 3[d] verſe of the iv[th] Chapter of *Judith*, and from the ſpeech of *Achior* (Ch. v. ver. 18.) the words on which they are founded are not in *Jerom*'s verſion, and therefore it is moſt likely they were put into the *Greek* verſion (from whence the *Engliſh* is taken) from ſome of thoſe corrupted Copies of the original which *Jerom* complains of. For in his verſion (which he made from the beſt corrected Copies of the original *Chaldee)* the 3[d] verſe of the iv[th] Chapter is wholly left out, as are alſo thoſe words of the 18[th] verſe of the v[th] Chapter, which ſpeak of *the Temple's having been caſt to the ground*. And altho' there be words ſtill remaining in *Jerom*'s verſion, as well as in our *Engliſh*, which ſpeak of the Captivity and diſperſion of the *Jews*, and their late reſtoration again to their own Land, yet they are none other than what may be better underſtood of the *Aſſyrian* Captivity in the time of *Manaſſeh*, than of the *Babyloniſh* which hapned afterwards.

As to the third objection, it's poſſible *Manaſſeh* might be then engaged in the defence of ſome other part of his kingdom, and therefore had entruſted *Joakim* with the management of all affairs at *Jeruſalem* during his abſence. And if he were the *Eliakim* mentioned in the xxii[d] Chapter of *Iſaiah*, and as chief miniſter of ſtate was then inveſted with all that amplitude of truſt and power, as is there deſcribed, that might be reaſon enough for him only to be made mention of in this tranſaction, without naming of his maſter at all therein.

But laſtly, to give a ſatisfactory anſwer to the fourth objection, I muſt confeſs is not in my power. Could we put this Hiſtory ſo far back as the minority of *Manaſſeh*, this would not only afford us an anſwer to this objection, but would alſo give us a much clearer one to the laſt preceding. For then there would be reaſon enough not to mention the minor King, but only the chief miniſter and guardian of the kingdom, in the tranſacting of the whole affair. And the death of *Judith* would on this ſuppoſition be at ſuch a diſtance from the deſtruction of the *Jewiſh* ſtate, as not to make this objection unanſwerable. But the wickedneſs of the pupil will not allow him to have been bred under ſo good a man for his governour, as *Eliakim* is deſcribed to be. And what is ſaid in the 18[th] and 19[th] verſes of the v[th] Chapter of *Judith* concerning the Captivity and Reſtoration of the *Jews*, and is retained alſo in *Jerom*'s verſion, muſt neceſſarily refer the matters therein related to thoſe times which followed the Captivity of *Manaſſeh*, and the reſtoration of him and his people again to their own Land. And the Chronology of this Hiſtory will not permit the beginning of it to fall any where elſe but in the twelfth year of *Saoſduchinus*, and the laſt of *Deioces*; and theſe two characters of the time exactly concurring according to *Herodotus* and *Ptolemy* do unavoidably determine us to fix it here. However our not being able to clear this difficulty is not a ſufficient reaſon for us to reject the whole Hiſtory. There is ſcarce any Hiſtory written, but what to the next age after may appear as to time, place, and other

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circumſtances, with thoſe ſeeming inconſiſtencies, as cannot then be eaſily reconciled, when the memory of men begin to fail concerning them. And how much more then may we be apt to be blundered, when we take our view at the diſtance of above two thouſand years, and have no other light to diſcern the ſo far diſtant object by, than ſuch glimmerings from broken ſcraps of hiſtory, as leave us next door to groping in the dark for whatſoever knowledge we get by them? That which ſeemeth moſt probable in this caſe is, that the writer of this book, the more to magnify his heroine attributed too long a continuance to that peace, which was by her obtained for the land. For according to this account it muſt have laſted at leaſt eighty years, which being what they never had enjoyed from the time they were a nation, or what ſcarce any other nation ever had, I would rather chuſe to allow a fiction in this particular, than for the ſake of it condemn the whole book as ſuch, which ſeemeth to carry with it the air of a true hiſtory in all other particulars.

HOWEVER I muſt acknowledge, that what is above ſaid in the defence of this book for its being a true hiſtory doth not ſo far clear the matter, eſpecially in reſpect of the fourth objection; but that if any one will ſtill contend, that it is only a religious romance, and not a true hiſtory; that according to the intention of the author the ſcene of it was put under the reign of *Xerxes*, when [b] *Joakim* the ſon of *Joſhua* was high-prieſt, and the civil government of *Judea*, as well as the eccleſiaſtical, was in the hands of that officer; and that the inconſiſtency of ſo many particulars in that book, with the ſtate and tranſactions of thoſe times, was only from the ignorance of the author in the hiſtory of the ſaid times, and his unskilfulneſs in placing the ſcene of his ſtory in them; I ſay, if any one will inſiſt on all this notwithſtanding what is above ſaid, I ſhall not enter into any controverſy with him about it, only thus much I muſt inſiſt on, that if it be a true hiſtory (which I am inclined moſt to think, though I will not be poſitive in it) it can fall no where elſe, but in the time where I have laid it.

AFTER the death of *Deioces* [c] *Phraortes* his ſon ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Media*, and reigned over it twenty two years.

IN the fifty firſt year of *Manaſſeh* died [d] *Saoſduchinus* King of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, and *Chyniladanus* reigned in his ſtead. *An.* 648. Manaſſ. 51.

MANASSEH King of *Judah*, after he had reigned fifty five years, and lived ſixty ſeven, [e] died at *Jeruſalem*; and notwithſtanding his ſignal repentance, ſince his former wickedneſs had been ſo great, they would not allow him the honour of being buried in the ſepulchres of the ſons of *David*, but laid him in a grave made for him in his own garden. *An.* 644. Manaſſ. 55.

AFTER *Manaſſeh* reigned *Ammon* his ſon, who imitating the firſt part of his father's reign, rather than the latter, gave himſelf up to all manner of wickedneſs and impiety, whereon the ſervants of his houſe conſpired againſt him and ſlew him, after he had reigned two years. But the people *An.* 643. Ammon 1.

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[a] *For allowing her to have been 45 years old at the time of her killing* Holofernes, *there muſt be 60 years after to the time of her death, and a* long time after *in the Text* (Judith xvi. 25.) *cannot imply leſs than 20 years more. But if we ſuppoſe her to be but 25 at the killing of* Holofernes, *(which is more likely) it will carry down the computation even beyond the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem, *which makes the objection much ſtronger.* [b] Nehemiah xii. 10, 26. [c] Herodotus lib. 1. [d] Canon Ptol. [e] 2 Kings xxi. 18. 2 Chron. xxiii. 20.

of the land severely reveng'd the murder, putting them all to death, that had any hand in it. However they would not give him in his burial the honour of a place among the sepulchres of the sons of *David*, but buried him in the garden by his father, which shows, that though they condemned the wickedness of his reign, they would not allow of the violence that was offered to his person, tho' it may well be supposed, that nothing less than the highest tyranny and oppression could have provok'd his own domesticks to it.

An. 643. Josiah 1. AFTER the death of *Ammon*[f] *Josiah* his son succeeded him in the kingdom, being then but eight years old. But having the happiness to fall under the conduct of better guardians in his minority, than did *Manasseh* his grandfather, he proved, when grown up, a Prince of very extraordinary worth, equalling in piety, virtue and goodness, if not exceeding herein the best of his predecessors.

ALTHOUGH *Ammon* reigned but two years, yet the beginning of the reign of *Josiah* is here put at the distance of three years from the beginning of the first year of *Ammon*, because the odd months of the reign of *Hezekiah*, *Manasseh* and *Ammon*, over and above the round number of years, which they are said to have reigned, do by this time amount to a whole year more, which the chronology of the ensuing history makes necessary to be here supposed.

An. 635. Josiah 6. IN the sixth year of *Josiah*[g] *Phraortes* King of *Media* having brought under him all the upper *Asia*, (which is all that lay north of mount *Taurus* from *Media* to the river *Halys*) and made the *Persians* also to become subject unto him, elated his thoughts on these successes to the revenging of himself upon the *Assyrians* for his father's death, and accordingly marched with a great army against them, and having made himself master of the countrey laid siege to *Niniveh* it self, the capital of the empire. But he had there the misfortune to meet with the same ill fate that his father had in the former war, for being overthrown in the attempt, he and all his army perished in it.

An. 633. Josiah 8. *JOSIAH* in the[h] eighth year of his reign, being now sixteen years old, took on him the administration of the kingdom, and beginning with the reformation of religion endeavoured to purge it of all those corruptions, which had been introduced in the time of *Ammon* and *Manasseh*, his father and grandfather, and did set his heart to seek the Lord his God with all his might, as did *David* his father.

CYAXARES the son of *Phraortes*[i] having succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Media*, as soon as he had well settled himself in the government, drew together a great army to be revenged on the *Assyrians* for the late loss, and having overthrown them in a great battel led the *Medes* the second time to the siege of *Niniveh*; but before he could make any progress therein he was called off to defend his own territories against a new enemy. For the *Scythians* from the parts about the *Palus Maeotis* passing round the *Caucasus* had made a great inroad upon them, whereby he was forced to leave *Niniveh* to march against them. But he had not the same success in this war, which he had against the *Assyrians*, for the *Scythians* having vanquished him in battel dispossessed him of all the upper *Asia*, and

[f] 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.
[g] Herodot. lib. 1.
[h] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3.
[i] Herodot. lib. 1.

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reigned there twenty eight years, during which time they enlarg'd their conquests into *Syria*, and as far as the borders of *Egypt*. But there *Psammitichus* King of *Egypt* having met them, prevailed with intreaties and large gifts, that they proceeded no farther, and thereby saved his countrey from this dangerous invasion. In this expedition they seized on *Bethshean*, a city in the territories of the tribe of *Manasseh*, on this side *Jordan*, and kept it as long as they continued in *Asia*, and therefore from them it was afterwards called *Scythopolis*, or the city of the *Scythians*. But how far the ravages of these barbarians might affect *Judea* is no where said, altho' there can be no doubt but that those parts, as well as the rest of *Palestine*, both in their march to the borders of *Egypt*, and also in their return from thence, must have suffered much by them. It is related of them, that in their passage through the land of the *Philistines*, on their return from *Egypt*, some of the straglers robbed the temple of *Venus* at *Askalon*, and that for the punishment hereof they and their posterity were afflicted with emrods for a long while after, which lets us know, that the *Philistines* had till then still preserved the memory of what they had formerly suffered on the account [m] of the ark of God. For from that time, it seems, they look-ed on this disease as the proper punishment from the hand of God for all such like sacrilegious impieties, and for this reason assigned it to the *Scythians* in their histories, on the charging of them there with this crime.

JOSIAH in the [n] twelfth year of his reign, being now twenty years old, and having farther improved himself in the knowledge of God and his Laws, proceeded according hereto farther to perfect that reformation which he had begun. And therefore making a strict enquiry by a general progress through the land after all the relicts of idolatry, which might be any where remaining therein, he broke down all the altars of *Baalim*, with the idols erected on high before them, and all the high-places, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces all the carved images, and the molten images, and digged up the graves of the idolatrous priests, and burnt their bones upon all places of idolatrous worship, thereby to pollute and defile them for ever. And when he had thus cleansed all *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, he went into the cities of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, and all the rest of the land that had formerly been possess'd by the ten tribes of *Israel*, (for all this was then subject to him) and there did the same thing. *An.* 629. Josiah 12.

In the thirteenth year of *Josiah* [o] *Jeremiah* was called to the prophetick office, which he afterwards executed for above forty years in warning *Judah* and *Jerusalem* of the wrath of God impending on them for their iniquities, and in calling them to repentance for the averting of it, till at length on their continuing wholly obdurate in their evil ways, it was poured out in full measure upon both in a most calamitous destruction. *An.* 628. Josiah 13.

In the fifteenth year of *Josiah*, *Chyniladanus* King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, having by his effeminacy and unprofitableness in the state made himself contemptible to his people, [p] *Nabopollasar*, who was general of his army, took this advantage to set up for himself, and being a *Babylonian* by birth, made use of his interest there to seize that part of the *Assyrian* empire, and reigned King of *Babylon* twenty one years, *An.* 626. Josiah 15.

[k] Syncellus, p. 214. [l] Herodot. lib. 1. [m] 1 Sam. v. [n] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3, 4, 5, &c.
[o] Jer. i. 2. *and* xxv. 3. [p] Alexander Polyhistor apud Eusebium in Chronico, p. 46. & apud Syncellum, p. 210.

An. 623. Joſiah 18. *JOSIAH*[q] in the eighteenth year of his reign took eſpecial care for the repairing of the houſe of God, and therefore ſent ſeveral of the chief officers of his court to take an account of the money collected for it, and to lay his command upon *Hilkiah* the high-prieſt, that he ſhould ſee it be forthwith laid out in the doing of the work, ſo that all might be put in thorough repair. The high-prieſt in purſuance of this order took a general view of the houſe, to ſee what was neceſſary to be done, and while he was thus examining every place he found the authentick copy of the law of *Moſes*. This ought to have been laid up on the ſide of the ark of the covenant in the moſt holy place, but it was taken out thence and hid elſewhere in the time of *Manaſſeh*, as it is conjectur'd, that it might not be deſtroyed by him in the time of his iniquity. This Book *Hilkiah* ſent to the King by *Shaphan* the ſcribe, who on his delivering of it to the King, did by his command read ſome part of it to him. The place, which on the opening the book he hapned on, was (ſay the *Jewiſh* doctors) that part of the xxviii[th] chapter of *Deuteronomy*, wherein are denounc'd the curſes of God againſt the people of *Iſrael*, and againſt the King in particular, (Ver. 26.) in caſe they ſhould not keep the law which he had commanded them. On the hearing of this *Joſiah* rent his cloaths through grief, and was ſeized with great fear and conſternation on the account both of himſelf and his people, as knowing how much they and their fathers had tranſgreſſed this law, and dreading the curſes denounced againſt them for it. To eaſe his mind under this trouble and anxiety of his thoughts he ſent *Hilkiah* the high-prieſt with ſeveral of his officers to *Huldah* the propheteſs, to enquire of the Lord. The anſwer which they brought back was a ſentence of deſtruction upon *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*; but that as to *Joſiah*, becauſe of his repentance, the execution of it ſhould be delayed till after his days. However the good King, to appeaſe the wrath of God as much as lay in his power, called together a ſolemn aſſembly of all the elders and people of *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, and going up with them to the temple cauſed the law of God to be there read to them, and after that both King and people publickly entered into a ſolemn covenant to walk after the Lord, and to keep his commandments, and his teſtimonies, and his ſtatutes, with all their heart and all their ſoul, and to perform all the words of the covenant, that were written in that book. And after this he made another progreſs through the land, to purge it of all other abominations of idolatry or other wickedneſs, which might be ſtill remaining in it, which he thoroughly rooted out in all parts of his kingdom in ſuch manner, as is in the xxiii[d] chapter of the 2[d] book of *Kings* at large related. And particularly he deſtroyed the altar and high-place which *Jeroboam* had built at *Bethel*, firſt polluting them by burning on them the bones of men taken out of their ſepulchres near adjoining, and then breaking down the altar, and burning the high-place and the grove, and ſtamping them all to powder, whereby he fulfilled what had been [s]propheſied of him by name many ages before, in the time of *Jeroboam*. And he did the ſame in all the reſt of the cities of *Samaria*, deſtroying every remainder of idolatry which he could any where find in any of them. And when the next paſſover approached, he cauſed that feaſt to be kept with ſo great a ſolem-

[q] 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv. [r] Deut. xxxi. 26. [s] 1 Kings xiii. 2.

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nity, and concourſe of people from all parts of the land, that it not only exceeded the paſſover of *Hezekiah*, which is afore-mention'd, but all other paſſovers from the days of *Samuel* the prophet to that time.

BY the behaviour both of the high-prieſt, as well as of the King, at the finding of the book of the law, it plainly appears that neither of them had ſeen any copy of it before; which ſhews into how corrupt a ſtate the Church of the *Jews* was then ſunk, till this good King reformed it. For although *Hezekiah* [t] kept ſcribes on purpoſe to collect together, and write out copies of the holy ſcriptures, yet through the iniquity of the times that after followed in the reigns of *Manaſſeh* and *Ammon*, they had either been ſo deſtroyed, or elſe ſo neglected and loſt, that there were then none of them left in the land, unleſs in ſome few private hands, where they were kept up and concealed till this copy was found in the temple. And therefore after this time (by the care we may be aſſured of this religious Prince) were written out thoſe copies of the law; and other holy ſcriptures then in being, which were preſerv'd after the captivity, and out of which *Ezra* mad his edition of them in ſuch manner as will be hereafter related.

IN the twenty fourth year of *Joſiah* [u] died *Pſammitichus* King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned fifty four years, and was ſucceeded by *Necus* his ſon, the ſame who in ſcripture is called *Pharaoh Necho*, and often mentioned there under that name. He made an attempt to joyn the *Nile* and the *Red-Sea*, by drawing a canal from the one to the other. But after he had conſumed an hundred and twenty thouſand men in the work, he was forced to deſiſt from it. But he had better ſucceſs in another undertaking, for having gotten ſome of the experteſt of the *Phœnician* ſailors into his ſervice he [w] ſent them out by the *Red-Sea* through the ſtreights of *Babelmandel*, to diſcover the coaſts of *Africa*, who having ſailed round it came home the third year through the ſtreights of *Gibraltar* and the *Mediterranean* ſea, which was a very extraordinary voyage to be made in thoſe days, when the uſe of the loadſtone was not known. This voyage was performed about two thouſand one hundred years before *Vaſquez de Gama*, a *Portugueſe*, by diſcovering the *Cape of Good-hope*, *Anno Domini* 1497, found out the ſame way from hence to the *Indies*, by which theſe *Phœnicians* came from thence. Since that it hath been made the common paſſage thither from all theſe weſtern parts of the world.

IN the twenty ninth year of the reign of *Joſiah*, which was the twenty third of *Cyaxares* in the kingdom of *Media*, [x] *Nabopollaſar* King of *Babylon* having made an affinity with *Aſtyages* the eldeſt ſon of *Cyaxares*, by the marriage of *Nebuchadnezzar* his Son with *Amyitis* the daughter of *Aſtyages*, entered into a confederacy with him againſt the *Aſſyrians*, and thereon joining their forces together they beſieged *Niniveh*, and after having taken the place, and ſlain *Saracus* the King, (who was either the ſucceſſor of *Chyniladanus*, or he himſelf under another name) to gratify the *Medes* they utterly deſtroyed that great and ancient city, and from that time *Babylon* became the ſole metropolis of the *Aſſyrian* empire. From the time that *Eſarhaddon* obtained the kingdom of *Babylon* [y] both cities equally had *An.* 612. Joſiah 29.

[t] Prov. xxv. 1. [u] Herodotus, lib. 1. [w] Herodotus, lib. 4. [x] Euſebii Chronicon, p. 124. Alexander Polyhiſtor apud Syncellum, p. 210. & apud Euſebium in Chronico, p. 46. Herodotus, lib. 1. [y] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 734.

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this honour, the King ſometimes reſiding at *Niniveh* and ſometimes at *Babylon*. But after this *Niniveh* loſt it for ever. For although there was another city afterwards erected out of the ruins of old *Niniveh*, which for a long time bore the ſame name, yet it never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is at this day called [j] *Moſul*, and is only famous for being the ſeat of the patriarch of the *Neſtorians*, of which ſect are moſt of the chriſtians in thoſe parts. It is ſituated on the weſt ſide of the river *Tigris*, where was anciently only a ſuburb of the old *Niniveh*, for the city it ſelf ſtood on the eaſt ſide of the river, where are to be ſeen ſome of its ruins of great extent even to this day. According to [a] *Diodorus Siculus* the circuit of *Niniveh* was four hundred and eighty furlongs, which make ſixty of our miles. And hence it is that it is ſaid in *Jonah* to be a city [f] of three days journey, that is in compaſs. For twenty miles is as much as a man can well go in one day. *Strabo* [b] ſaith of it, that it was much bigger than *Babylon*, and in the ſame place he tells us, that the circuit of *Babylon* was three hundred eighty five furlongs, that is forty eight of our miles. The phraſe *much bigger* may well extend to the other twelve miles to make it up ſixty.

IN this deſtruction of *Niniveh* was fulfilled the prophecies of [c] *Jonah*, [d] *Nahum* and [e] *Zephaniah*, againſt it. And we are told in the book of [f] *Tobit*, that *Tobias* his ſon liv'd to hear of it, and that it was accompliſhed by *Nabuchodonoſor*, and *Aſſuerus*, which exactly agrees with the account which out of *Alexander Polyhiſtor* I have juſt above given of it. For that the *Aſſuerus* here mentioned was *Aſtyages* appears from *Daniel*: For *Darius* the *Mede*, who was *Cyaxares* the ſon of *Aſtyages*, is there called the ſon [g] of *Ahaſuerus*. And *Nabuchodonoſor* was a name among the *Babylonians* commonly given to their Kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was among the *Egyptians*. And that *Nabopollaſar* in particular was ſo called, not only appears from [h] the rabbinical writings of the *Jews*, but alſo from *Joſephus* himſelf, a writer by reaſon of his antiquity of much better authority in this matter. For in his antiquities where he is ſpeaking of the ſame King, he [i] calls him in a quotation, which is there brought out of *Beroſus*, by the name of *Nabuchodonoſor*, and afterwards [k] in his book againſt *Apion*, repeating the ſame quotation, he there calls him *Nabulaſſar*, the ſame by contraction with *Nabopollaſar*, which plainly proves him to have been called by both theſe names. I know there are thoſe who take upon them from this paſſage in the book againſt *Apion* to mend that in the antiquities, and put *Nabopollaſar* in both places. But I ſee no reaſon for it but their own fancy. Others may with as good authority from the paſſage in the antiquities mend that in the book againſt *Apion*, and put *Nabuchodonoſor* in both places. It's certain the books of *Tobit* and *Judith*, can never be reconciled with any other ancient writings, either ſacred or prophane, which relate to thoſe times, unleſs we allow *Nabuchodonoſor* to have been a name common to the Kings of *Babylon*.

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[j] Thevenot's *Travels*, *part* 2. *book* 1. *chap.* 11. *p.* 50. [a] Lib. 2. [f] Jonah iii. 3.
[b] Lib. 16. p. 737. [c] Chap. iii. [d] Chap. ii. *and* iii. [e] Chap. ii. 13. [f] Chap. xiv. 15.
[g] Daniel ix. 1. [h] *In Juchaſin* Nebuchadnezzar *is called* Nebuchadnezzar *the ſon of* Nebuchadnezzar, *fol.* 136. *And* David Ganz *under the year of the world* 3285 *calls the father* Nebuchadnezzar *the firſt, and the ſon* Nebuchadnezzar *the ſecond.* [i] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.
[k] Lib. 1.

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THE archbiſhop of *Armagh* hath put this deſtruction of *Niniveh* fourteen years earlier, that is, in the laſt year of *Chyniladanus* in the canon of *Ptolomy*, for no other reaſon, I ſuppoſe, but that he reckon'd that the end of his life and the end of his reign in that canon hapned both at the ſame time, and both together in the deſtruction of that city. Whereas the computation of that canon being by the years of the Kings that reigned at *Babylon*, *Chyniladanus*'s reign there muſt end where *Nabopollaſar*'s begun, whether he then died or no, as it is moſt probable he did not, but that he continued to hold the kingdom of *Aſſyria* after he had loſt that of *Babylon*, and that it was not till ſome time after that loſs that *Niniveh* was deſtroyed. For *Euſebius* placeth the deſtruction of *Niniveh* in the twenty third year of the reign of *Cyaxares*, and to put it back fourteen years to the laſt of *Chyniladanus* in the canon will make it fall in the ninth year of *Cyaxares*, which is too early either for his ſon *Aſtyages* to have a daughter marriageable, or for *Nebuchadnezzar* to be of age ſufficient to take her to wife: For after this rate *Nebuchadnezzar* muſt be allowed to have been [n] at the leaſt eighty five years old at the time of his death, and *Aſtyages* much older, which is an age very unlikely for ſuch to live, who uſually waſte their lives both by luxury and fatigue much faſter than other men.

AT the deſtruction of this city of *Niniveh* ended the book of *Tobit*. It was firſt written [o] in *Chaldee* by ſome *Babylonian Jew*, and ſeems in its original draught to have been the memoirs of the family to which it relates, firſt begun by *Tobit*, then continued by *Tobias*, and laſtly finiſhed by ſome other of the family, and afterwards digeſted by the *Chaldee* author into that form in which we now have it. *Jerom* [p] tranſlated it out of the *Chaldee* into *Latin*, and his tranſlation is that which we have in the vulgar *Latin* edition of the Bible. But there is a *Greek* verſion much ancienter than this. For we find it made uſe of by *Polycarp*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and other fathers, who were before *Jerom*, and from this hath been made the *Syriac* verſion, and alſo that which we have in *Engliſh* among the *Apocryphal* writers in our Bible. But the *Chaldee* original is not now extant. The *Hebrew* copies which go about of this book, as well as of that of *Judith*, ſeem both to be of [q] a modern compoſure. It being eaſier to ſettle the chronology of this book than that of the book of *Judith*, it hath met with much leſs oppoſition from learned men, and is generally looked on by both *Jews* and Chriſtians, as a genuine and true hiſtory, tho' as to ſome matters in it (as particularly that of the angel's accompanying of *Tobias* in a long journey, under the ſhape of *Azarias*, the ſtory of *Raguel*'s daughter, the frighting away of the devil by the ſmoak of the heart and liver of a fiſh, and the curing of *Tobit*'s blindneſs by the gall of the ſame fiſh,) it is much leſs reconcilable to a rational credibility. For theſe things look more like the fictions of *Homer*, than the writings of a ſacred hiſtorian, and give an objection againſt this book, which doth not lie againſt the other. However it may excellently well ſerve to repreſent unto us the duties of charity and patience in the example of *Tobit*'s ready helping his brethren in diſtreſs to

[n] *For according to this account, this marriage muſt have been one and twenty years before* Nebuchadnezzar *began to reign, and he reigned forty three years. And it muſt alſo have been one and thirty years before* Aſtyages *began to reign, and he reigned thirty years.* [o] Præfatio Hieronymi in Tobiam. [p] *They are generally thought to have been made by* Munſter.

[q] In annalibus veteris teſtamenti ſub anno mundi.

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the utmoſt of his power, and his bearing with a pious ſubmiſſion the calamities of his captivity, poverty, and blindneſs, as long as inflicted upon him. The *Latin* and *Greek* Verſions of this book, which I have mentioned, do much differ, each having ſome particulars in it which are wanting in the other. But here the *Latin* Verſion muſt give place to the *Greek*. For *Jerom*[p] made it before he himſelf underſtood *Chaldee*, by the help of a learned *Jew*, from whoſe mouth he tells us he wrote down in *Latin* what the other rendred into *Hebrew* from the original, and in this manner finiſhed the whole work in one day's time. And a work ſo done muſt undoubtedly have abundance of miſtakes, as well as unaccuracies in it. But his tranſlation[q] of *Judith* was made afterwards, when by his farther ſtudies in the oriental languages he had rendred himſelf as much maſter of the *Chaldee*, as he was before of the *Hebrew*, and he did it with great care, comparing diligently many various copies, and making uſe only of ſuch as he found to be the beſt, and therefore his verſion of that book may well deſerve an authority beyond the *Greek*, which cannot be claimed for the other. If the copy which *Jerom* tranſlated his *Tobit* from were a true copy, and he were not miſtaken in the verſion, there is one paſſage in it which abſolutely overthrows the whole authority of the book. For (*ch.* xiv. 7.) there is mention made of the temple of *Jeruſalem*, as then burnt and deſtroyed, which makes the whole of it utterly inconſiſtent with the times in which it is placed. The *Greek* verſion, as alſo the *Engliſh*, which is taken from it, I acknowledge, ſpeak only prophetically of it, as of that which was to be done, and not hiſtorically, as of that which was already done, as *Jerom*'s doth. However, this *Latin* edition is that which the church of *Rome* hath canonized. If the hiſtorical ground-plot of the book be true, which is the moſt that can be ſaid of it, yet certainly it is interlarded with many fictions of the invention of him that wrote it.

THE *Babylonians* and the *Medes* having thus deſtroyed *Niniveh*, as is above-related, they became ſo formidable hereon, as raiſed the jealouſy of all their neighbours, and therefore to put a ſtop to their growing greatneſs, [r] *Necho* King of *Egypt* in the thirty firſt year of King *Joſiah* marched with a great army towards *Euphrates*, to make war upon them. The words of *Joſephus* are, [ſ] *That it was to make war upon the* Medes *and* Babylonians, *who had diſſolved the* Aſſyrian *empire*, which plainly ſhews, that this war was commenced immediately upon that diſſolution, and conſequently that the deſtruction of *Niniveh*, whereby this diſſolution was brought to paſs, was juſt before this war, in the year where according to *Euſebius* I have placed it.

An. 610. Joſiah 31. ON *Necho*'s taking his way through *Judea*[t] *Joſiah* reſolved to impede his march, and therefore getting together his forces he poſted himſelf in the valley of *Megiddo*, there to ſtop his paſſage, whereon *Necho* ſent embaſſadors unto him, to let him know that he had no deſign upon him, that the war he was engaged in was againſt others, and therefore adviſed him not to meddle with him, leſt it ſhould turn to his hurt. But *Joſiah* not hearkening thereto, on *Necho*'s marching up to the place, where he was poſted to ſtop his paſſage, it there came to a battel between them, wherein *Jo-*

[p] Hieronymi præfatio in Tobiam. [q] Hieronymi præfatio in librum Judith.
[r] Herodotus lib. 2. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6. [ſ] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6.
[t] 2 Kings xxiii. 29, 30. 2 Chron. xxv. 20---25.

ſiah

ſiah was not only overthrown, but alſo unfortunately received a wound, of which on his return to *Jeruſalem* he there died, after he had reigned thirty one years.

IT is the notion of many, that *Joſiah* engaged raſhly and unadviſedly in this war, upon an over-confidence in the merit of his own righteouſneſs, as if God for this reaſon muſt neceſſarily have given him ſucceſs in every war which he ſhould engage himſelf in. But this would be a preſumption very unworthy of ſo religious a perſon. There was another reaſon that engaged him in this undertaking, which hath been above hinted at. From the time of *Manaſſeh*'s reſtoration the Kings of *Judah* were homagers to the Kings of *Babylon*, and bound by oath to adhere to them againſt all their enemies, eſpecially againſt the *Egyptians*, and to defend that border of their empire againſt them. And for this purpoſe they ſeem to have had conferred on them the reſt of the land of *Canaan*, that which had formerly been poſſeſſed by the other ten tribes, till conquered from them by the *Aſſyrians*. It's certain *Joſiah* had the whole land of *Iſrael* in the ſame extent, in which it had been held by *David* and *Solomon*, before it was divided into two kingdoms. For his reformation went through all of it, and it was executed by him not only in *Bethel* (where one of *Jereboam*'s calves ſtood) but alſo in every other part thereof, and with the ſame ſovereign authority as in *Judea* it ſelf, and therefore he muſt have been King of the whole. And it is to be remarked, that the battel was fought, not within the territories of *Judea*, but at *Megiddo* a town of the tribe of *Manaſſeh*, lying in the middle of the kingdom of *Iſrael*, where *Joſiah* would have had nothing to do, had he not been King of that kingdom alſo, as well as of the other of *Judah*. And he could have had it no otherwiſe, but by grant from the King of *Babylon*, a province of whoſe empire it was made by the conqueſt of it, firſt begun by *Tiglath-Pileſer*, and afterwards finiſhed by *Salmaneſer* and *Eſarhaddon*. And if this grant was not upon the expreſs conditions which I have mentioned, yet whatſoever other terms there were of this conceſſion, moſt certainly fidelity to the ſovereign paramount, and a ſteddy adherence to his intereſt againſt all his enemies was always required in ſuch caſes, and an oath of God exacted for the performance hereof. And it is not to be doubted, but that *Joſiah* had taken ſuch an oath to *Nabopollaſar* the then reigning King of *Babylon*, as *Jehoiakim* and *Zedekiah* afterwards did to *Nebuchadnezzar*, his ſon and ſucceſſor in that empire. And therefore ſhould *Joſiah*, when under ſuch an obligation, have permitted an enemy of the King of *Babylon* to paſs through his countrey to make war upon him without any oppoſition, it would plainly have amounted to a breach of his oath, and a violation of that fidelity, which he had in the name of his God ſworn unto him, which ſo good and juſt a man as *Joſiah* was, could not but abſolutely deteſt. For altho' the Romaniſts make nothing of breaking faith with heretics, yet the breaking of faith with an heathen was condemned by [r] God himſelf in *Jehoiakim* and *Zedekiah*, and moſt certainly it would have been condemn'd in *Joſiah* alſo, had he become guilty of it, which being what a perſon ſo well inſtructed in religion, as *Joſiah* was, could not but be thoroughly convinced of, the ſenſe, which he had of his duty in this particular ſeems ſolely to have been that which engaged

[r] Ezekiel xvii. 13,---19.

him in this war in which he perished. And with him perished all the glory, honour, and prosperity of the *Jewish* nation. For after that, nothing else ensued but a dismal scene of God's Judgments upon the land, till at length all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* were swallowed up by them in a woful destruction.

THE death of so excellent a prince was deservedly lamented by all his people, and by none more than by *Jeremiah* the prophet, who had a thorough sense of the greatness of the loss, and also a full foresight of the great calamities that were afterwards to follow upon the whole people of the *Jews*, and therefore while his heart was full with the view of both, he wrote [w] a song of lamentation upon this doleful occasion, as he afterwards did another upon the destruction of *Jerusalem*. This [x] last is that which we still have, the other is not now extant.

MEGIDDO, where the battel was fought, was a city [y] in the tribe of *Manasseh* on this side *Jordan*, which is by *Herodotus* called *Magdolum*; nigh it was the town of *Hadad-Rimmon*, afterwards called [z] *Maximianopolis*, and therefore the Lamentation for the death of *Josiah* is in scripture called *the Lamentation of* Hadad-Rimmon *in the valley of* Megiddo, which was so great for this excellent prince, and so long continued, that [a] the lamentation of *Hadad-Rimmon* afterwards became a proverbial phrase for the expressing of any extraordinary sorrow.

THIS great and general mourning of all the people of *Israel* for the death of this prince, and the prophet *Jeremiah*'s joining so pathetically with them herein, sheweth in how great a reputation he was with them; which he would not have deserved, had he engaged in this war contrary to the words of that prophet spoken to him from the mouth of the Lord, as the apocryphal writer of the first book [b] of *Esdras*, and others from him say. For then he would have died in rebellion against God, and disobedience to his command, and then neither God's prophet, nor God's people, could in this case, without sinning against God, have expressed so great an esteem for him, as this mourning implied. And therefore this mourning alone is a sufficient proof of the contrary. Besides it is to be observed, that no part of canonical scripture gives us the least intimation of it, nor can we from thence have any reason or ground to believe, that there was any such word from the Lord by the prophet *Jeremiah*, or any other prophet, to recal *Josiah* from this war. All that is said of it, is from that apocryphal book I have mentioned, of which it may be truly said, that where it is not a transcript from *Ezra*, or some other canonical scripture, it is no more than a bundle of fables, too absurd for the belief of the Romanists themselves, (for they have not taken this book into their canonical scripture, though they have those of *Tobit* and of *Bell and the Dragon*) and therefore it is deserving of no man's regard in this particular.

IT is said indeed (2 *Chron.* xxxv. 21.) that *Necho* sent Messengers to *Josiah*, to tell him, that he was sent of God on this expedition; that God was with him in it; and that to meddle with him would be to meddle with God; and that therefore he ought to forbear, that God destroy him not.

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[w] 2 Chron. xxxv. 25. [x] *This last referring throughout to the destruction of* Jerusalem *could not be that which was wrote upon the death of* Josiah. [y] Joshua xvii. 11. Judges i. 27.
[z] Hieronymus. [a] Zechariah xii. 11. [b] Chap. i. 28.

And

And (ver. 22.) that *Joſiah* hearkened not to the word of *Necho* from the mouth of God. And from all this put together, ſome would infer that *Joſiah* was diſobedient to the word of God in going to that war. But this is utterly inconſiſtent with the character, which is given us in ſcripture, of that religious and excellent prince. And therefore what is here ſaid muſt not be underſtood of the true God, *the Lord Jehovah*, who was the God of *Iſrael*, but of the *Egyptian* Gods, whoſe oracles *Joſiah* had no reaſon to have any regard to. For *Necho* being an heathen Prince knew not *the Lord Jehovah*, nor ever conſulted his prophets or his oracles; the *Egyptian* Gods were thoſe only which he worſhipped, and whoſe oracles he conſulted, and therefore when he ſaith he was ſent of God on this expedition, and that God was with him, he meant none other than his falſe *Egyptian* Gods whom he ſerved. For wherever the word *God* occurs in this text, it is not expreſſed in the *Hebrew* original by the word *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, but by the word *Elohim*, which being in the plural number is equally applicable to the falſe Gods of the heathens, as well as to the true God, who was the God of *Iſrael*, and in the ſcriptures of the old teſtament it is equally uſed for the expreſſing of the one, as well as the other. For wherever there is occaſion therein to ſpeak of thoſe falſe Gods, it is by the word *Elohim* that they are there mentioned. And whereas it is ſaid (ver. 22.) that *Joſiah hearkned not to the words of* Necho *from the mouth of God*, (and from hence it is chiefly inferr'd that the meſſage which *Necho* ſent to *Joſiah* was truly from God) it is to be obſerved, that the phraſe, which we render *from the mouth of God*, is in the *Hebrew* original *Mippi Elohim*, i. e. from the mouth of *Elohim*, which may be interpreted of the falſe Gods, as well as of the true God, (as hath been already ſaid) and much rather in this place of the former, than of the latter. For wherever [c] elſe through the whole *Hebrew* text of the holy ſcriptures there is mention made of any word coming from the mouth of God, he is there mentioned by the name *Jehovah*, which determines it to the true God; and this is the only place in the whole *Hebrew* bible, where in the uſe of this phraſe it is expreſſed otherwiſe, that is, by the name *Elohim*, and not by the name *Jehovah*, which change in the phraſe in this place is a ſufficient proof to me, that there muſt be here a change in the ſignification alſo, and that the word which is here ſaid to come from the mouth of *Elohim* is not the ſame with the word which is every where elſe in the uſe of this phraſe in ſcripture ſaid to come from the mouth of *Jehovah*, but that *Elohim* muſt in this place ſignify the falſe Gods of the *Egyptians*, and that from their falſe oracles only *Necho* had this word, which he ſent to *Joſiah*. For what had he to do with any word from the true God, who knew him not, nor ever worſhipped him? or how could any ſuch revelation come to him, who knew not any of his prophets, or ever conſulted them? and therefore moſt certainly the word, which is here ſaid to come *Mippi Elohim*, i. e. from the month of *Elohim*, muſt be underſtood only of *Necho*'s *Elohim*, that is, of thoſe falſe *Egyptian* Gods whoſe oracles he conſulted, before he undertook this expedition, as it was then uſual with heathen princes on ſuch occaſions to conſult the falſe deluding oracles of the Gods they worſhipped. And had it been here *Mippi Jeho-*

[c] *See* Deuter. viii. 3. Joſhua ix. 14. 1 Kings xiii. 21. 2 Chron xxxvi. 12. Iſaiah i. 20. xl. 5. lviii. 14. lxii. 2. Jer. ix. 12. *and* xxiii. 16. Micah iv. 4.

vah, i. e. from the mouth of *Jehovah*, inſtead of *Mippi Elohim*, conſidering who ſent the meſſage, it would not have much mended the matter. For *Joſiah* would have had no reaſon to believe it from ſuch a meſſenger. When *Sennacherib* came up againſt *Judah*, he ſent *Hezekiah* word, [d] that the Lord (*Jehovah* in the *Hebrew*) ſaid unto him, *Go up againſt this land and deſtroy it.* But it was not reckoned a fault in *Hezekiah*, that he believed him not, neither could it be reckoned a fault in *Joſiah* in doing the ſame. For it is certain that *Sennacherib* in ſo pretending lyed to King *Hezekiah*, and why might not *Joſiah* then have as good reaſon to conclude that *Necho*, in the like pretence might have lyed alſo unto him? For God uſed not to ſend his word to his ſervants by ſuch meſſengers. But *Necho*'s pretence was not ſo large as *Sennacherib*'s. For *Sennacherib* pretended to be ſent by *Jehovah*, the certain name of the true God, but *Necho* pretended to be ſent only by *Elohim*, which may be interpreted of his falſe *Egyptian* Gods, as well as of the true God. And it ſeems clear he could mean none other than the former by that word in this text. And therefore *Joſiah* could not be liable to any blame in not hearkening to any words which came from them.

AFTER the death of *Joſiah* [e] the people of the land took *Jehoahaz* his ſon, who was alſo called *Shallum*, and made him King in his ſtead. He was much unlike his father. For he did that which was evil in the ſight of the Lord, and therefore he was ſoon tumbled down from his throne into a priſon, where he ended his days with miſery and diſgrace in a ſtrange land.

FOR *Pharaoh Necho* [f] having had the good ſucceſs in his expedition to beat the *Babylonians* at the *Euphrates*, and having thereon taken *Charchemiſh*, a great city in thoſe parts, and ſecured it to himſelf with a good garriſon, after three months returned again towards *Egypt*, and hearing in his way that *Jehoahaz* had taken upon him to be King of *Judah* without his conſent, [g] he ſent for him to *Riblah* in *Syria*, and on his arrival cauſed him to be put in chains, and ſent him priſoner into *Egypt*, where he died; and then proceeding on in his way came to *Jeruſalem*, where he made [h] *Jehoiakim*, another of the ſons of *Joſiah*, King inſtead of his brother, and put the land to an annual tribute of an [i] hundred talents of ſilver, and a talent of gold, and after that returned with great triumph into his own kingdom.

HERODOTUS making mention of this expedition of *Necho*'s, and alſo of the battel which he fought at *Megiddo* (or *Magdolum*, as he calleth it) [*] ſaith, that after the victory there obtained by him, he took the great city *Cadytis*, which city he afterwards deſcribes to be a mountainous city in *Paleſtine*, of the bigneſs of *Sardis* in *Lidya*, the chief city of all *Leſſer Aſia* in thoſe times. By which deſcription this city *Cadytis* could be none other than *Jeruſalem*. For that is ſituated in the mountains of *Paleſtine*, and there was then no other city in thoſe parts which could be equalled

[d] 2 Kings xviii. 25. Iſaiah xxxvi. 10. [e] 2 Kings xxiii. 31. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1.
[f] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6. [g] 2 Kings xxiii. 33. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3, 4.
[h] *This* Jehoiakim *was elder brother to* Jehoahaz. *For the latter was but twenty three years old when the other was twenty five*, 2 Kings xxiii. 31, 36. *and yet the people on the death of* Joſiah *choſe* Jehoahaz *to ſucceed him.* [i] *The whole annual tribute, as here taxed, came to* 52200 l. *of our money.*
[*] Herod. lib. 2.

to

to *Sardis*, but that only. And it is certain from ſcripture, that after this battel *Necho* did take *Jeruſalem*. For he [l] was there when he made *Jehoiakim* King. There is, I confeſs, no mention of this name either in the ſcriptures or in *Joſephus*. But that it was however called ſo in the time of *Herodotus* by the *Syrians* and *Arabians* doth appear from this, that it is called by them and all the eaſtern nations by no other name, but one of the ſame original, and the ſame ſignification, even to this day. For *Jeruſalem* is a name now altogether as ſtrange among them as *Cadytis* is to us. They [m] all call it by the name of *Al-kuds*, which ſignifies the ſame that *Cadytis* doth, that is, *The Holy*. For from the time that *Solomon* built the temple at *Jeruſalem*, and it was thereby made to all *Iſrael* the common place of their religious worſhip, this epithet of *The Holy* was commonly given unto it. And therefore we find it thenceforth called, in the ſacred writings of the *Old Teſtament*, [n] *Air Hakkodeſh*, i. e. the city of holineſs or *the Holy City*, and ſo alſo * in ſeveral places in the *New Teſtament*. And this ſame title they gave it in their coins. For the inſcription of their ſhekels (many of which are ſtill extant) was [o] *Jeruſalem Keduſhah*, i. e. *Jeruſalem the holy*, and this coin going current among the neighbouring nations, eſpecially after the *Babyloniſh* captivity had made a diſperſion of that people over all the eaſt, it carry'd this name with it among them, and they from hence called the city by both names *Jeruſalem Keduſhah*, and at length for ſhortneſs ſake *Keduſhah* only, and the *Syrians* (who in their dialect uſually turned the *Hebrew ſh* into *th*) *Kedutha*. And the *Syriac*, in the time of *Herodotus*, being the only language that was then ſpoken in *Paleſtine* (the *Hebrew* having been no more uſed there, or any where elſe, as a vulgar language, after the *Babyloniſh* captivity) he found it when he travelled thorough that countrey to be called there in the *Syriac* dialect *Kedutha*, from whence by giving it a *Greek* termination he made it in the *Greek* language Κάδυτις or *Cadytis* in his hiſtory, which he wrote about the time that *Nehemiah* ended his twelve years government at *Jeruſalem*. And for the ſame reaſon that it was called *Keduſha* or *Kedutha* in *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, the *Arabs* in their language called it [p] *Bait Almokdes*, i. e. *the holy Buildings*, or *the holy City*, and often with another adjective of the ſame root and the ſame ſignification *Bait Alkuds*, and at length ſimply *Alkuds*, i. e. *The Holy*, by which name only [q] it is now called by the *Turks*, *Arabs*, and all other nations of the *Mahometan* religion in thoſe parts. And that it may not look ſtrange to prove an ancient name by the modern name, which is now given that place, it is neceſſary I acquaint the reader, that the *Arabs* being the ancienteſt nation in the world, (who have never been by any conqueſt diſpoſſeſſed, or driven out of their countrey, but have there always remained in a continued deſcent from the firſt planters of it even to this day) and being alſo as little given to make changes in their manners and uſages, as they are as to their countrey, they have ſtill retained thoſe ſame names of places which were at firſt given them, and on their getting the empire of the eaſt reſtored them again to many of them, after

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[l] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3. [m] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, *p.* 137. Sandys's *Travels*, *book* 3. *p.* 155. Baudrandi Geographia ſub voce *Hieroſolyma*. [n] Nehemiah xi. 1 *and* 18. Iſaiah xlviii. 2. *and Chap.* lii. 1. Daniel ix. 24. * Matt. iv. 5. *and Chap.* xxvii. 53. Rev. xxi. 2.

[o] *See* Lightfoot's *Works*, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 497. *and Vol.* 2. *p.* 303. *and* Walton's Apparatus *before the* Polygot *Bible*, *p.* 36, 37. [p] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, *p.* 137. [q] Sandys's *Travels*, *book* 3. *p.* 155. Baudrandi Geographia ſub voce *Hieroſolyma*.

they

they had been for ſeveral ages extinct by the intermediate changes, that had hapned in them. And thus [r] the ancient metropolis of *Egypt*, which from *Mezraim* the ſon of *Ham*, the firſt planter of that countrey after the flood, was called *Meſri*, and afterwards for many ages had the name of *Memphis*, was on the *Arabs* making themſelves maſters of *Egypt*, again called *Meſri*, and hath retained that name ever ſince, tho' by the building of *Cairo* on the other ſide of *Nile* over againſt it, (for *Meſri* ſtands on the weſt ſide of that river) that ancient and once noble city is now brought in a manner to deſolation. And for the ſame reaſon the city of *Tyrus*, which was anciently called [s] *Zor* or *Zur*, (from whence the whole countrey of *Syria* had its name) hath ſince it fell into the hands of the *Arabs* on the erecting of their empire in the eaſt been again called [t] *Sor*, and is at this day known by no other name in thoſe parts. And by the ſame means the city of *Palmyra* hath again recovered the old name of *Tadmor*, by which it was called [u] in the time of *Solomon*, and is now known in the eaſt by no other name. And abundance of other like inſtances might be given in the eaſt to this purpoſe. And the like may be found nearer home. For it is well known that the *Welſh* in their language do ſtill call all the cities in *England* by the old *Britiſh* names, by which they were called 1300 years ago, before the *Saxons* diſpoſſeſſed them of this countrey; and ſhould they recover it again, and here get the dominion over it as formerly, no doubt they would again reſtore to all places here the ſame *Britiſh* names by which they ſtill call them.

An. 609. Jehoiakim 1. *JEHOIAKIM*, on his taking on him the kingdom, followed the example of his brother [v] in doing that which was evil. For he went on in his ſteps to relax all the good order and diſcipline of his father, as the other had done, and the people (who never went heartily into that good King's reformation) gladly laying hold hereof did let themſelves looſe to the full bent of their own depraved inclinations, and run into all manner of iniquity, whereon the prophet *Jeremiah* being ſent of God [w] firſt went into the King's houſe, and there proclaimed God's judgments againſt him and his family, if he went on in his iniquities, and did not amend and repent of them. And after that [x] he went up into the temple, and there ſpoke to all the people that came up thither to worſhip after the ſame manner, declaring unto them, that if they would turn from their evil ways, God would turn from his wrath, and repent of the evil which he purpoſed to bring upon them. But that if they would not hearken unto him to walk in the law of God, and keep his commandments, then the wrath of God ſhould be poured out upon them, and both that city and the temple ſhould be brought to utter deſolation. Which angring the prieſts that then attended in the temple, they laid hold of him, and brought him before the King's council to have him put to death. But *Ahikam*, one of the chief lords of the council, ſo befriended *Jeremiah*, that he brought him off, and got him diſcharg'd by the general ſuffrage, not only of the princes, but alſo of all the elders of the people that were then preſent. This *Ahikam* was [y] the father

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[r] Bocharti Phaleg. Part I. lib. 4. c. 24. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 152, 153, &c. [s] *So it is called in the original* Hebrew *text of the* Old Teſtament *where ever there is mention of this City therein.* [t] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 130 *and* 131. Baudrandi Geographia ſub voce *Tyrus*. Thevenot's *Travels*, *Part* I. *Book* II. *Ch.* 60. *p.* 220. [u] 1 Kings ix. 18. 2 Chron. viii. 4. [v] 2 Kings xxiii. 37. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5. [w] Jer. xxii. [x] Jer. xxvi. [y] 2 Kings xxv. 22.

of

of *Gedaliah*, that was afterwards made governor of the land under the *Chaldeans*, and the ſon of *Shaphan* the ſcribe, (who was [a] chief miniſter of ſtate under King *Joſiah*) and brother [b] to *Gemariah*, [c] *Elaſah*, and [d] *Jaazaniah*, who were great men in thoſe days, and members alſo of the council with him, and therefore in conjunction with them he had a great intereſt there, which he made uſe of on this occaſion, to deliver the prophet from that miſchief which was intended againſt him.

BUT [e] *Uriah*, another prophet of the Lord, who had this ſame year propheſied after the ſame manner, could not ſo come off. For *Jehoiakim* was ſo incenſed againſt him for it, that he ſought to put him to death, whereon *Uriah* fled into *Egypt*; but this did not ſecure him from his revenge, for he ſent into *Egypt* after him, and having procur'd him to be there ſeized, brought him up from thence, and ſlew him at *Jeruſalem*, which became a farther enhanſing of his iniquity, and alſo of God's wrath againſt him for it.

ABOUT the ſame time alſo propheſied the Prophets *Habakuk* and *Zephaniah*, who being called to the prophetick office in the reign of *Joſiah*, continued (as ſeems moſt likely) to this time. For they propheſied the ſame things that *Jeremiah* did, and upon the ſame occaſion, that is, deſtruction and deſolation upon *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, becauſe of the many hainous ſins they were then guilty of. *Zephaniah* doth not name the *Chaldeans*, who were to be the executioners of this wrath of God upon them; but [f] *Habakuk* doth. As to *Habakuk*, neither the time in which he lived, nor the parents from whom he was deſcended, are any where named in ſcripture. But he propheſying the coming of the *Chaldeans* in the ſame manner, as *Jeremiah* did, this gives reaſon to conjecture that he lived in the ſame time. Of *Zephaniah* it is directly ſaid, [g] that he propheſied in the time of *Joſiah*; and in his pedigree (which is alſo given us) his father's grandfather is called [h] *Hezekiah*, which ſome taking to be King *Hezekiah* do therefore reckon this Prophet to have been of royal deſcent.

IN the third year of *Jehoiakim*, [i] *Nabopolaſſar* King of *Babylon*, finding that on *Necho*'s taking of *Carchemiſh* all *Syria* and *Paleſtine* had revolted to him, and that he being old and infirm was unable to march thither himſelf to reduce them, he took *Nebuchadnezzar* his ſon into partnerſhip with him in the empire, and [k] ſent him with an army into thoſe parts, and from hence the *Jewiſh* computation of the years of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign begins, that is, from the end of the third year of *Jehoiakim*. For it was about the end of that year that this was done, and therefore according to the *Jews*, [l] the fourth year of *Jehoiakim* was the firſt year of *Nebuchadnezzar*. But according to the *Babylonians* his reign is not reckoned to begin till after his father's death, which happed two years afterwards; and both computations being found in ſcripture, it is neceſſary to ſay ſo much here for the reconciling of them. *An.* 607. Jehoiakim 3.

IN the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*. *Nebuchadnezzar*, [l] having beaten the *An.* 606. Jehoiakim 4.

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[a] 2 Kings xxii. [b] Jer. xxxvi. 10. [c] Jer. xxix. 3. [d] Ezek. viii. 11. *From which place it is inferred that* Jaazaniah *was then Preſident of the Sanhedrim.* [e] Jer. xxvi. 20---23.

[f] Habakuk i. 1---11. Zephaniah i. 1---18. [g] Hab. i. 5. [h] Zephaniah i. 1.

[i] Beroſus apud Joſephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem, lib. 1. [k] Dan. i. 1.

[l] Jer. xxv. 1. *Which ſame fourth year was the* 23d *from the* 13th *of* Joſiah, *when* Jeremiah *firſt began to propheſy*, ver. 3. [l] Jer. xlvi. 1.

army

army of *Nechо* King of *Egypt* at the *Euphrates*, and retaken *Carchemiſh*, marched towards *Syria* and *Paleſtine* to recover thoſe provinces again to the *Babyloniſh* empire; on whoſe approach [m] the *Rechabites*, who according to the inſtitution of *Jonadab* the ſon of *Rechab* their father, had always abſtained from wine, and hitherto only liv'd in tents, finding no ſecurity from this invaſion in the open countrey retired for their ſafety to *Jeruſalem*, where was tranſacted between them and *Jeremiah* what we find related in the thirty fifth chapter of his propheſies.

THIS very [n] ſame year *Jeremiah* propheſied of the coming of *Nebuchadnezzar* againſt *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, that the whole land ſhould be delivered into his hands, and that a captivity of ſeventy years continuance ſhould after that enſue upon the people of the *Jews*, and he alſo delivered ſeveral other propheſies of the many calamities and woful deſolations that were then ready to be brought upon them, intending thereby if poſſible to bring them to repentance, that ſo the wrath of God might be diverted from them.

BUT all this working nothing upon their hardned and obdurate hearts, God commanded him [o] to collect together, and write in a roll, all the words of propheſy, which had been ſpoken by him againſt *Iſrael*, and againſt *Judah*, and againſt the nations, from the thirteenth year of *Joſiah* (when he was firſt called to the prophetick office) to that time; whereon *Jeremiah* called to him *Baruch* the ſon of *Neriah*, a chief diſciple of his, who being a ready ſcribe wrote from his mouth all as God had commanded, and then went with the roll which he had thus written up into the temple, and there read it in the hearing of all the people on the great faſt of the expiation, when all *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* were aſſembled together at that ſolemnity. For *Jeremiah* being then ſhut up in priſon for his former propheſying could not go up thither himſelf, and therefore by God's command *Baruch* was ſent to do it in his ſtead, and at his firſt reading of the roll, whether it were that *Jehoiakim* and his Princes were then abſent to take care of the borders of the kingdom, which *Nebuchadnezzar* was then juſt ready to invade; or that amidſt the diſtractions, which uſually happen on ſuch impending dangers, mens minds were otherwiſe engaged, no reſentments were at that time expreſs'd either againſt the prophet or his diſciple on this occaſion. But *Baruch* being very much affrighted and diſmayed at the threats of the roll, which he had thus wrote and publickly read, the word of propheſy, which we have in the forty fifth chapter of *Jeremiah*, was ſent from God on purpoſe to comfort him, and a promiſe is therein given him, that amidſt all the calamities, deſtructions, and deſolations, which according to the words of the roll ſhould be certainly brought upon *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, he ſhould be ſure to find a deliverance. For that none of them ſhould reach him, but God would give him his life for a prey in all places whereſoever he ſhould go.

THE great faſt of the expiation, wherein *Baruch* read the roll, as is above related, was annually kept by the *Jews* [p] on the tenth day of the month *Tizri*, which anſwers to our *September*. Immediately after that *Nebuchadnezzar* invaded *Judea*, and having laid ſiege to *Jeruſalem* [q] made himſelf maſter of it in the ninth month called *Caſleu* (which anſwers to our

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[m] Jeremiah xxxv. 6---11. [n] Jeremiah xxv. & xxiii. 27. [o] Jeremiah xxxvi. [p] Leviticus xvi. 29. [q] Dan. i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.

No-

November) on the eighteenth day of that month, (for on that day is ſtill kept by the *Jews* an annual faſt in commemoration of it even to this day) and having then taken *Jehoiakim* priſoner, he put him in chains to carry him to *Babylon*. But he having [r] humbled himſelf to King *Nebuchadnezzar*, and ſubmitted to become his tributary, and thereon ſworn fealty to him, he was again reſtored to his kingdom, and *Nebuchadnezzar* marched from *Jeruſalem* for the farther proſecuting of his victories againſt the *Egyptians*.

BUT before he removed from *Jeruſalem*, he had cauſed great numbers of the people to be ſent captives to *Babylon*, and particularly [s] gave order to *Aſhpenaz* the maſter of his eunuchs, that he ſhould make choice out of the children of the royal family, and of the nobility of the land, of ſuch as he found to be of the faireſt countenance and the quickeſt parts, to be carried to *Babylon*, and there made eunuchs in his palace. Whereby was fulfilled the word of the Lord ſpoken [t] by *Iſaiah* the prophet to *Hezekiah* King of *Judah* above an hundred years before. At the ſame time alſo he [v] carried away a great part of the veſſels of the houſe of the Lord to put them in the houſe of *Bel* his God at *Babylon*. And therefore the people being thus carried into Captivity, the ſons of the royal family and of the nobility of the Land made eunuchs and ſlaves in the palace of the King of *Babylon*, the veſſels of the temple carried thither, and the King made a tributary, and the whole land now brought into vaſſalage under the *Babylonians*; from hence muſt be reckoned the beginning of the ſeventy years of the *Babyloniſh* captivity [w] foretold by the prophet *Jeremiah*; and the fourth year of *Jehoiakim* muſt be the firſt year in that computation.

AMONG the number of the children that were carried away in this captivity by the maſter of the eunuchs, were [x] *Daniel*, *Hananiah*, *Miſhael* and *Azariah*. *Daniel* they called *Belteſhazzar*, and the other three *Shadrach*, *Meſhac*, and *Abednego*. Some indeed do place their captivity ſome years later, but that is abſolutely inconſiſtent with what is elſewhere ſaid in Scripture. For theſe children after their carrying away to *Babylon* were to be [y] three years under the tuition of the maſter of the eunuchs, to be inſtructed by him in the language and the learning of the *Chaldeans*, before they were to be admitted to the preſence of the King to ſtand and ſerve before him. But in the [z] ſecond year of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign at *Babylon* from his father's death, (which was but the fourth year after his firſt taking of *Jeruſalem*) *Daniel* had not only admiſſion and freedom of acceſs to the preſence of the King, but we find him [a] there interpreting of his dream, and immediately thereon advanced to be [b] chief of the governors of the wiſe men, and ruler over all the province of *Babylon*. For which truſt leſs than four years inſtruction in the language, laws, uſages and learning of the countrey, can ſcarce be thought ſufficient to qualify him, nor could he any ſooner be old enough for it. For he was but a youth when he was firſt carried away from *Jeruſalem*. And therefore all this put together doth neceſſarily determine the time of *Daniel*'s and the other children's carrying away to *Babylon* to the year where I have placed it. And if we will make Scripture conſiſtent with Scripture, it could not

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[r] 2 Kings xxiv. 1. [s] Dan. i. 3. [t] Iſaiah xxxix. 7. 2 Kings xx. 18. [v] Dan. i. 2. [w] Jer. xxv. 11. & xxix. 10. [x] Dan. i. 6. [y] Dan. i. 5. [z] Dan. ii. 16. [a] Dan. ii. 31. [b] Dan. ii. 48.

poſſibly have been any later. *Daniel* ſpeaking of the captivity, [c] begins the Hiſtory of it from the third year of *Jehoiakim*, which placeth it back yet ſtill a year farther than I have done, and this is an objection on the other hand. But the anſwer hereto is eaſy. *Daniel* begins his computation from the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* was ſent from *Babylon* by his Father on this expedition, which was in the latter end of the third year of *Jehoiakim*. After that two months at leaſt muſt have been ſpent in his march to the borders of *Syria*. There in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim* (we ſuppoſe in the beginning of that year) he fought the *Egyptians*, and having overthrown them in battel, beſieged *Carchemiſh* and took it. After this he reduced all the provinces and cities of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, in which having employed the greateſt part of the year, (and a great deal of work it was to do within that time) in the beginning of *October* he came and laid ſiege to *Jeruſalem*, and about a month after took the city. And from hence we date the beginning of *Daniel*'s ſervitude, and alſo the beginning of the ſeventy years of the *Babyloniſh* captivity, and therefore do reckon that year to have been the firſt of both.

THE *Scythians*, who had now for twenty eight years held all the upper *Aſia*, (that is the two *Armenias*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Colchis* and *Iberia*,) were this year again [d] driven out of it. The *Medes*, whom they had diſpoſſeſſed of theſe Provinces, had long endeavoured to recover them by open force, but finding themſelves unable to ſucceed this way they at length accompliſhed it by treachery. For under the covert of a peace (which they had made on purpoſe to carry on the fraud) they invited the greateſt part of them to a feaſt, where having made them drunk they ſlew them all. After which having eaſily ſubdued the reſt they recovered from them all that they had loſt, and again extended their empire to the river *Halys*, which had been the ancient borders of it towards the weſt.

An. 605. Jehoiakim 5. AFTER the *Chaldeans* were gone from *Jeruſalem*, *Jehoiakim* inſtead of being amended by thoſe heavy chaſtiſements, which by their hand God had inflicted on him and his kingdom, rather grew worſe under them in all thoſe ways of wickedneſs and impiety, which he had afore practiſed; and *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* kept pace with him herein, to the farther provoking of God's wrath, and the haſtning of their own deſtruction. However no means were omitted to reclaim them; and *Jeremiah* the prophet, who was particularly ſent to them for this purpoſe, was conſtantly calling upon them and exhorting them to turn unto the Lord their God, that ſo his wrath might be turned from them, and they ſaved from the deſtruction which was coming upon them; of which he ceaſed not continually to warn them. And they having on the ninth month, called *Caſleu*, proclaimed a publick faſt to be held on the eighteenth day of the ſame, becauſe of the calamity, which they had ſuffered thereon in the taking of *Jeruſalem* by the *Chaldeans* the year foregoing, (which hath ever ſince been annually obſerved by them in commemoration hereof, as hath been aforeſaid) the prophet laying hold of this opportunity, when all *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* were met together to keep this ſolemnity, [e] ſent *Baruch* again up into the temple with the roll of his propheſies there to read it the ſecond time in the hearing of all of them, making thereby another tryal, if by the ter-

[c] Dan. i. 1. [d] Herodotus lib. 1. [e] Jer. xxxvi. 9, 10, 11, &c.

rors

rors of theſe propheſies it were poſſible to fright them into their duty. And it being God's command by the mouth of his prophet, *Baruch* accordingly went up into the temple on the ſaid faſt-day, and entering into the chamber of *Gemariah* the ſcribe (which was the room where the King's council uſed to ſit in the temple near the eaſt gate of the ſame) did there from a window aloft read in the hearing of all the people then gathered together in the court below all the words of the ſaid roll; which *Michaiah* the ſon of *Gemariah*, who was then preſent, hearing, went immediately to the King's houſe, and there informed the lords of the council of it, whereon they ſent for *Baruch*, and cauſed him to ſit down, and read the roll over to them; at the hearing whereof, and the threats therein contained, they being much afrighted enquired of *Baruch* the manner of his writing of it, and being informed that it was all dictated to him from the mouth of the prophet, they ordered him to leave the roll, and depart, adviſing, that he and *Jeremiah* ſhould immediately go and hide themſelves where no one might find them; and then went in to the King, and informed him of all that had paſſed; whereon he ſent for the roll, and cauſed it to be read to him, but after he had heard three or four leaves of it, as he was ſitting by the fire in the winter parlour, he took it and cut it with a penknife, and caſt it into the fire that was there before him, till it was all conſumed, notwithſtanding ſome of the lords of the council intreated him to the contrary, and immediately thereon iſſued out an order to have *Baruch* and *Jeremiah* ſeiz'd, but having hid themſelves, as adviſed by the council, they could not be found.

THE *Jews* keep an annual faſt even to this day for the burning of this roll. The day marked for it in their calendar is the 29th day of [f] *Caſleu*, eleven days after that which they keep for that faſt, on which it was read in the temple. But the reading of the roll on the faſt of the 18th of *Caſleu*, and the burning of it according to the account given hereof by *Jeremiah*, ſeem immediately to have followed each other.

AFTER the burning of this roll, another by God's eſpecial command was forthwith written in the ſame manner from the mouth of the Prophet by the hand of *Baruch*, wherein was contained all that was in the former roll, and there were added many other like words, and particularly that propheſy in reſpect of *Jehoiakim* and his houſe, which is for this impious fact in the 30th and 31ſt verſes of the xxxvith chapter of *Jeremiah* denounced againſt them.

IN making the roll to be read twice in the temple by *Baruch*, I confeſs I differ from moſt that have commented upon this place of Scripture. But as the reading of the roll by *Baruch* is in the xxxvith chapter of *Jeremiah* twice related, ſo it is plain to me that it was twice done. For in the firſt relation [g] it is ſaid to be done in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, and in the ſecond [h] it is ſaid to be done in the fifth, which plainly denotes two different times. And in the firſt relation *Jeremiah* [i] is ſaid to be ſhut up in priſon when the roll was read, but in the ſecond relation it plainly appears he was out of priſon, for [k] he was then at full liberty to go out of the way, and hide himſelf. For theſe reaſons I take it for certain, that the roll was twice read, and I have Archbiſhop *Uſher* with me in the ſame opinion,

[f] Caſleu *is the ninth month in the* Jewiſh *year, and anſwers to our* November.
[g] Jer. xxxvi. 1. [h] Jer. xxxvi. 9. [i] Jer. xxxvi. 5. [k] Jer. xxxvi. 26.

whoſe judgment muſt always be of the greateſt weight in ſuch matters.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR after his departure from *Jeruſalem* employed all this year in carrying on his war againſt the *Egyptians*, in which he had that ſucceſs, that before the enſuing winter he had driven them out of all *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, and brought in ſubjection to him [l] from the river *Euphrates* to the river of *Egypt* all that formerly belonged to the King of *Egypt*, *i. e.* all *Syria* and *Paleſtine*. For as the river *Euphrates* was the boundary of *Syria* towards the north-eaſt, ſo the river of *Egypt* was the boundary of *Paleſtine* towards the ſouth-weſt. This river of *Egypt*, which is ſo often mentioned in ſcripture as the boundary of the land of *Canaan* or *Paleſtine* towards *Egypt*, was not the *Nile*, as many ſuppoſe, but a ſmall river which running thorough the deſert, that lies between theſe two countries, was anciently reckoned the common boundary of both. And thus far the land reached, which was promiſed to the ſeed of *Abraham* (*Gen.* xv. 18.) and was afterwards by lot divided among them, *Joſhua* xv. 4.

TOWARDS the end of the fifth year of *Jehoiakim* dyed *Nabopollaſar* King of *Babylon*, and father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, after he had reigned [m] one and twenty years; which *Nebuchadnezzar* being informed of [n] he immediately with a few only of his followers haſtned through the deſert the neareſt way to *Babylon*, leaving the groſs of his army, with the priſoners and prey, to be brought after him by his generals. On his arrival at the palace, he received the government from the hands of thoſe who had carefully reſerved it for him, and thereon ſucceeded his father in the whole empire, which contained *Chaldea*, *Aſſyria*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, and reigned over it according to *Ptolemy* forty three years; the firſt of which begins from the *January* following, which is the *Babyloniſh* account, from which the *Jewiſh* account differs two years, as reckoning his reign from the time he was admitted to be partner with his father. From hence we have a double computation of the years of his reign, the *Jewiſh* and the *Babyloniſh*; *Daniel* follows the latter, but all other parts of Scripture, that make mention of him, the other.

An. 604. Jehoiakim 6.

IN the ſeventh year of *Jehoiakim*, which was the ſecond year of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Babyloniſh* account, and the fourth according to the *Jewiſh*, *Daniel* [o] revealed unto *Nebuchadnezzar* his dream, and alſo unfolded to him the interpretation of it, in the manner as we have it at large related in the ii[d] chapter of *Daniel*, whereon he was advanced to great honour, being made chief of the governours over all the wiſe men of *Babylon*, and alſo chief ruler over the whole province of *Babylon*, and one of the chief lords of the council, who always continued in the King's court, he being then about the age of two and twenty. And in his proſperity he was not forgetful of his three companions, who had been brought to *Babylon* with him, *Shadrach*, *Meſhach*, and *Abednego*, but having ſpoken to the King in their behalf, procured that they were preferred to places of honourable truſt under him in the province of *Babylon*. Theſe afterwards made themſelves very ſignally known to the King, and alſo to the whole empire of *Babylon*, by their conſtancy to their religion in refuſing to worſhip the golden image which *Nebuchadnezzar* had ſet up, and by the wonderful deliverance which God wrought for them thereon, which

An. 603. Jehoiakim 7.

[l] 2 Kings xxiv. 7. [m] Canon Ptolemæi. [n] Beroſus apud Joſephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem lib. 1. [o] Daniel ii.

deſervedly

deſervedly recommending them to the King's higheſt regard, they were thereon much higher advanced. The whole hiſtory whereof is at full related in the iii[d] chapter of *Daniel*.

THE ſame year *Jehoiakim*, after he had ſerved the King of *Babylon* three years, [p] rebelled againſt him, and refuſing to pay him any more tribute renewed his confederacy with *Pharaoh Necho* King of *Egypt* in oppoſition to him. Whereon *Nebuchadnezzar*, not being then at leiſure by reaſon of other engagements to come himſelf and chaſtiſe him, ſent orders to all his lieutenants and governors of provinces in thoſe parts to make war upon him, which brought upon *Jehoiakim* inroads and invaſions from every quarter, [q] the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, the *Syrians*, the *Arabians*, and all the other nations round him, who had ſubjected themſelves to the *Babyloniſh* yoke, infeſting him with incurſions, and haraſſing him with depredations on every ſide. And thus they continued to do for three years together, till at length in the eleventh year of his reign all parties joyning together againſt him [r] they ſhut him up in *Jeruſalem*, where in the proſecution of the ſiege having taken him priſoner in ſome ſally (it may be ſuppoſed) which he made upon them, they ſlew him with the ſword, and then caſt out his dead body into the high way without one of the gates of *Jeruſalem*, allowing it no other burial, [f] as the prophet *Jeremiah* had foretold, than that of an aſs, that is, to be caſt forth into a place of the greateſt contempt, there to rot and be conſumed to duſt in the open air. *An.* 599. Jehoiakim 11.

THE year before [t] dyed his confederate, on whom he chiefly depended, *Pharaoh Necho* King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned ſixteen years, and *Pſammis* his ſon ſucceeded him in the kingdom.

JEHOIAKIM being dead, [v] *Jehoiachin* his ſon (who is alſo called *Jeconiah*, and *Coniah*) reigned in his ſtead, who doing evil in the ſight of the Lord, in the ſame manner as his father had done, this provoked [w] a very bitter declaration of God's wrath againſt him by the mouth of the prophet *Jeremiah*, and it was as bitterly executed upon him. For after *Jehoiakim*'s death the ſervants of *Nebuchadnezzar* (that is his lieutenants, and governours of the provinces, that were under his ſubjection in thoſe parts) ſtill [x] continued to block up *Jeruſalem*, and after three months *Nebuchadnezzar* himſelf came thither in perſon with his royal army, and cauſed the place to be begirt with a cloſe ſiege on every ſide, whereon *Jehoiachin* finding himſelf unable to defend it went out to *Nebuchadnezzar*, with his mother, and his princes and ſervants, and delivered himſelf into his hands. But hereby he obtained no other favour than to ſave his life. For being immediately put in chains, he was carryed to *Babylon*, and there continued ſhut up in priſon till the death of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which was full ſeven and thirty years. *An.* 598. Jehoiachin. Zedekiah 1.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR having hereon made himſelf maſter of *Jeruſalem*, [y] took thence all the treaſures of the houſe of the Lord, and the treaſures of the King's houſe, and cut in pieces the veſſels of gold, which *Solomon* King of *Iſrael* made in the temple of the Lord, and carried them to *Babylon*; and he alſo carried thither with him a vaſt number of captives, *Jehoiachin* the King, his mother, and his wives, and his offi-

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[p] 2 Kings xxiv. 1. [q] 2 Kings xxiv. 2. [r] 2 Kings xxiv. 10. [f] Jeremiah xxii. 18, 19. xxxvi. 30. [t] Herodotus lib. 2. [v] 2 Kings xxiv. 6. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9. [w] Jer. xxii. 24---30. [x] 2 Kings xxiv. 10, 11. [y] 2 Kings xxiv. 13---16.

cers

cers and princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even to the number of ten thouſand men out of *Jeruſalem* only, beſides the ſmiths and the carpenters, and other artificers; and out of the reſt of the land, of the mighty men ſeven thouſand, and of the craftſmen and ſmiths one thouſand, beſides three thouſand twenty and three, [a] which had been carried away the year before out of the open countrey, before the ſiege of *Jeruſalem* was begun. With the mighty men of valour he recruited his army, and the artificers he employed in the carrying on of his building at *Babylon*, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

IN this captivity [a] was carryed away to *Babylon Ezekiel* the prophet, the ſon of *Buzi* of the houſe of *Aaron*, and therefore the *Æra* whereby he reckons throughout all his propheſies is from this captivity.

AFTER this great carrying away of the *Jews* into captivity [b] the poorer ſort of the people being ſtill left in the land, *Nebuchadnezzar* made *Mattaniah*, the ſon of *Joſiah* and unkle of *Jehoiachin*, King over them, taking of him a ſolemn oath to be true and faithful unto him. And to engage him the more to be ſo, he changed his name from *Mattaniah* to *Zedekiah*, which ſignifyeth *the juſtice of the Lord*, intending by this name to put him continually in mind of the vengeance which he was to expect from the juſtice of the Lord his God, if he violated that fidelity which he had in his name ſworn unto him.

ZEDEKIAH being thus made King reigned eleven years in *Jeruſalem*, but his ways being evil in the ſight of the Lord, as were thoſe of his nephew and brothers that reigned before him, he did thereby ſo far fill up the meaſure of the iniquities of his fore-fathers, that they at length drew down upon *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* that terrible deſtruction in which his reign ended.

AND thus was concluded the ſecond war which *Nebuchadnezzar* had with the *Jews*. Three years he managed it by his lieutenants and governors of the neighbouring provinces of his empire. In the fourth year he came himſelf in perſon, and put an end to it in the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, and the taking of *Jeruſalem*. What hindred him from coming ſooner is not ſaid. Only it appears, that in the tenth year of *Jehoiakim* he was engaged in an arbitration between the *Medes* and *Lydians*. The occaſion was this: After [c] the *Medes* had recovered all the *Upper Aſia* out of the hands of the *Scythians*, and again extended their borbers to the river *Halys*, which was the common boundary between them and the *Lydians*, it was not long before there hapned a war between theſe two nations, which was managed for five years together with various ſucceſs. In the ſixth year they engaged each other with the utmoſt of their ſtrength, intending to make that battel deciſive of the quarrel that was between them. But in the midſt of it, while the fortune of the day ſeemed to hang in an equal balance between them, there hapned an eclipſe, which overſpread both armies with darkneſs, whereon being frightned with what had hapned they both deſiſted from fighting any longer, and agreed to refer the controverſy to the arbitration of two neighbouring princes. The *Lydians* choſe *Syennesis* King of *Cilicia*, and the *Medes* [d] *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, who agreed a peace between them, on the terms that *Aſtyages*, ſon to *Cyaxares*

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[a] Jer. lii. 28. [a] Ezekiel xl. 1. [b] 2 Kings xxiv. 17. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10.
[c] Herodotus lib. 2. [d] *He is by* Herodotus lib. 1. *called* Labynetus.

King

King of *Media*, ſhould take to wife *Ariena* the daughter of *Halyattis* King of the *Lydians*, of which marriage within a year after was born *Cyaxares*, who is called *Darius* the *Median* in the book of *Daniel*. This eclipſe was foretold by *Thales* the *Mileſian*, and it hapned on the 20th of *September*, according to the *Julian* account, in the hundred and forty ſeventh year of *Nabonaſſar*, and in the ninth of the reign of *Jehoiakim* King of *Judah*, which was the year before Chriſt 601.

THE ſame year that *Cyaxares* was born to *Aſtyages*, he gave his daughter *Mandana*, whom he had by a former wife, in marriage to *Cambyſes* King of *Perſia*, of whom the next year after (which was the laſt year of *Jehoiakim*) was born *Cyrus*, the famous founder of the *Perſian* monarchy, and the reſtorer of the *Jews* to their countrey, their temple, and their former ſtate.

JEHOIACHIN being thus carried into captivity, and *Zedekiah* ſetled in the throne, *Jeremiah* had in [d] a viſion, under the type of two baſkets of figs, foreſhewn unto him the reſtoration which God would again give to them who were carried into captivity, and the miſery and deſolation which ſhould befal them, with their King, that were ſtill in the land; that the captivity of the former ſhould become a means of preſervation unto them, while the liberty which the others were left in ſhould ſerve only to lead them to their utter ruin, as accordingly it befel them in the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the utter devaſtation of the land, which hapned a few years afterwards.

THE ſame year God alſo foreſhewed to *Jeremiah* the confuſion which he would bring upon [e] *Elam*, (a kingdom lying upon the river *Ulai* eaſtward beyond the *Tigris*) and the reſtoration which he would afterwards give thereto, which accordingly came to paſs. For it was [g] conquered by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and ſubjected to him in the ſame manner as *Judah* was. But afterwards joining with *Cyrus*, it helped to conquer and ſubdue the *Babylonians*, who had before conquered them; and [h] *Shuſhan*, which was the chief city of that province, was thenceforth made the metropolis of the *Perſian* empire, and had the throne of the kingdom placed in it.

AFTER the departure of *Nebuchadnezzar* out of *Judea* and *Syria*, *Zedekiah* having ſetled himſelf in the kingdom, † the Kings of the *Ammonites*, and of the *Moabites*, and of the *Edomites*, and of the *Zidonians*, and the *Tyrians*, and of the other neighbouring nations, ſent their embaſſadors to *Jeruſalem* to congratulate *Zedekiah* on his acceſſion to the throne, and then propoſed to him a league againſt the King of *Babylon*, for the ſhaking off his yoke, and the hindring of him from any more returning into thoſe parts. Whereon *Jeremiah* by the command of God made him yokes and bonds, and ſent them by the ſaid embaſſadors to their reſpective maſters, with this meſſage from God, That God had given all their countries unto the King of *Babylon*, and that they ſhould ſerve him, and his ſon, and his ſon's ſon, and that if they would ſubmit to his yoke, and become obedient to him, it ſhould be well with them and their land; but if otherwiſe, they ſhould be conſumed and deſtroyed before him. And he ſpake alſo to King *Zedekiah* according to the ſame words, which had that influence on him, that he did not then enter into the league that was propoſed to him by the

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[d] Jeremiah xxiv. [e] Jeremiah xlix. 34---39. [g] Xenophon. Cyropæd. lib. 6.
[h] Strabo lib. 15. p. 727. † Jeremiah xxvii.

embaſſadors

embaſſadors of thoſe princes. But afterwards when it was farther ſtrengthned by the joyning of the *Egyptians*, and other nations in it, and he and his people began to be tired with the heavy burden and oppreſſion of the *Babyloniſh* domination over them, he alſo was drawn into this confederacy, which ended in the abſolute ruin both of him and his kingdom, as will be hereafter related.

An. 597. Zedekiah 2. *ZEDEKIAH* about the ſecond year of his reign [i] ſent *Elaſah* the ſon of *Shaphan*, and *Gemariah* the ſon of *Hilkiah*, to *Babylon* on an embaſſy to King *Nebuchadnezzar*. By them *Jeremiah* wrote a letter to the *Jews* of the captivity in *Babylon*. The occaſion of which was, *Ahab* the ſon of *Kilaiah*, and *Zedekiah* the ſon of *Maaſeiah*, two of the captivity among the *Jews* at *Babylon*, taking upon them to be prophets ſent to them from God, fed them with lying propheſies, and falſe promiſes of a ſpeedy reſtoration, whereon they neglected to make any ſettlements in the places aſſigned them for their habitation, either by building of houſes, cultivating their land, marrying of wives, or doing any thing elſe for their own intereſt and welfare in the country, where they were carried, out of a vain expectation of a ſpeedy return. To remedy this evil *Jeremiah* wrote to them to let them know, that they were deceived by thoſe who made them entertain ſuch falſe hopes, that by the appointment of God their captivity at *Babylon* was to laſt ſeventy years. And thoſe who remained in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* ſhould be ſo far from being able to effect any reſtoration for them, that God would ſpeedily ſend againſt them the ſword, the famine, and the peſtilence, for the conſuming of the greateſt part of them, and ſcatter the reſt over the face of the earth to be a curſe, and an aſtoniſhment, and an hiſſing, and a reproach among the nations, whither he would drive them. And therefore he exhorts them to provide for themſelves in the country whither they are carried, as ſetled inhabitants of the ſame, and comport themſelves there according to all the duties, which belong to them as ſuch, without expecting any return till the time that God had appointed. And as to their falſe prophets who had propheſied a lie unto them, he denounced God's curſe againſt them in a ſpeedy and fearful deſtruction, which accordingly was ſoon after executed upon them. For *Nebuchadnezzar* finding that they diſturbed the people by their vain propheſies, and hindred them from making ſettlements for themſelves in the places where he had planted them, cauſed them to be ſeized, and roaſted to death in the fire. The [k] latter *Jews* ſay, that theſe two men were the two elders, who would have corrupted *Suſanna*, and that *Nebuchadnezzar* commanded them to be burnt for this reaſon. The whole foundation of this conceit is, that *Jeremiah* in the 23[d] verſe of the chapter, where he writes hereof, accuſeth them for committing adultery with their neighbours wives, from whence they conjecture all the reſt.

THESE letters being read to the people of the captivity at *Babylon*, ſuch as were loath to be diſpoſſeſſed of their vain hopes were much offended at them, and therefore *Semaiah* the *Nehelamite*, another falſe pretender to propheſy among them, writing their as well as his own ſentiments hereof, ſent back letters by the ſame embaſſadors, directing them to *Zephaniah* the ſon of *Maaſeiah* the ſecond prieſt, and to all the prieſts and

[i] Jeremiah xxix. [k] Vide Gemaram in Sanhedrin.

peo-

people at *Jeruſalem*, wherein he complained of *Jeremiah* for writing the ſaid letters, and required them to rebuke him for the ſame; which letters being read to *Jeremiah*, the word of God came unto him, which denounced a very ſevere puniſhment upon *Semaiah* for the ſame.

IN the fourth of *Zedekiah*, and the fifth month of that year, *Hananiah*, the ſon *Azur* of [l] *Gibeon*, took upon him to propheſy falſely in the name of the Lord, that within two full years God would bring back all the veſſels of the houſe of the Lord, and King *Jechoniah*, and all the captives again to *Jeruſalem*; whereon the word of the Lord came to *Jeremiah* concerning *Hananiah*, that ſeeing he had ſpoken to the people of *Judah* in the name of the Lord, who ſent him not, and had made them thereby to truſt in a lye, he ſhould be ſmitten of God, and dye before the year ſhould expire; and accordingly he died the ſame year in the ſeventh month, which was within two months after. *An.* 595. Zedekiah 4.

THE ſame year *Jeremiah* had revealed unto him the propheſies, which we have in the fiftieth and fifty firſt chapters of *Jeremiah* concerning God's judgments, which were to be executed upon *Chaldea* and *Babylon* by the *Medes* and *Perſians*. All which *Jeremiah* wrote in a book, and [m] delivered it to *Seraiah* the ſon of *Neriah*, and brother of *Baruch*, who was then ſent to *Babylon* by *Zedekiah*, commanding him, that when he ſhould come to *Babylon*, he ſhould there read the ſame upon the Banks of *Euphrates*; and that, when he ſhould have there made an end of reading it, he ſhould bind a ſtone to it and caſt it into the midſt of the river, to denote thereby, that as that ſhould ſink, ſo ſhould *Babylon* alſo ſink, and never riſe any more; which hath ſince been fully verifyed, about two thouſand years having now paſſed, ſince *Babylon* hath been wholly deſolated, and without an inhabitant.

BARUCH ſeemeth to have gone with his brother in this journey to *Babylon*. For he is [n] ſaid in the apocryphal book that bears his name, to have read that book at *Babylon* in the hearing of King *Jechoniah*, or *Jehoiachin*, and of the elders and people of the *Jews* then at *Babylon*, on the fifth year after the taking of *Jeruſalem* by the *Chaldeans*; which can be underſtood of no other taking of it, than that wherein *Jehoiachin* was made a captive. For after the laſt taking of it, in the eleventh of *Zedekiah*, *Baruch* could not be in *Babylon*. For after that he went into *Egypt* with *Jeremiah*, from whence it is not likely that he did ever return. And farther it is ſaid in this very book of *Baruch*, that after the reading of his book as aforeſaid, a collection was made at *Babylon* of money, which was ſent to *Jeruſalem* to *Joakim* the high-prieſt, the ſon of *Hilkiah* the ſon of *Shallum*, and to the prieſts, and to all the people that were found with him at *Jeruſalem*, to buy burnt-offerings, and ſin-offerings, and incenſe, and to prepare the *mincha*, and to offer upon the altar of the Lord their God, nothing of which could be true after the laſt taking of *Jeruſalem* by the *Chaldeans*. For then the city and temple were burnt and utterly deſtroyed, and after that there was no high-prieſt, altar, altar-ſervice, or people to be found at *Jeruſalem*, till the return of the *Jews* again thither, after the end of their ſeventy years captivity. And if there were any ſuch perſon as *Joakim*, (for he is no where elſe named) ſince he is here ſaid to be the ſon of *Hilkiah* the ſon of *Shallum*, he muſt have been the unkle of *Se-*

[l] Jeremiah xxviii. [m] Jeremiah li. 59---64. [n] Baruch i. 1---4.

raiah, who was high-prieſt at the burning of the temple, and grandſon to the ſame *Hilkiah*. And therefore he muſt have been high-prieſt before *Seraiah*, if there were any ſuch perſon in that office at all. For it is certain there was none ſuch in it after him during the life of *Jeconiah*. But of what authority this book is, or by whom it was written, whether any thing related therein be hiſtorically true, or the whole of it a fiction, is altogether uncertain. *Grotius* [o] thinks it wholly feigned by ſome helleniſtical *Jew* under *Baruch*'s name, and ſo do many others, and it cannot be denied but that they have ſtrong reaſons on their ſide. The ſubject of the book is an epiſtle ſent, or feigned to be ſent, by King *Jehoiachin* and the *Jews* in captivity with him at *Babylon* to their brethren the *Jews*, that were ſtill left in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, with an hiſtorical preface premiſed; in which it is related, how *Baruch*, being then at *Babylon*, did in the name of the ſaid King and the people by their appointment draw up the ſaid epiſtle, and afterwards read it to them for their approbation; and how that the collection being then made, which is above mentioned, the epiſtle with the money was ſent to *Jeruſalem*. There are three copies of it, one in *Greek*, and the other two in *Syriac*, whereof one agreeth with the *Greek*, and the other very much differs from it. But in what language it was originally written, or whether one of theſe be not the original, or which of them may be ſo, is what no one can ſay. *Jerom* [p] rejected it wholly, becauſe it is not to be found among the *Jews*, and calls the epiſtle annex'd to it ψευδόγραφον, *i. e.* a falſe or feigned writing. The moſt that can be ſaid for it is, that *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, and the *Laodicean* council held *Anno Domini* 364, both name *Baruch* among the canonical books of holy Scripture. For in both the catalogues which are given us by them of theſe canonical books, are theſe words, *Jeremias cum Baruch, lamentationibus & epiſtola*, i. e. Jeremiah *with* Baruch, *the lamentations and the epiſtle*; whereby may ſeem to be meant the propheſies of *Jeremiah*, the lamentations of *Jeremiah*, the book of *Baruch*, with the epiſtle of *Jeremiah* at the end of it, as they are all laid together in the vulgar *Latin* edition of the Bible. The anſwer given hereto is, that theſe words were intended by them to expreſs no more than *Jeremiah*'s propheſies and lamentations only; that by the epiſtle is meant none other, than the epiſtle in the xxix[th] chapter of *Jeremiah*; and that *Baruch*'s name is added only becauſe of the part which he bore in collecting all theſe together, and adding the laſt chapter to the book of his propheſies, which is ſuppoſed to be *Baruch*'s, becauſe the propheſies of *Jeremiah* end with the chapter before, that is, the LI[ſt], as it is poſitively ſaid in the laſt words of it. And it muſt be ſaid, that ſince neither in St. *Cyril*, nor in the *Laodicean* council any of the other apocryphal books are named, it is very unlikely, that by the name of *Baruch* in either of them ſhould be meant the apocryphal book ſo named, which hath the leaſt pretence of any of them to be canonical, as it appeared by the difficulty which [q] the *Trentine* fathers found to make it ſo.

An. 594. Zedekiah 5.

IN the fifth year of *Zedekiah*, which was alſo the fifth year of *Jehoiachin*'s captivity, and the thirtieth from the great reformation made in the eighteenth year of King *Joſiah*, [r] *Ezekiel* was called of God to be a pro-

[o] In Comment ad Baruch. [p] In præfatione ad Jeremiam. [q] *The Hiſtory of* Trent. *Book* II. *p.* 144. [r] Ezekiel i. 1, 2, 3, *&c.*

phet

phet among the *Jews* of the captivity. And this ſame year he ſaw the viſion of the four cherubims and the four wheels, which is related in the firſt chapter of his propheſies. The ſame year were alſo revealed unto him [f] the three hundred and ninety years of God's utmoſt forbearance of the houſe of *Iſrael*, and the forty years of God's utmoſt forbearance of the houſe of *Judah*, and the judgment which after that God would inflict upon both, as the whole is contained in the iv^th^, v^th^, vi^th^, and vii^th^ chapters of his propheſies.

IN the ſame year [t] died *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, after he had reigned forty years; and *Aſtyages* his ſon, who in ſcripture is called *Ahaſuerus*, reigned in his ſtead.

IN the ſame year [v] died alſo *Pſammis* King of *Egypt*, in an expedition which he made againſt the *Ethiopians*; and *Apries* his ſon, the ſame who is in Scripture called *Pharaoh Hophra*, ſucceeded him in that kingdom, and reigned twenty five years.

IN the ſame year *Ezekiel* being in a viſion was carried to *Jeruſalem*, and there ſhewn all the ſeveral ſorts of idolatry, which were practis'd by the *Jews* in that place; had revealed unto him the puniſhments which God would inflict upon them for thoſe abominations, and this makes up the ſubject of the viii^th^, ix^th^, x^th^, and xi^th^ chapters of his propheſies. But at the ſame time God promiſed to thoſe [w] of the captivity, who avoiding theſe abominations kept themſelves ſteady and faithful to his ſervice, that he would become a ſanctuary unto them in the ſtrange land, where they were carried, and bring them back again unto the land of *Iſrael*, and there make them flouriſh in peace and righteouſneſs as in former times. All [x] which the prophet declared to the *Jews* of *Babylon*, among whom he dwelt.

IN the ſeventh year of *Zedekiah* God did both by types and words of revelation foreſhew unto *Ezekiel* the taking of *Jeruſalem* by the *Chaldeans*, *Zedekiah*'s flight from thence by night, the putting out of his eyes, and his impriſonment and death at *Babylon*; and alſo the carrying away of the *Jews* at the ſame time into captivity, the deſolation of their countrey, and the many and great calamities which ſhould befal them for their iniquities; and this is the ſubject of the xii^th^ chapter of his propheſies. And what is contained in the ſeven following chapters was alſo the ſame year revealed unto him, and relates moſtly to the ſame ſubject. *An.* 592. Zedekiah 7.

AT this time *Daniel* was grown to ſo great a perfection and eminency in all righteouſneſs, holineſs and piety of life, in the ſight both of God and man, that [y] he is by God himſelf equalled with *Noah* and *Job*, and reckoned with theſe two to make up the three, who of all the Saints that had till then liv'd upon the earth, had the greateſt power to prevail with God in their prayers for others. And yet he was then but a young man; for allowing him to be eighteen when he was carried away to *Babylon* among other children to be there educated, and brought up for the ſervice of the King, (and a greater will not agree with this character) thirty two at this time muſt have been the utmoſt of his age. But he dedicated the prime and vigour of his life to the ſervice of God, and that is the beſt time to make proficiency therein.

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[f] Ezek. iv. 4, 5, 6, &c. [t] Herodot. lib. 1. [v] Herodot. lib. 2. [w] Ezek. xi. 15---21.
[x] Ezek. xi. 25. [y] Ezek. xiv. 14, & 20.

An. 591. Zedekiah 8. *ZEDEKIAH* having in the ſeventh year of his reign [a] ſent embaſſadors into *Egypt*, made a confederacy with *Pharaoh Hophra* King of *Egypt*. And therefore the next year after breaking the oath of fidelity, which he had ſworn in the name of the Lord his God unto *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, he rebelled againſt him, which drew on him that war, which ended in his ruine, and in the ruine of all *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* with him in that calamitous deſtruction, in which both were involved hereby.

An. 590. Zedekiah 9. IN the ninth year of *Zedekiah*, [b] *Nebuchadnezzar* having drawn together a great army out of all the nations under his dominion, marched againſt him to puniſh him for his perfidy and rebellion. But on his coming into *Syria*, finding that the *Ammonites* had alſo entred into the ſame confederacy with *Egypt* againſt him, he was [c] in a doubt for ſome time which of theſe two people he ſhould firſt fall upon, them, or the *Jews*; whereon he committed the deciſion of the matter to his diviners, who conſulting by the entrails of their ſacrifices, their teraphim, and their arrows, determined for the carrying of the war againſt the *Jews*. This way of divining by arrows was uſual among thoſe idolaters. The manner of it *Jerom* [d] tells us was thus. They wrote on ſeveral arrows the names of the cities, they intended to make war againſt, and then, putting them promiſcuouſly all together into a quiver, they cauſed them to be drawn out thence in the manner as they draw lots, and that city whoſe name was on the arrow firſt drawn was the firſt they aſſaulted. And by this way of divination the war being determined againſt *Judah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* immediately marched his army into that Countrey, and in a few days [e] took all the cities thereof, excepting only *Lachiſh*, *Azekah* and *Jeruſalem*. Whereon the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem* being terrified with theſe loſſes, and the apprehenſions of a ſiege then ready to be laid to that place, made a ſhew of returning unto the Lord their God, and entred into a ſolemn covenant thenceforth to ſerve him only, and faithfully obſerve all his laws. And in purſuance hereof [f] proclamation was made, that every man ſhould let his man ſervant, and every man his maid ſervant, being an *Hebrew* or an *Hebreweſs*, go free [g] according to the law of God, and every man did according hereto.

ON the [h] tenth month of the ſame year and the tenth day of the month, (which was about the end of our *December*,) *Nebuchadnezzar* with all his numerous army laid ſiege to *Jeruſalem*, and blocked it cloſe up on every ſide, in memory whereof the tenth day of *Tebeth*, which is their tenth month, hath ever ſince been obſerved [i] by the *Jews* as a day of ſolemn faſt even to this time.

ON the ſame [k] tenth day of the tenth month, in which this ſiege began at *Jeruſalem*, was the ſame revealed to *Ezekiel* in *Chaldea*, where by the type of a boiling pot was foreſhewn unto him the diſmal deſtruction which ſhould thereby be brought upon that city. And the [l] ſame night the wife of the prophet, who was the deſire of his eyes, was by a ſudden ſtroke of death taken from him, and he was forbid by God to make any manner of mourning for her, or appear with any of the uſual ſigns of it upon him,

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[a] Ezek. xvii. 15. [b] 2 Kings xxv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17. Jer. xxxix. 1. lii. 4.
[c] Ezekiel. xxi. 19---24. [d] *In Comment. in* Ezek. xxi. [e] Jer. xxxiv. 7.
[f] Jer. xxxiv. 8---10. [g] Deut. xv. 12. [h] 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. xxxix. 1. lii. 4.
[i] Zechariah viii. 19. [k] Ezek. xxiv. 1, 2. [l] Ezek. xxiv. 16---18.

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thereby to foreſhew, that the holy city, the temple, and the ſanctuary, which were dearer to them than any wife can be in the eyes of her huſband, ſhould not only by a ſpeedy and ſudden ſtroke of deſtruction be taken from them, but that the calamity enſuing thereon ſhould be ſuch, and ſo great, as ſhould not allow them as much as to mourn for the loſs of them.

IN the beginning of the tenth year of *Zedekiah*, [m] the prophet *Jeremiah*, being ſent of God declared unto him, That the *Babylonians* who were now beſieging of the city ſhould certainly take it, and burn it with fire, and take him priſoner, and carry him to *Babylon*, and that he ſhould die there. Whereon [n] *Zedekiah* being much diſpleaſed put him in priſon, and while he was ſhut up there, even in this very year, [o] he purchaſed of *Hanameel* his unkle's ſon a field in *Anathoth*, thereby to foreſhew, that although *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* ſhould be laid deſolate, and the inhabitants led into captivity, yet there ſhould be a reſtoration, when lands and poſſeſſions ſhould be again enjoyed by the legal owners of them, in the ſame manner as in former times. *An.* 589. Zedekiah 10.

PHARAOH HOPHRA [p] coming out of *Egypt* with a great army to the relief of *Zedekiah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* raiſed the ſiege of *Jeruſalem* to march againſt him. But before he went on this expedition [q] he ſent all the captive *Jews* which he then had in his camp to *Babylon*, the number of which were eight hundred thirty and two perſons.

ON the departure of the *Chaldeans* from *Jeruſalem*, *Jeremiah* being again ſet at liberty, [r] *Zedekiah* ſent unto him *Jehucal* the ſon of *Shelemiah*, and *Zephaniah* the ſon of *Maaſeiah* the prieſt, to enquire of the Lord by him, and to deſire him to pray for him and his people. To whom the prophet returned an anſwer from God, That the *Egyptians*, whom they did depend upon, would certainly deceive them; that their army would again return into *Egypt* without giving them any help at all, and that thereon the *Chaldeans* would again renew the ſiege, take the city, and burn it with fire.

BUT the general opinion of the people being, that the *Chaldeans* were gone for good and all, and would return no more to renew the war againſt them, they [s] repented of the covenant of reformation, which they had entred into before God, when they were in fear of them; and cauſed every man his ſervant, and every man his handmaid, whom they had ſet at liberty, again to return into ſervitude, to be unto them again for ſervants and for handmaids, contrary to the law of the Lord, and the covenant which they had lately entred into with him, to walk according to it. For [t] which inhuman and unjuſt act, and their impious breach of the covenant lately made with God, *Jeremiah* proclaim'd liberty to the ſword, and to the famine, and to the peſtilence, to execute the wrath of God upon them and their King, and their Princes, and all *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, to their utter deſtruction.

WHILE the *Chaldeans* were yet abſent from *Jeruſalem*, [v] *Jeremiah* intending to retire to *Anathoth* his native place, that thereby he might avoid the ſiege, which he know would be again renewed on the return of the

[m] Jer. xxxiv. [n] Jer. xxxii. 1, 2, 3. [o] Jer. xxxii. 7---17. [p] Jer. xxxvii. 5.
[q] Jer. lii. 29. [r] Jer. xxxvii. 3---10. [s] Jer. xxxiv. 11. [t] Jer. xxxiv. 17---22.
[v] Jer. xxxvii. 11---15.

Chaldeans

Chaldeans from their expedition againſt the *Egyptians*, put himſelf on his journey thither, but as he was paſſing the gate of the city that led that way, the captain that kept guard there ſeized him for a deſerter, as if his intentions were to fall away to the *Chaldeans*, whereon he was again put in priſon in the houſe of *Jonathan* the ſcribe, which they had made the common jail of the city, where he remained many days.

THE *Egyptians*, on the coming of the *Chaldeans* againſt them, durſt not ſtay to engage in battel with ſo numerous and well-appointed an army, but [w] withdrawing on their approach retired again into their own countrey, treacherouſly leaving *Zedekiah* and his people to periſh in that war, which they had drawn them into. Whereon [x] the prophet *Ezekiel* reproaching them for their perfidy in thus becoming a ſtaff of reed to thoſe, whom by oaths and covenants of alliance they had made to lean and confide on them, denounced God's judgments againſt them to be executed both upon King and people in war, confuſion, and deſolation, for forty years enſuing for the puniſhment hereof. And [y] alſo foretold, how after that, they ſhould ſink low and become a mean and baſe people, and ſhould no more have a prince of their own to reign over them. Which hath accordingly come to paſs. For not long after the expiration of the ſaid forty years they were made a province of the *Perſian* empire, and have been governed by ſtrangers ever ſince. For on the failure of the *Perſian* empire they became ſubject to the *Macedonians*, and after them to the *Romans*, and after the *Romans* to the *Saracens*, and then to the *Mamalukes*, and are now a province of the *Turkiſh* empire.

ON the retreat of the *Egyptians Nebuchadnezzar* [z] returned to *Jeruſalem*, and again renewed the ſiege of that place, which laſted about a year from the ſecond inveſting of it to the time when it was taken.

THE ſiege being thus renewed *Zedekiah* [a] ſent for *Jeremiah* out of priſon to conſult with him, and enquire of him, what word there was from God concerning the preſent ſtate of his affairs. To which he found there was no other anſwer, but that he was to be delivered into the hands of the King of *Babylon*. However at the intreaty of the prophet he was prevailed with not to ſend him back again to the common jail of the city, leſt he ſhould die there by reaſon of the noiſomeneſs of the place, and therefore inſtead thereof he was ordered to the priſon of the King's court, where he continued with the allowance of a certain portion of bread out of the common ſtore till the city was taken.

ZEDEKIAH finding himſelf in the ſiege much preſſed by the *Chaldeans*, [b] ſent meſſengers to *Jeremiah*, farther to enquire of the Lord by him concerning the preſent war. To which he anſwered, That the word of the Lord concerning him was, that God being very much provoked againſt him and his people, for their iniquities, would fight againſt the city and ſmite it; that both King and people ſhould be delivered into the hands of the King of *Babylon*; that thoſe who continued in the city during the ſiege, ſhould periſh by the peſtilence, by the famine, and by the ſword; but that thoſe who ſhould go out, and fall to the *Chaldeans*, ſhould have their lives given them for a prey. At which anſwer [c] ſeveral of the princes and chief commanders about the King being very much offended preſſed the King

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[w] Jer. xxxvii. 7. [x] Ezek. xxix. [y] Ezek. xxx. 13. [z] Jer. xxxvii. 8.
[a] Jer. xxxvii. 17---21. [b] Jer. xxi. 1---14. [c] Jer. xxxviii. 1---6.

againſt

againſt him, as one that weakened the hands of the men of war, and of all the people, and ſought their hurt more than their good; whereon he being delivered into their hands, they caſt him into a dungeon, where he muſt have periſhed, but that [d] *Ebedmelec* an eunuch of the court having intreated the King in his behalf delivered him thence. For which charitable act he had a meſſage ſent him from God, of mercy and deliverance unto him. After this [e] *Zedekiah* ſending for *Jeremiah* into the temple, there ſecretly enquired of him, but had no other anſwer than what had been afore given him, ſaving only that the prophet told him, That if he would go forthwith and deliver himſelf into the hands of the King of *Babylon*'s princes, who commanded at the carying on of the ſiege, this was the only way whereby he might ſave both himſelf and the city; and he earneſtly preſſed him hereto. But *Zedekiah* would not hearken unto him herein, but ſent him back again to priſon, and after that no more conſulted with him.

IN the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, in the beginning of the year, God declared by the prophet *Ezekiel* his judgments againſt *Tyre* for their inſulting on the calamitous ſtate of *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, foreſhewing that the ſame calamities ſhould be alſo brought upon them by the ſame *Nebuchadnezzar*, into whoſe hands God would deliver them. And this is the ſubject of the xxvi^th^, xxvii^th^, and xxviii^th^ chapters of his propheſies, in the laſt of which God particularly upbraideth *Ithobal*, then King of *Tyre*, with the inſolent and proud conceit he had of his own knowledge and underſtanding, having puffed up himſelf herewith, as [f] *if he were wiſer than* Daniel, *and that there was no ſecret that could be hid from him.* Which ſheweth to how great an height the fame of *Daniel*'s wiſdom was at that time grown, ſince it now became ſpoken of by way of proverb through all the eaſt. And yet according to the account above given of his age, he could not at this time exceed ſix and thirty years. And in the concluſion of the xxviii^th^ chapter the like judgments are denounced alſo againſt *Sidon*, and for the ſame reaſon. *An.* 588. Zedekiah 11.

THE ſame year God declared by the ſame prophet his judgments againſt *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, that he would bring the King of *Babylon* againſt them, and deliver them into his hands, and that notwithſtanding their greatneſs and pride they ſhould no more eſcape his revenging hand than the *Aſſyrians* had done before them, who were higher and greater than they; and this is the ſubject of the xxx^th^ and xxxi^st^ chapters of his propheſies.

IN the fourth month, on the ninth day of the month, of the ſame eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, [g] *Jeruſalem* was taken by the *Chaldeans*, after the ſiege had laſted from their laſt ſetting down before it about a year. Hereon *Zedekiah* with his men of war fled away, and having broken through the camp of the enemy endeavoured to make his eſcape over *Jordan*, but being purſued after, he was overtaken in the plains of *Jericho*, whereon all his army being ſcattered from him, he was taken priſoner, and carried to the King of *Babylon* at *Riblah* in *Syria*, where he then reſided, who having cauſed his ſons, and all his princes that were taken with him, to be ſlain before his face, commanded his eyes to be put out, and then bound him in fetters of braſs and ſent him to *Babylon*, where he died in priſon, and hereby was fulfilled the [h] propheſy of the prophet *Ezekiel* concerning

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[d] Jer. xxxviii. 7---13. [e] Jer. xxxviii. 14---23. [f] Ezek. xxviii. 3. [g] 2 Kings xxv. 4. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17. Jer. xxxix. 2---10. lii. 6---11. [h] Ezek. xii. 13.

him:

him: That he ſhould be brought to *Babylon* in the land of the *Chaldeans*, yet ſhould not ſee the place, tho' he ſhould die there.

IN the fifth month, on the ſeventh day of the month, (*i. e.* towards the end of our *July*) came [l] *Nebuzaradan*, captain of the guards to the King of *Babylon*, to *Jeruſalem*, and after having taken out all the veſſels of the houſe of the Lord, and gathered together all the riches that could be found either in the King's houſe, or in any of the other houſes of the city, he did on the tenth day of the ſame month, purſuant to the command of his maſter, ſet both the temple and city on fire, and abſolutely conſumed and deſtroyed them both, overthrowing all the walls, fortreſſes, and towers belonging thereto, and wholly raſing and levelling to the ground every building therein, till he had brought all to a thorough and perfect deſolation, and ſo it continued for fifty two years after, till by the favour of *Cyrus* the *Jews* being releaſed from their captivity, and reſtored again to their own land, repaired theſe ruines, and built again their holy City. In memory of this calamity they keep two faſts even to this day, the ſeventeenth of the fourth month (which falls in our *June*) for the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the ninth of the fifth month (which falls in our *July*) for the deſtruction of the temple; both which are made mention of [k] in the propheſies of the prophet *Zechary*, under the names of the faſt of the fourth month and the faſt of the fifth month, and are there ſpoken of as annually obſerved from the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* to his time, which was ſeventy years after. *Joſephus* [l] remarks, that the burning of the temple by *Nebuchadnezzar* hapned on the very ſame day of the year on which it was afterwards again burned by *Titus*.

NEBUZARADAN having thus deſtroyed the city and the temple of *Jeruſalem*, made all the people he found there captives. Of theſe [m] he took *Seraiah* the high-prieſt, and *Zephaniah* the ſecond prieſt, and about ſeventy others of the principal perſons he found in the place, and carried them to *Riblah* to *Nebuchadnezzar*, who cauſed them all there to be put to death. Of [n] the reſt of the people he left the poorer ſort to till the ground, and dreſs their vineyards, and made *Gedaliah* the ſon of *Ahikam* governor over them, and all the other he carried away to *Babylon*.

BUT concerning *Jeremiah*, [o] *Nebuchadnezzar* gave particular charge to *Nebuzaradan*, that he ſhould offer him no hurt, but look well to him, and do for him in all things according as he ſhould deſire. And therefore as ſoon as he came to *Jeruſalem* with commiſſion to deſtroy the place, he and the princes that were with him ſent and took him out of priſon, where he had laid bound from the time that *Zedekiah* had put him there, and reſtored him to his liberty, and having carried him with him as far as *Ramah* on his return to *Nebuchadnezzar*, he then gave him his option, whether he would go with him to *Babylon*, where he ſhould be well looked after and maintained at the King's charge, or elſe remain in the land; and he having choſen the latter, *Nebuzaradan* gave him victuals, and a reward, and ſent him back to *Gedaliah* the ſon of *Ahikam*, with an eſpecial charge to take care of him.

AFTER *Necuchadnezzar* was returned to *Babylon*, [p] all thoſe, who before for fear of the *Chaldeans* had taken refuge among the neighbouring

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[l] 2 Kings xxv. 8---17. Jer. lii. 12---23. [k] Zechar. viii. 19. [l] De bello Judaico, lib. 7. c. 10.
[m] 2 Kings xxv. 18---21. Jer. lii. 24---27. [n] 2 Kings xxv. 22---25. Jer. xxxix. 9, 10. *and* lii. 15, 16. [o] Jer. xxxix. 11---14. *and* xl. 1---6. [p] Jer. xl. 7---12.

nations,

nations, or had hid themſelves in the fields and the deſerts after their eſcape on the diſperſion of *Zedekiah*'s army in the plains of *Jericho*, hearing that *Gedaliah* was made governor of the land, reſorted to him, and he having promiſed them protection, and ſworn unto them that they ſhould be ſafe under his government, they ſettled themſelves again in the land, and gathered in the fruits of it. The chief among theſe were *Johanan* and *Jonathan* the ſons of *Kereah*, *Seraiah* the ſon of *Tanhumeth*, *Azaria* the ſon of *Hoſhaiah*, *Iſhmael* the ſon of *Nethaniah*, and others.

BUT [q] *Iſhmael* came to him only out of a treacherous deſign. For being of the ſeed royal, he reckoned to make himſelf King of the land, now the *Chaldeans* were gone, and for the accompliſhing of it had formed a conſpiracy to kill *Gedaliah*, and ſeize the government, and *Baalis* the King of the *Ammonites* was confederated with him herein. But *Johanan* the ſon of *Kereah* having got notice of it, he and all the chief men of the reſt of the people went to *Gedaliah*, and informed him of it, propoſing to kill *Iſhmael*, and thereby deliver him from the miſchief that was intended againſt him. But *Gedaliah* being of a very benign diſpoſition, and not eaſy to entertain jealouſies of any one, would not believe this of *Iſhmael*, but ſtill carried on a friendly correſpondence with him, of which *Iſhmael* taking the advantage came to him in the ſeventh month, which anſwers to our *September*, when the people were moſt of them ſcattered abroad from him to gather in the fruits of the land, and while they were eating and drinking together at an entertainment, which *Gedaliah* had in a very friendly manner made for him and his men, they roſe upon him, and ſlew him, and at the ſame time ſlew alſo a great number of the *Jews* and *Chaldeans*, whom they found with him in *Mizpah*, and took the reſt captive. And the next day hearing of eighty men, who were going on a religious account with offerings and incenſe [r] to the houſe of God, they craftily drew them into *Mizpah*, and there ſlew them all, excepting ten of them, who offered their ſtores for the redemption of their lives. And then taking with them all the captives, among whom were the daughters of King *Zedekiah*, they departed thence to go over to the *Ammonites*. But *Johanan* the ſon of *Kereah*, and the reſt of the captains, hearing of this wicked fact, immediately armed as many of the people as they could get together, and purſued after *Iſhmael*, and having overtaken him at *Gibeon* retook all the captives, but he and eight of his men eſcaped to the *Ammonites*. This Murder of *Gedaliah* happed two months after the deſtruction of the city and temple of *Jeruſalem*, in the ſaid ſeventh month, and on the thirtieth day of the month. For that day the *Jews* have kept as a faſt in commemoration of this calamity ever ſince, and [s] *Zechariah* alſo makes mention of it as obſerved in his time, calling it by the name of *the faſt of the ſeventh month*, and they had reaſon to keep a faſt for it, for it was the completion of their ruine.

AFTER this great misfortune [t] *Johanan* the ſon of *Kereah*, and the people that were left, fearing the King of *Babylon*, becauſe of the murder of *Gedaliah*, whom he had made governor of the land, departed from *Mizpah* to flee into the land of *Egypt*, and came to *Bethlehem* in their way

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[q] Jer. xl. 13---16. [r] Jer. xli. [s] i. e. *At* Jeruſalem; *for though the temple were deſtroyed, yet the people that were left continued to offer ſacrifices and worſhip there on the place where it ſtood, as long as they remained in the land.* [t] Zech. viii. 19. [t] Jer. xlii.

thither. Where they ſtopping a while conſulted the prophet *Jeremiah* (whom they had carried with them) about their intended journey, and deſired him to enquire of God in their behalf, who after ten days having received an anſwer from God, called them together, and told them, That if they would tarry in the land all ſhould go well with them, and God would ſhew mercy unto them, and incline the heart of the King of *Babylon* to be favourable unto them. But if they would not hearken unto the word of the Lord, but would notwithſtanding his word now delivered to the contrary ſet their faces to go into the land of *Egypt*, that then the ſword and famine ſhould follow cloſe after them thither, and they ſhould be all there deſtroyed. But all this was of no effect with them. For their hearts being violently bent to go into *Egypt*, they would not hearken to the word of the Lord ſpoken to them by the mouth of his prophet, but told *Jeremiah*, That the anſwer which he gave them was not from God, but was ſuggeſted to him by *Baruch* the ſon of *Neriah*, for their hurt. And therefore *Johanan* the ſon of *Kereah*, and the reſt of the captains of the forces, took all the remnant of *Judah* that were returned from all nations whither they had been driven, again to dwell in the land, and all the perſons whom *Nebuzaradan* had left with *Gedaliah*, even men, women, and children, and the King's daughters, and alſo *Jeremiah* the prophet, and *Baruch* the ſon of *Neriah*, and went into *Egypt* and ſettled in that countrey, till the plagues and judgments which God had threatned them with for their diſobedience to his word, there overtook them to their utter deſtruction. And thus ended this unfortunate year, in which the temple and city of *Jeruſalem* were deſtroyed, and the whole land of *Judah* brought in a manner to utter deſolation for the ſins thereof.

THE

THE *Old* and *New* TESTAMENT Connected in the HISTORY OF THE JEWS and Neighbouring Nations, FROM THE Declenſion of the Kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah* to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK II.

IN the twelfth year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, one eſcaping from *Jeruſalem*, [a] came to *Ezekiel* in the land of the *Chaldeans*, and told him of the deſtruction of the city, whereon he propheſied deſolation to the reſt of the land of *Judah*, and utter deſtruction to the remainder of the *Jews* who were left therein. *An.* 587. Nebuchadnezzar 18.

THE ſame year *Ezekiel* propheſied againſt *Egypt*, and *Pharaoh Hophra* the King thereof, that God would bring againſt him *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, who ſhould lay the land deſolate, and that he and all his armies ſhould be brought to deſtruction, and periſh, like as other nations whom God had cut off for their iniquities, which is the ſubject of the xxxii[d] chapter of his propheſies.

[a] Ezek. xxxiii. 21---29.

THE *Jews* which went into *Egypt* [b] having ſettled in *Migdol*, and *Tahpanes*, and *Noph*, and in the Countrey of *Pathros*, (i. e. at [c] *Magdalum* by the *Red-Sea*, at *Daphne* near *Peluſium*, at *Memphis*, and in the Countrey of *Thebais*) gave themſelves there wholly up to idolatry, [d] worſhipping the queen of heaven, and other falſe deities of the land, and burning incenſe unto them, without having any more regard to the Lord their God. Whereon the [e] prophet *Jeremiah* cried aloud againſt this impiety unto thoſe among whom he lived; that is thoſe who had ſettled in [f] the land of *Pathros* or *Thebais*. (For this being the fartheſt from *Judea* of all the places, where they had obtained ſettlements in that Countrey, they had carried him thither the better to take from him all opportunity of again returning from them.) But all his exhortations were of no other effect, than to draw from them a declaration, that [g] they would worſhip the Lord no more, but would go on in their idolatry; for they told him, that it had been beſt with them, when they practiſed it in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*; that it was ſince their leaving of it off, that all their calamities had hapned unto them; and that therefore they would no more hearken unto any thing, that he ſhould deliver unto them in the name of the Lord. Whereon [h] the word of the Lord came unto the prophet denouncing utter deſtruction unto them by the ſword, and by the famine, that thereby all of them, that is all the men of *Judah* then dwelling in *Egypt*, ſhould be conſumed, excepting only ſome few, who ſhould make their eſcape into the land of *Judah*. And for a ſign hereof it was foretold unto them by the ſame prophet, that *Pharaoh Hophra* King of *Egypt*, in whom they truſted, ſhould be given into the hands of his enemies, who ſought his life, in the ſame manner as *Zedekiah* was given into the hands of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that ſought his life; that ſo when this ſhould be brought to paſs in their Eyes, they might be aſſured thereby, that all theſe words, which the Lord had ſpoken againſt them, ſhould certainly be fulfilled upon them, as accordingly they were about eighteen years afterwards.

AFTER this there is no more mention of *Jeremiah*. It is moſt likely that he died in *Egypt* ſoon after, he being then much advanced in years, (for he had now propheſied one and forty years from the thirteenth of *Joſiah*) and alſo much broken (as we may well ſuppoſe) by the calamities which hapned to himſelf and his countrey. *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Dorotheus*, *Jerom*, and *Zonaras* tell us, that he was ſtoned to death by the *Jews* for preaching againſt their idolatry, and of this ſome interpret St. *Paul's* ἐλιθάσθησαν, (*i. e.* they were ſtoned) *Heb.* xi. 37. But others ſay, that he was put to death by *Pharaoh Hophra*, becauſe of his propheſy againſt him. But theſe ſeem to be traditions founded rather on conjecture, than on any certain account of the matter.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR being returned to *Babylon* after the end of the *Jewiſh* war, and the full ſettling of his affairs in *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, did out of the ſpoils, which he had taken in that expedition, [i] make that

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[b] Jer. xliv. 1. [c] Vide Bocharti Phaleg. Part 1. lib. 4. cap. 27. [d] Jer. xliv. 8. 15---19.
[e] Jer. xliv. 1---15. [f] Jer. xliv. 15. [g] Jer. xliv. 16---19. [h] Jer. xliv. 26---30.
[i] *In the* Greek *verſion of* Daniel, c. iii. 1. *this is ſaid to have been done in the eighteenth year of* Nebuchadnezzar, *but this is not in the original text, for in that no year at all is mentioned, and therefore it is moſt probable it crept into it from ſome marginal comment, for which I doubt not there was ſome very good authority. For it could in no year of that King's reign fall more likely, and therefore according hereto I have here placed it.*

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golden image to the honour of *Bel* his God, which he did ſet up, and dedicate to him in the plain of *Dura*. The Hiſtory of which is at large related in the third chapter of *Daniel*. But how *Daniel* eſcaped the fiery furnace, which his three friends on that occaſion were condemned unto, is made a matter of enquiry by ſome. That he did not fall down and worſhip the idol is moſt certain, it abſolutely diſagreeing with the character of that holy religious man to make himſelf guilty of ſo high an offence againſt God, as ſuch a complyance would have amounted unto; either therefore he was abſent, or elſe if preſent was not accuſed. The latter ſeems moſt probable. For *Nebuchadnezzar* having ſummoned all his princes, counſellors, governors, captains, and all other his officers and miniſters, to be preſent and aſſiſting at the ſolemnity of this dedication, it is not likely, that *Daniel*, who was one of the chiefeſt of them, ſhould be allowed to be abſent. That he was preſent therefore ſeems moſt probable; but his enemies thought it fitteſt not to begin with him, becauſe of the great authority he had with the King, but rather to fall firſt on his three friends, and thereby pave the way for their more ſucceſsful reaching of him after it. But what was in the interim miraculouſly done in their caſe, quaſhed all farther accuſation about this matter, and for that reaſon it was that *Daniel* is not at all ſpoken of in it.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR in the twenty firſt year of his reign, according to the *Jewiſh* account, which was the nineteenth according to the *Babyloniſh* account, and the ſecond from the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, came again into *Syria*, and [k] laid ſiege to *Tyre*, *Ithobal* being then King of that city; which found him hard work for thirteen years together, it being ſo long before he could make himſelf maſter of the place. For it was a ſtrong and wealthy city, which had never as yet ſubmitted to any foreign empire; and was [l] of great fame in thoſe days for its traffic and merchandiſe, whereby ſeveral of its inhabitants had made themſelves as great [m] as princes in riches and ſplendor. It [n] was built by the *Zidonians* two hundred and forty years before the building of the temple of *Solomon* at *Jeruſalem*. For *Zidon* [o] being then conquered and taken by the *Philiſtins* of *Askalon*, many of the inhabitants eſcaping thence in their ſhips, built *Tyre*, and therefore it was called by the prophet *Iſaiah* [p] the daughter of *Zidon*, but it ſoon out-grew its mother in largeneſs, riches and power, and was thereby enabled to withſtand for ſo many years the power of this mighty King, to whom all the *Eaſt* had then ſubmitted. *An.* 586. Nebuchadnezzar 19.

WHILE *Nebuchadnezzar* lay at this ſiege, *Nebuzaradan*, the captain of his guards, being ſent out by him with part of his army, invaded the land of *Iſrael* to take revenge, as it may be ſuppoſed, for the death of *Gedaliah*, there being no other reaſon why he ſhould fall on the poor remains of thoſe miſerable people, whom he himſelf had left and ſettled there. In which expedition [q] *Nebuzaradan* ſeizing upon all of the race of *Iſrael*, that he could meet with in the land, made them all captives, and ſent them to *Babylon*. But they all amounted to no more than ſeven hundred forty and five perſons, the reſt having been all fled into *Egypt*, as hath been before related. *An.* 584. Nebuchadnezzar 21.

[k] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem lib. 1. [l] Ezekiel xxvi. & xxvii.
[m] Iſaiah xxiii. 8. [n] Joſeph. Antiq. 8. c. 2. [o] Juſtin. lib. 18. c. 3. [p] Iſaiah xxiii. 12.
[q] Jeremiah lii. 30.

By this laſt captivity was fully compleated the deſolation of the land, no more of its former inhabitants being now left therein. And hereby were alſo compleated the prophecies of *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and other prophets relating hereto, and particularly [r] that of *Ezekiel*, wherein God's forbearance of the houſe of *Iſrael* is limited to three hundred and ninety days, and his forbearance of the houſe of *Judah* to forty days. For taking the days for years according to the prophetic ſtyle of Scripture, from the apoſtacy of *Jeroboam* to the time of this laſt captivity there will be juſt three hundred and ninety years, and ſo long God bore the idolatry of the houſe of *Iſrael*. And from the eighteenth year of *Joſiah*, [s] when the houſe of *Judah* entered into covenant with God to walk wholly in his ways, to the ſame time will be juſt forty years, and ſo long God bore their walking contrary to that covenant. But now the ſtated time of his forbearance in reſpect of both being fully compleated, he compleated alſo the deſolation of both in this laſt captivity, in which both had an equal ſhare, part of them who were now carried away being of the houſe of *Judah*, and part of the houſe of *Iſrael*. There are others who end both the computations at the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; and to make their hypotheſis good, they begin the forty years of God's forbearance of the houſe of *Judah* from the miſſion of the prophet *Jeremiah* to preach repentance unto them, that is from the thirteenth of *Joſiah*, [t] when he was firſt called to this office, from which time to the laſt year of *Zedekiah*, when *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed, were exactly forty years. And as to the three hundred and ninety years forbearance of the houſe of *Iſrael*, according as they compute the time from *Jeroboam*'s apoſtacy, they make this period to fall exactly right alſo, that is to contain juſt three hundred and ninety years from that time to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. But this period relating purely to the houſe of *Iſrael*, as contradiſtinct from the houſe of *Judah* in this propheſy, it cannot be well interpreted to end in the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, in which the houſe of *Iſrael* had no concern. For *Jeruſalem* was not within the kingdom of *Iſrael*, but within the kingdom of *Judah*, of which it was the metropolis, and therefore the latter only and not the former had their puniſhment in it. But this laſt equally affected both, and therefore here may well be ended the reckoning which belong'd to both. As to the computing of the forty years of God's forbearance of the houſe of *Judah* from the miſſion of *Jeremiah* to preach repentance unto them, it muſt be acknowledged, that from thence to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* the number of years falls exactly right; and therefore ſince [u] the hundred and twenty years of God's forbearance of the old world, is reckoned from the like miſſion of *Noah* to preach repentance unto them, I ſhould be inclined to come into this opinion, and reckon the forty years of this forbearance of *Judah*, by the forty years of *Jeremiah*'s like preaching of repentance unto them; but it cannot be conceived, why *Ezekiel* ſhould reckon the time of his miſſion by an *æra* from the eighteenth year of *Joſiah*, (for the thirtieth year, on which he ſaith he was called to the prophetic office, is certainly to be reckoned from thence) unleſs it be with reſpect to the forty years of God's forbearance of the houſe of *Judah* in his own propheſies.

AFTER this *Nebuzaradan* [w] marched againſt the *Ammonites*, and having

[r] Ezekiel iv. 1---8. [s] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 29--31. [t] Jeremiah i. 2. [u] Gen. vi. 3.
[w] Jeremiah xlix. 1---6. Ezek. xxv. 1---7. Amos i. 14, 15.

deſtroy-

AEGYPTUS ET CYRENAICA

MARE MEDITERRANEUM

Sinus Syrticus

Syrtis Major

CYRENAICA

PENTAPOLIS

Apollonia

Cyrene

Barce

Ptolemais

Berenice

Hesperidum

Thuchira

Adriane

Teuchira

Hydrax

Cænopolis

Leuce Naxe

Phalæra

Paluri Paludes

Abathubo

Herculis turris

Automala

Phalenorum Ara

Herculis cumuli arenosi

Auritina

Acabis

Nasamones

Macæ

Cinyphii

Cinyps

CINYPS REGIO

Psylli

Augila

Velsi Montes

Thagulis

Cale palus

Macæ

Charambæ M.

Durza

LIBYA DESERTA

Apotimatæ

Dioscorvi

Migo

Saragina

Alo

Magni lacus

Anagombri M.

MARMARICA

Marmoridæ

Nomos Ammoniacus

Ammonis Templum

Oasis par.

Adyrmachidæ

Marmaridæ lac.

Oasitæ Nomi

Oasis mag.

Tindes M.

Pampanis

Mareotis

Pyramides

Acanthus

Arsinoe

Hermopolis

Lycopolis

Hypsele

Antinoopolis

Antæopolis

Panopolis

Chemmoseos

Coptos

Thebæ quæ et Diospolis

Latopolis

Apollinis magni urbs

Ombi

Syene

Philæ

Berenice

Hieracum

Ptolemais

This

Abydus

Diospolis parva

Tentyra

Hermonthis

Tiphium

Crocodilopolis

Veneris civitas

Apollinis parva civitas

Alius Petra

Smaragdus M.

Lethyia

Pselcha

Premnis magna

Premnis parva Stat.

Premnis parva Ptol.

Castellum Candaces

Napata

Napata Ptol.

Catadupæ

Cataractes major

Cataractes minor

Metacompso

LIMES

Colobi

Prionatus M.

Basium prom.

Ichthyophagi

Troglodytæ

Ptolemais Troglodytica

Elephantine

Premnis

Meroe

Meroe I.

Elephantis

Rhizophagi

Æthiopiæ

AETHIOPIA SUPRA AEGYPTUM

NUBARUM REGIO

ARABICUS SINUS

ARABIA PETRÆA

PALESTINA

Tropicus Cancri

Garamantes

Blemmyes

Occidens

Meridies

deſtroyed *Rabbah* their royal city, and by fire and ſword made great deſolation in that countrey, he carried their King, and their Princes, and moſt of the chief of the land into captivity. And this was done by way of juſt revenge for the part which they had in the murder of *Gedaliah*, the King of *Babylon*'s governor in the land of *Iſrael*.

AND during this ſiege of *Tyre* the other neighbouring nations, that is the *Philiſtines*, the *Moabites*, the *Edomites*, and the *Zidonians*, ſeem alſo to have been haraſſed and broken by the excurſions of the *Babylonians*, and to have had all thoſe judgments executed upon them, which we find in the prophecies of [x] *Jeremiah* and [y] *Ezekiel* to have been denounced againſt them.

IN the fourteenth year after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, which was the twenty fifth year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, were revealed unto the prophet *Ezekiel* all thoſe viſions and propheſies concerning the future ſtate of the church of God, which we have from the xl[th] chapter of his propheſies to the end of that book. *An.* 574. Nebuchadnezzar 31.

THIS ſame year the judgments, which God had denounced by the mouth of his prophets againſt *Pharaoh Hophra*, or *Apries*, King of *Egypt*, began to operate againſt him. For [z] the *Cyrenians*, a colony of the *Greeks*, that had ſettled in *Africa*, having taken from the *Libyans* (a neighbouring nation lying between them and the *Egyptians*, and bordering upon both) a great part of their land, and divided it among themſelves, the *Libyans* made a ſurrender both of themſelves and their countrey into the hands of *Apries* to obtain his protection. Hereon *Apries* ſent a great army into *Libya* to wage war againſt the *Cyrenians*, which having the misfortune to be beaten and overthrown in battel, were almoſt all cut off and deſtroyed, ſo that very few of them eſcaped the carnage, and returned again into *Egypt*, whereon the *Egyptians* entertaining an opinion, that this army was ſent by *Apries* into *Libya* of purpoſe to be deſtroyed, that he might, when rid of them, with the more eaſe and ſecurity govern the reſt, became ſo incenſed againſt him, that a great many of them imbodying together revolted from him. *Apries* hearing of this, ſent *Amaſis* an officer of his court to appeaſe them, and reduce them again to their duty. But while he was ſpeaking to them, they put on his head the enſigns of royalty, and declared him their King, which he accepting of, ſtayed among them and encreaſed the revolt; at which *Apries* being much incenſed ſent *Paterbemis* another officer of his court, and one of the firſt rank among his followers, to arreſt *Amaſis*, and bring him unto him, which he not being able to effect in the midſt of ſo great an army of conſpirators as he found about him, was on his return very cruelly and unworthily treated by *Apries*. For out of anger for his not effecting that for which he ſent him, tho' he had no power to accompliſh it, he outragiouſly commanded his ears and his noſe to be immediately cut off. Which wrong and indignity offered to a perſon of his character and worth, ſo incenſed the reſt of the *Egyptians*, that they almoſt all joyned with the conſpirators in a general revolt from him. Whereon *Apries* being forced to flee, made his eſcape into the upper *Egypt* towards the borders of *Ethiopia*, where he maintained himſelf for ſome years, while *Amaſis* held all the reſt.

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[x] Jeremiah xxvii, xxviii, xxix. [y] Ezek. xxv. [z] Herodotus lib. 2. & lib. 4. Diodorus Siculus lib. 1. part. 2.

An. 573. Nebuchadnezzar 32.

BUT while this was a doing in *Egypt*, at length in the twenty ſixth year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, which was the fifteenth after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, *Nebuchadnezzar* made himſelf maſter of *Tyre*, after a ſiege of [a] thirteen years continuance, and utterly deſtroyed the place, that is the city, which was on the continent, the ruins of which were afterwards called *Palæ-Tyrus*, or *old Tyre*. But before it came to this extremity, the inhabitants had removed moſt of their effects into an iſland about half a mile diſtant from the ſhore, and there built them a new city. And therefore when *Nebuchadnezzar* entered that, which he had ſo long beſieged, he found little there wherewith to reward his ſoldiers in the ſpoil of the place, which they had ſo long laboured to take, and therefore wreaking his anger upon the buildings, and the few inhabitants who were left in them, he raſed the whole town to the ground, and ſlew all he found therein. After this it never more recovered its former glory, but the city on the iſland became the *Tyre* that was afterwards ſo famous by that name; the other on the continent never riſing any higher, than to become a village by the name of *old Tyre*, as was before ſaid. That it was this *Tyre* only that *Nebuchadnezzar* beſieged, and not the other on the iſland, appears from the deſcription of the ſiege, which we have in *Ezekiel*. For thereby we find that *Nebuchadnezzar* made [c] a fort againſt the place, and caſt up a mount againſt it, and erected [d] engins of battery to break down its walls, which could not be ſaid of the *Tyre* on the iſland. For that was all ſurrounded by the ſea. And that he alſo took and utterly deſtroy'd that city, appears likewiſe from the writings [e] of the ſame prophet. But that the city on the iſland then eſcaped this fate is manifeſt from the *Phœnician* hiſtories. For in them after the death of *Ithobal* (who was [f] ſlain in the concluſion of this war) we are told, [g] that *Baal* ſucceeded in the kingdom, and reigned ten years, and that after him ſucceeded ſeveral temporary magiſtrates one after another, who by the name of *Judges* had the government of the place. It is moſt probable that after *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken and deſtroyed the old town, thoſe who had retired into the iſland came to terms and ſubmitted to him, and that thereon *Baal* was deputed to be their King under him, and reigned ten years: That at the end of the ſaid ten years, (which hapned in the very year that *Nebuchadnezzar* was again reſtored after his diſtraction) *Baal* being then dead or depoſed, the government, to make it the more dependent on the *Babylonians*, was changed into that of temporary magiſtrates; who, inſtead of the name of Kings, had only that of *Suffetes* or *Judges* given unto them, which was a name well known among the *Carthaginians*, who were deſcended of the *Tyrians*, for ſo [h] their chief magiſtrates were called. It had its derivation from the *Hebrew* word *Shophetim*, i. e. *Judges*, which was the very name, whereby the chief governors of *Iſrael* were called for ſeveral generations, before they had Kings. And under this ſort of government the *Tyrians* ſeem to have continued for ſeveral years after, till they were reſtored to their former ſtate by *Darius Hyſtaſpis* ſeventy years after, as will in its proper place be hereafter related.

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[a] Ezekiel xxix. 17. [b] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem lib. 1. [c] Ezekiel xxvi. 8. [d] Ezekiel xxvi. 9. [e] Ezekiel xxvi. 4. & 9---12. [f] Ezekiel xxviii. 8---10. [g] Joſeph. contra Apionem lib. 1. [h] Livius, lib. 28. *Suffetes eorum qui ſummus eſt Pœnis Magiſtratus.* Vide etiam ejuſdem librum 30 & librum 34, ubi de Suffetibus ut de ſummo apud Carthaginenſes Magiſtratu mentio fit.

AND

And here I cannot but obſerve, how exactly the chronology of the *Phœnician* annals agreeth with that of the holy Scriptures. *Ezekiel* placeth the taking of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar* in the twenty ſixth year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*. For in the firſt month, and in the firſt day of the month of the twenty ſeventh year, he ſpeaketh (ch. xxix. 17, 18, &c.) of that city as newly taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and therefore the taking of it muſt have been in the year before, that is in the twenty ſixth of the ſaid captivity. This fell in the [i] thirty ſecond year of the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Babyloniſh* account; from which year, according to *Ptolemy*'s cannon, the firſt year of *Cyrus* at *Babylon* will be the thirty ſixth, and ſo according to the *Rhœnician* annals will it be exactly the ſame. For [k] according to them, after the taking of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Baal* had the government of it ten years, *Ecnibal* two months, *Chelbes* ten months, *Abbar* three months, *Mitgonus* and *Geraſtratus* ſix years, *Balator* one year, *Merball* four years, and *Hirom* twenty years, in whoſe fourteenth year ſay the ſame annals *Cyrus* began his empire. And putting all theſe together, the fourteenth of *Hirom* will be exactly the thirty ſixth year from the thirty ſecond of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which was the twenty ſixth of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, the year according to *Ezekiel* in which *Tyre* was taken. And therefore it doth hereby appear, that the ſaid *Phœnician* annals place the taking of *Tyre* in the very ſame year, that *Ezekiel* doth. For the twenty ſixth year from the captivity of *Jehoiachin* computed downward, in which *Ezekiel* placeth it, and the thirty ſixth year from the fourteenth of *Hirom* computed upward, in which the *Phœnician* annals place it, will be exactly the ſame year.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR and his army having ſerved ſo long before *Tyre*, [l] *till every head was bald, and every ſhoulder peeled*, through the length and hardſhip of the war, and gotten little on the taking of the place to reward him and his army for their ſervice, in executing the wrath of God upon the place, by reaſon that the *Tyrians* had ſaved the beſt of their effects in the iſland, God did by the prophet *Ezekiel* promiſe them the ſpoils of *Egypt*. And accordingly this very ſame year immediately after this ſiege was over, *Nebuchadnezzar* taking the advantage of the inteſtine diviſions which were then in that countrey, by reaſon of the revolt of *Amaſis*, marched with his army thither; and overrunning the whole land from [m] *Migdol* or *Magdolum*, (which is at the firſt entring into *Egypt*) even to *Syene*, (which is at the fartheſt end of it towards the borders of *Ethiopia*) he made [n] a miſerable ravage and devaſtation therein, ſlaying multitudes of the inhabitants, and reducing a great part of the countrey to ſuch a deſolation, as it did not recover from in [o] forty years after. After this *Nebuchadnezzar* having loaded himſelf and his army with the rich ſpoils of this countrey, and brought it all in ſubjection to him, he came to

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[i] *For the* 37th *year of the captivity of* Jehoiachin *being the laſt, (which was the* 43d*) year of the reign of* Nebuchadnezzar, (2 Kings xxv. 27. & Jer. lii. 31.) *the* 26th *year of the ſaid captivity muſt be in the* 33d *of* Nebuchadnezzar. [k] Joſeph. contra Apionem, lib. 1. [l] Ezekiel xxix. 18---20. & xxx. 1---19. [m] Ezekiel xxx. 6. *Where obſerve this paſſage* [from the Tower of *Syene*] *in the* Engliſh *tranſlation of the Bible is wrong tranſlated. For the* Hebrew *word* Migdol, *which is there tranſlated* Tower, *is the name of the city* Magdolum, *which was at the entrance of* Egypt *from* Paleſtine, i. e. *at the hither end of* Egypt, *whereas* Syene *was at the other end upon the borders of* Ethiopia, *the tranſlation ought to be thus,* [from *Migdol* to *Syene*] *that is, from one end of* Egypt *to the other.* [n] Ezekiel xxix. 30, 31, 32. [o] Ezekiel xxix. 3.

terms with *Amaſis*, and having confirmed him in the kingdom as his deputy, returned to *Babylon*.

DURING this ravage of the land of *Egypt* by the *Babylonians*, moſt of the *Jews*, who had fled thither after the murder of *Gedaliah*, fell into their hands. [p] Many of them they ſlew, others they carried captive with them to *Babylon*. The few that eſcaped ſaved themſelves by fleeing out of *Egypt*, and afterwards ſettled again in their own land at the end of the captivity.

An. 570. Nebuchadnezzar 35. AFTER *Nebuchadnezzar* was gone out of *Egypt*, *Apries* creeping out of his hiding places got towards the ſea-coaſts, moſt likely into the parts of *Libya*, and there [q] hiring an army of *Carians*, *Ionians*, and other foreigners, marched againſt *Amaſis*, and gave him battel near the city of *Memphis*, in which being vanquiſhed and taken priſoner he was carried to the city of *Sais*, and there ſtrangled in his own palace. And hereby were compleated all the propheſies of the prophets [r] *Jeremiah* and [s] *Ezekiel*, which they had foretold both concerning him and his people, eſpecially that of *Jeremiah* relating to his death, whereby it was foreſhewn, [t] *That God would give* Pharaoh Hophra *King of* Egypt *into the hands of his enemies, and into the hand of them that ſought his life, as he gave* Zedekiah *King of* Judah *into the hand of* Nebuchadnezzar *his enemy that ſought his life*. Which was exactly fulfilled on his being taken priſoner, and executed by *Amaſis* in the manner as I have ſaid. It is remarked of him [u] by *Herodotus*, that he was of that pride and high conceit of himſelf, as to vaunt, that it was not in the power of God himſelf to diſpoſſeſs him of his kingdom, ſo ſurely he thought himſelf eſtabliſhed in it; and agreeably hereto is it, that the prophet *Ezekiel* charged him with ſaying, [w] *The river is mine and I have made it*. For the firſt twenty years of his reign he had enjoyed as proſperous a fortune as moſt of his predeceſſors, having [x] had many ſucceſſes againſt the *Cyprians*, the *Zidonians*, and *Philiſtins*, and other nations, but after he took on himſelf, *Caligula* like, to be thought as a God, he fell from his former ſtate, and made that miſerable exit which I have related. After his death [y] *Amaſis* without any farther oppoſition became poſſeſſed of the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, and held it from the death of *Apries* forty four years. This hapned in the nineteenth year after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

IN the ſame nineteenth year *Nebuchadnezzar* being returned from this *Egyptian* expedition to *Babylon* had there the dream of the wonderful great tree, and the cutting down thereof, of which, and the interpretation of it, there is a full account in the iv^th^ chapter of *Daniel*.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR being now at reſt from all his wars, and in full peace at home, applied himſelf to the finiſhing of his buildings at *Babylon*. [z] *Semiramis* is ſaid by ſome, and [a] *Belus* by others, to have firſt founded this city. But by whomſoever it was firſt founded, it was *Nebuchadnezzar* that made it one of the wonders of the world. The [b] moſt famous works therein were, *1ſt*, The walls of the city: *2dly*, The temple of *Belus*:

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[p] Jer. xliv. 27, 28. [q] Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. part 2.
[r] *Chap.* xliii, xliv, xlv. [s] *Chap.* xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii. [t] Jer. xliv. 30. [u] Herodotus, lib. 2.
[w] Ezek. xxix. 9. [x] Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. part 2. Jer. xlvii. 1.
[y] Herodotus, Ibid. Diodorus, Ibid. [z] Herodotus, lib. 1. Cteſias. Juſtin. lib. 1. c. 2.
[a] Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Abydenus ex Megaſthene apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.
[b] Beroſus apud Joſephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. Abydenus apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

3*dly*,

ORIENS
PERSIA, INDIA &c.

SCYTHIAE PARS

SCYTHIA INTRA IMAVM

MARE CASPIVM HYRCANVM

PONTI EVXINI PARS

ALBANIA

COLCHIS

ARMENIA MINOR

CAPPADOCIA

PONTVS

ARMENIA MAIOR

MEDIA MAGNA

ATROPATIA

HYRCANIA

PARTHIA seu PARTHIENE

PARACHATACENE

SVSIANA

PERSIA

CARMANIA DESERTA

CARMANIA

GEDROSIA

SOGDIANA

MARGIANA

BACTRIANA

ARIA

PARAPAMISVS

PARAETACENE

ARACHOSIA

DRANGIANA

GABAZA

MASSAGETAE

PORI REGNVM

INDIA EXTRA GANGEM

INTRA GANGEM

MESOPOTAMIA

SYRIA

ARABIA PETRAEA

ARABIA FELIX

ARABIA PANCHAIA

SINVS PERSICVS

SINVS ARABICVS

MARE ERYTHRAEVM

OCEANVS INDICVS

SINVS GANGETICVS

Caucasus Mons

Caucasia Portae

Bosporani

Fluuii Rha Os tia

Cabalaca

Albana

Pylae

Dioscuria

Neoris

Phasis

Cyta

Seumara

Hermonassa

Cyrus Flu.

Araxes Flu.

Mosychici Montes

Trapezus

Cappadocia

Leucosyri

Taurus Mons

Cataonia

Amanus M.

Issus

Antiochia

Cœlesyria

Phœnicia

Iudæa

Samaria

Ammon

Moab

Idumæa

Petra

Bethana

Arabia Deserta

Chalcidene

Babylonia

Seleucia

Ctesiphon

Susa

Pylæ Susidis

Persepolis

Elymais

Characene

Charax

Hieron

Sinus Persicus

Magorum portus

Asta

Laar Flu.

Regama

Solis promontorium

Cryptus portus

Nagara

Carman regia

Badeo regia

Sabæi

Thurifera regio

Sabe

Pudni

Saphar

Sabatha

Mœpha metropolis

Ascitæ

Prion Flu.

Muza emporium

Arabia emporium

Ocelis emporium

Mocha

Madoce

Sanina

Midianitis

Nabathæi

Thamydeni

Itamos portus

Salma

Maaocosmus

Macoraba

Hippos mons

Hippos vicus

Cophar

Zabram regia

Caspii

Cyropolis

Cadusii

Media Atropatena seu Atropatia

Mandagarsis

Batina siue Batana

Sanais

Tabrace

Echatana

Orosa

Gazae

Tigranocerta

Gordyene

Taurantium

Sophene

Armenia

Euphrates Flu.

Araxes Flu.

Araxis Flu.

Cyrus Flu.

Moschici Montes

Phasis

Rhyndacus Flu.

Rha Flu.

Albana

Pylae

Cetara

Alazonius Flu.

Syrinx Paradisus

Zeudracarta

Asaak siue Hyrcania

Zioberus Flu.

Rhagae

Porta Caspia

Arsacia

Cabena

Arbela

Gaugamela

Adiabene

Zabatus Flu.

Lycus Flu.

Nisibis

Amida

Edessa

Carrae

Singara

Nicephorium

Sura

Heardæ

Sittacene

Seleucia

Ctesiphon

Cochae

Euphrates Flu.

Tigris Flu.

Cyrus Flu.

Araxes Flu.

Araxis Flu.

Arsanias Flu.

Araxes Flu.

Cyrus Flu.

Araxis Flu.

Arsanias Fl.

Tabae

Apamia

Raphane

Rhapsa

Cibina

Arsacia

Aspa

Susa

Pylæ

Susides

Persepolis

Pasargada

Thaspis

Nipisa

Chodda

Carmana metropolis

Gabae

Eranis Fl.

Anamis Flu.

Andonis Flu.

Harmozia siue Armoza

Sabis

Alexandria

Oritae seu Orei

Pasira

Ichthyophagi

Ogyris Insula

Arbis

Arabitae

Barce

Xylenopolis

Suficana

Parsis metropolis

Ofcana

Omiza

Musarna

Alexandria

Propsphthasia

Arbis seu Arabis Fl.

Ariaspe

Arachotus

Alexandria

Brachmanes

Sabracæ

Sogdorum regio

Musicani

Præsti

Vrbs Præstorum

Sabaræ

Scopolura

Barigaza emporium

Supara

Simylla empor.

Hippocura regia

Callygeris

Nitriæ

Muziris emporium

Modura

Vertex Taprobanæ

Sabi regnum

Ganga ridæ

Gangis Flu.

Ganges

Lestarum regio

Sinus Magnus

Chersonesus Aurea

Athenagorum

Celydna

Parisara

Aganagora

Padæi

Carinagæ

Vxentus Mons

Vxentus Flu.

Hydaspi Flu.

Acesines Flu.

Hydraotes Flu.

Hyphasis Flu.

Hypanis seu Hyphasis Flu.

Oxydracæ

Arbis Oxydracarum

Ariaspæ

Sangala

Arae Alexandri

Bubacene

Peucelaotis

Assaceni

Massaga

Ora

Taxila

Peucolaitis

Nicæa

Alexandria

Nysa

Cophes Flu.

Parapamisus Mons falso Caucasus

Imaus Mons

Tapuri

Mardi

Barcani

Artacoana

Alexandria

Bactra

Oxus Flu.

Alexandria

Antiochia

Alexandria

Margus Flu.

Oxus Flu.

Oxus Flu.

Derbices

Panda

Alexandria

Gaba

Maracanda

Petra

Gaza

Polytimetrus Flu.

Alexandria Vltima

Laxartes Flu. falso Tanais

Choraſmii

Cyropolis extrema

Dahæ

Memacenorum Ciuitas

Massagetae

Sacæ

Imaus Mons

Abii

Ganges Flu.

Indus Flu.

Hydaspis Flu.

Acesines Flu.

Hydraotes Flu.

Hyphasis Flu.

Hypanis seu Hyphasis Flu.

Arae Alexandri

Sangala

Alexandria

Brachmanes

Sabracæ

Sogdorum regio

Musicani

Præsti

Vrbs Præstorum

Vxentus Mons

Vxentus Flu.

Carinagæ

Celydna

Parisara

Aganagora

Padæi

Ganga ridæ

Saba ræ

Gangis Flu.

Ganges

Lestarum regio

Sinus Magnus

Chersonesus Aurea

Athenagorum

Bubacene

Peucelaotis

Assaceni

Massaga

Ora

Taxila

Peucolaitis

Nicæa

Alexandria

Nysa

Cophes Flu.

Parapamisus Mons falso Caucasus

Imaus Mons

Tapuri

Mardi

Barcani

Artacoana

Alexandria

Bactra

Oxus Flu.

Alexandria

Antiochia

Alexandria

Margus Flu.

Oxus Flu.

Oxus Flu.

Derbices

Panda

Alexandria

Gaba

Maracanda

Petra

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Polytimetrus Flu.

Alexandria Vltima

Laxartes Flu. falso Tanais

Choraſmii

Cyropolis extrema

Dahæ

Memacenorum Ciuitas

Massagetae

Sacæ

Imaus Mons

Abii

Ganges Flu.

Indus Flu.

Hydaspis Flu.

Acesines Flu.

Hydraotes Flu.

Hyphasis Flu.

Hypanis seu Hyphasis Flu.

Arae Alexandri

Sangala

Alexandria

Brachmanes

Sabracæ

Sogdorum regio

Musicani

Præsti

Vrbs Præstorum

Vxentus Mons

Vxentus Flu.

Carinagæ

Celydna

Parisara

Aganagora

Padæi

Ganga ridæ

Saba ræ

Gangis Flu.

Ganges

Lestarum regio

Sinus Magnus

Chersonesus Aurea

Athenagorum

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3*dly*, His palace, and the hanging gardens in it: 4*thly*, The banks of the river: And 5*thly*, The artificial lake, and artificial canals made for the draining of that river. In the magnificence and expence of which works he much exceeded whatſoever had been done by any King before him. And excepting the walls of *China* nothing like it hath been ſince attempted, whereby any one elſe can be equall'd to him herein.

1*ſt*, THE walls were every way prodigious. For they [c] were in thickneſs eighty ſeven foot, in height three hundred and fifty foot, and in compaſs four hundred eighty furlongs, which make ſixty of our Miles. This is *Herodotus*'s account of them, who was himſelf at *Babylon*, and is the ancienteſt author that hath wrote of this matter. And altho' there are others that differ from him herein, yet the moſt, that agree in any meaſures of thoſe walls, give us [d] the ſame, or very near the ſame that he doth. Thoſe who lay the height of them at fifty cubits, ſpeak of them only as they were after the time of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*. For the *Babylonians* having revolted from him, and in confidence of their ſtrong walls ſtood out againſt him in a long ſiege, after he had taken the place, to [e] prevent their rebellion for the future, he took away their gates, and beat down their walls to the height laſt mentioned, and beyond this they were never after raiſed. Theſe walls were drawn round the city in the form of [f] an exact ſquare, each ſide of which was an hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles in length, and [g] all built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous ſlime ariſing out of the earth in that countrey, which binds in building much ſtronger and firmer than lime, and ſoon grows much harder than the brick or ſtones themſelves, which they cement together. Theſe walls were ſurrounded on the outſide with a vaſt ditch filled with water, and lined with bricks on both ſides, after the manner of a ſcarpe or counterſcarpe, and the earth which was dug out of it made the bricks wherewith the walls were built; and therefore from the vaſt height and breadth of the walls may be inferred the greatneſs of the ditch. In every ſide of this great ſquare were twenty five gates, that is an hundred in all, which were all made of ſolid braſs; and hence it is, that when God promiſed to *Cyrus* the conqueſt of *Babylon*, he tells him, *That he would break in pieces before him the gates of braſs*. (Iſaiah xlv. 2.) Between every two of theſe gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great ſquare, and three between each of theſe corners and the next gate on either ſide, and every one of theſe towers was ten foot higher than the walls. But this is to be underſtood only [h] of thoſe parts of the wall where there was need of towers. For ſome parts of them lying againſt moraſſes always full of water, where they could not be approached by an enemy, they had there no need of any towers at all for their defence, and therefore in them there were none built. For the whole number of them amounted to no more than two hundred and fifty, whereas had the ſame uniform order been obſerved in their diſpoſition all round, there muſt have been many more. From the twenty five gates in each ſide of this great ſquare went twenty five ſtreets in ſtreight lines to the gates, which were directly over againſt them in the other ſide oppoſite to it. So that the whole number of the

[c] Herodotus, lib. 1. [d] Plinius, lib. 6. c. 26. Philoſtratus, lib. 1. c. 18. [e] Herodotus, lib. 3. [f] Herodotus, lib. 3. [g] Herodotus, lib. 1. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Strabo, lib. 16. Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. Arrian. de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7. [h] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2.

ſtreets were fifty, each fifteen miles long, whereof twenty five went one way, and twenty five the other, [t] directly croſſing each other at right Angles. And beſides theſe there were alſo four half ſtreets, which were built but of one ſide, as having the wall on the other. Theſe went round the four ſides of the city next the walls, and [u] were each of them two hundred foot broad, the reſt were about an hundred and fifty. By theſe ſtreets thus croſſing each other the whole city was cut out into ſix hundred ſeventy ſix ſquares, each of which was four furlongs and an half on every ſide, that is two miles and a quarter in compaſs. Round theſe ſquares on every ſide towards the ſtreets ſtood the houſes all built three or four ſtories high, and beautified [l] with all manner of adornments towards the ſtreets. The ſpace within, in the middle of each ſquare, was all void ground, employed for yards, gardens, and other ſuch uſes. A branch of the river *Euphrates* did run quite croſs the city, entring in on the north ſide, and going out on the ſouth, over which in the middle of the city was a bridge of [m] a furlong in length, and thirty foot in breadth, built with [n] wonderful art to ſupply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all ſandy. At the two ends of the bridge were [o] two palaces, the old palace on the eaſt ſide, and the new palace on the weſt ſide of the river; the former of theſe took up [p] four of the ſquares above-mentioned, and the other [q] nine of them. And the temple of *Belus*, which ſtood next the old palace, took up another of theſe ſquares. The whole city ſtood on a [r] large flat or plain, in a very fat and deep ſoil. That part of it [s] which was on the eaſt ſide of the river was the old city, the other on the weſt ſide was added by *Nebuchadnezzar*. Both together were included within that vaſt ſquare I have mentioned. The pattern hereof ſeemeth to have been taken from *Niniveh*, that having been exactly [t] four hundred and eighty furlongs round, as this was. For *Nebuchadnezzar* having in conjunction with his father deſtroyed that old royal ſeat of the *Aſſyrian* empire, reſolved to make this, which he intended ſhould ſucceed it in that dignity, altogether as large; only whereas *Niniveh* was [v] in the form of a parallelogram, he made *Babylon* in that of an exact ſquare, which figure rendred it ſomewhat the larger of the two. To fill this great and large city with inhabitants, was the reaſon that *Nebuchadnezzar* out of *Judea*, and other conquered countries, carried ſo great a number of captives thither. And could he have made it as populous, as it was great, there was no countrey in all the eaſt could, better than that in which it ſtood, have maintained ſo great a number of people as muſt then have been in it. For the fertility of this province was ſo great, that [w] it yielded to the *Perſian* Kings, during their reign over *Aſia*, half as much as did all that large empire beſides, the common return of their tillage being between two and three hundred fold every crop. But it never hapned to have been [x] fully inhabited, it not having

[t] Herodotus, lib. 1. [u] *Two* plethra, *ſaith* Diodorus, *that is, two hundred foot, for a* plethrum *contained one hundred foot.* [l] Herodotus, lib. 1. [m] Strabo *ſaith, that the river which paſſed thorough* Babylon *was a furlong broad.* (lib. 16.) *But* Diodorus *ſaith* (lib. 2.) *that the bridge was five furlongs long, if ſo, it muſt be much longer than the river was broad.* [n] Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Philoſtratus, lib. 1. c. 18. Herodotus, lib. 1. [o] Beroſus apud Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Philoſtratus, lib. 1. c. 18. [p] *It was thirty furlongs in compaſs*, Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. [q] *It was ſixty furlongs in compaſs*, Diodorus, Ibid. [r] Herodotus, lib. 1. [s] Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. [t] Diodorus, Ibid. [v] *Two of its ſides were each an hundred and fifty furlongs long, and the other but eighty each*, Diodorus, Ibid. [w] Herodotus, lib. 1. [x] Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

ving

ving had time enough to grow up thereto. For within twenty five years after the death of *Nebuchadnezzar* the royal ſeat of the empire was removed from thence to *Shuſhan* by *Cyrus*, which did put an end to the growing glory of *Babylon*, for after that it never more flouriſhed. When *Alexander* came to *Babylon*, *Curtius* tells us, [x] no more than ninety furlongs of it was then built, which can no otherwiſe be underſtood than of ſo much in length, and if we allow the breadth to be as much as the length, (which is the utmoſt that can be allowed) it will follow, that no more than eight thouſand one hundred ſquare furlongs were then built upon, but the whole ſpace within the walls contained fourteen thouſand four hundred ſquare furlongs, and therefore there muſt have been ſix thouſand three hundred ſquare furlongs that were unbuilt, which *Curtius* [z] tells us were plow'd and ſown. And beſides this the houſes were not contiguous, but all built with a void ſpace on each ſide, between houſe and houſe. And the ſame hiſtorian tells us, this was done becauſe this way of building ſeemed to them the ſafeſt. His words are, *Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt, per nonaginta ſtadia habitatur, nec omnia continua ſunt, credo quia tutius viſum eſt pluribus locis ſpargi*; i. e. *Neither was the whole city built upon, for the ſpace of ninety furlongs it was inhabited, but the houſes were not contiguous, becauſe they thought it ſafeſt to be diſperſed in many places diſtant from each other.* Which words [*they thought it ſafeſt*] are to be underſtood, not as if they did this for the better ſecuring of their houſes from fire, as ſome interpret them, but chiefly for the better preſerving of health. For hereby in cities ſituated in ſuch hot countries thoſe ſuffocations and other inconveniencies are avoided, which muſt neceſſarily attend ſuch as there dwell in houſes cloſely built together. For which reaſon *Delhi* the capital of *India*, and ſeveral other cities in thoſe warmer parts of the world, are thus built; the uſage of thoſe places being, that ſuch a ſtated ſpace of ground be left void between every houſe and houſe, that is built in them. And old *Rome* was built after the ſame manner. So that putting all this together it will appear, that *Babylon* was ſo large a city rather in ſcheme than in reality. For according to this account it muſt be by much the larger part that was never built, and therefore in this reſpect it muſt give place to *Niniveh*, which was as many furlongs in circuit as the other, and without any void ground in it that we are told of. And the number of its infants at the ſame time, which could not diſcern between their right hand and their left, which the Scriptures tell us were an hundred and twenty thouſand in the time of *Jonah*, doth ſufficiently prove it was fully inhabited. It was intended indeed, that *Babylon* ſhould have exceeded it in every thing. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did not live long enough, nor the *Babyloniſh* empire laſt long enough to finiſh the ſcheme that was firſt drawn of it.

THE next great work of *Nebuchadnezzar* at *Babylon* was the [y] temple of *Belus*. But that which was moſt remarkable in it was none of his work, but was built many ages before. It was a wonderful tower that ſtood in the middle of it. At the foundation [y] it was a ſquare of a furlong on each ſide, that is an half of a mile in the whole compaſs, and conſiſted of eight towers one built above over the other. Some following a miſtake of the

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[x] Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.
[z] Herodotus, lib. 1.
[y] Beroſus apud Joſephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

Latin

Latin verſion of *Herodotus*, wherein the loweſt of theſe towers is ſaid to be a furlong thick and a furlong high, will have each of theſe towers to have been a furlong high, which amounts to a mile in the whole. But the *Greek* of *Herodotus*, which is the authentic text of that author, ſaith no ſuch thing, but only that it was a furlong long and a furlong broad, without mentioning any thing of its height at all. And *Strabo* in his deſcription of it, calling it a pyramid, becauſe of its decreaſing or benching-in at every tower, [a] ſaith of the whole, that it was a furlong high, and a furlong on every ſide. To reckon every tower a furlong, and the whole a mile high, would ſhock any man's belief, were the authority of both theſe authors for it, much more when there is none at all. Taking it only as it is deſcribed by *Strabo* it is prodigious enough. For according to his dimenſions only, without adding any thing farther, it was one of the wonderfulleſt works in the world, and much exceeding the greateſt of the pyramids of *Egypt*, which hath been thought to excel all other works in the world beſides. For [b] although it fell ſhort of that pyramid at the baſis, (where that was a ſquare of ſeven hundred foot on every ſide, and this but of ſix hundred) yet it far exceeded it in the height, the perpendicular meaſure of the ſaid pyramid being no more than four hundred eighty one foot, whereas that of the other was full ſix hundred, and therefore it was higher than that pyramid by one hundred and nineteen foot, which is one quarter of the whole. And therefore it was not without reaſon, that [c] *Bochartus* aſſerts it to have been the very ſame tower which was there built at the confuſion of tongues. For it was prodigious enough to anſwer the Scriptures deſcription of it; and it is particularly atteſted by ſeveral Authors, to have been all built [d] of bricks and bitumen, as the Scriptures tell us the tower of *Babel* was. *Herodotus* ſaith, that the going up to it was by ſtairs on the outſide round it, from whence it ſeems moſt likely, that the whole aſcent to it was by the benching-in drawn in a ſloping line from the bottom to the top eight times round it; and that this made the appearance of eight towers one above another, in the ſame manner as we have the tower of *Babel* commonly deſcribed in pictures, ſaving only, that whereas that is uſually pictur'd round, this was ſquare. For ſuch a benching-in drawn in a ſlope eight times round, in manner as aforeſaid, would make the whole ſeem on every ſide as conſiſting of eight towers, and the upper tower to be ſo much leſs than that next below it, as the breadth of the benching-in amounted to. Theſe eight towers being as ſo many ſtories one above another, were each of them ſeventy five foot high, and in them were many great rooms with arched roofs ſupported by pillars. All which were made parts of the temple after the tower became conſecrated to that idolatrous uſe. The uppermoſt ſtory of all was that which was moſt ſacred, and where their chiefeſt devotions were performed. Over the whole on the top of the tower was [e] an obſervatory, by the benefit of which it was, that the *Babylonians* advanced their skill in aſtronomy beyond all other nations, and came to ſo early a perfection in it as is related. For when *Alexander* took *Babylon*, *Caliſthenes* the philoſopher, who accompanied him thither, found they had aſtro-

[a] Strabo, lib. 16. [b] *See Mr.* Greave's *Deſcription of the Pyramids*, *p.* 68, 69. [c] Phaleg. Part. I. lib. 1. c. 9. [d] Strabo, lib. 16. Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Arrian. de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7. [e] Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 98.

nomical

nomical obſervations for 1903 years backward from that time, which carrieth up the account as high as the one hundred and fifteenth year after the flood, which was within fifteen years after the tower of *Babel* was built. For the confuſion of tongues, which followed immediately after the building of that tower, hapned in the year wherein *Peleg* was born, which was an hundred and one years after the flood, and fourteen years after that theſe obſervations began. This account *Caliſthenes* ſent from *Babylon* into *Greece* to his maſter *Ariſtotle*, as *Simplicius* from the authority of *Porphyry* delivers it unto us in his ſecond book *De Cœlo*. Till the time of *Nebuchadnezzar* the temple of *Belus* contained no more than this tower only, and the rooms in it ſerved all the occaſions of that idolatrous worſhip. But [g] he enlarged it by vaſt buildings erected round it in a ſquare of two furlongs on every ſide, and a mile in circumference, which was one thouſand eight hundred foot more than [h] the ſquare of the temple of *Jeruſalem*. For that was but three thouſand foot round, whereas this was, according to this account, four thouſand eight hundred. And on the outſide of all theſe buildings there was a wall incloſing the whole, which may be ſuppoſed to have been of equal extent with the ſquare in which it ſtood, that is, two miles and a half in compaſs, in which were ſeveral gates leading into the temple, all [i] of ſolid braſs, and the brazen ſea, the brazen pillars, and the other brazen veſſels, which were carried to *Babylon* from the temple of *Jeruſalem*, ſeem to have been employed to the making of them. For it is ſaid, that *Nebuchadnezzar* did put all the ſacred veſſels which he carried from *Jeruſalem* [k] into the houſe of his God at *Babylon*, that is, into this houſe or temple of *Bel*. For that was the name of the great God of the *Babylonians*. He is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with *Nimrod*, and to have been called *Bel* from his dominion, and *Nimrod* from his rebellion. For *Bel*, or *Baal*, which is the ſame name, ſignifyeth *Lord*, and *Nimrod* a *Rebel* in the *Jewiſh* and *Chaldean* languages; the former was his *Babyloniſh* name by reaſon of his empire in that place, and the latter his Scripture name by reaſon of his rebellion, in revolting from God to follow his own wicked deſigns. This temple ſtood till the time of *Xerxes*, but he, on his return from his *Grecian* expedition, [l] demoliſhed the whole of it, and laid it all in rubbiſh, having firſt plundered it of all its immenſe riches, among which were ſeveral images or ſtatues of maſſy gold, and one of them is ſaid by [m] *Diodorus Siculus* to have been forty foot high, which might perchance have been that, which *Nebuchadnezzar* conſecrated in the plains of *Dura*. *Nebuchadnezzar*'s golden image is ſaid indeed in Scripture to have been ſixty cubits, *i. e.* ninety foot high, but that muſt be underſtood of the image and pedeſtal both together. For that image being ſaid to have been but ſix cubits broad or thick, it is impoſſible that the image could have been ſixty cubits high. For that makes its height to be ten times its breadth or thickneſs, which exceeds all the proportions of a man, no man's height being above ſix times his thickneſs, meaſuring the ſlendereſt man living at his waiſt. But where the breadth of this image was mea-

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[f] Berosus apud Joſephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. [g] Herodotus, lib. 1. [h] *For it was a ſquare of 500 Cubits on every ſide, and 2000 in the whole*, i. e. 3000 *foot*. *See* Lightfoot's *deſcription of the Temple of* Jeruſalem. [i] Herodotus, lib. 1. [k] Daniel i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. [l] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 738. Herodotus, lib. 1. Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7. [m] Lib. 2.

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ſured is not ſaid, perchance it was from ſhoulder to ſhoulder, and then the proportion of ſix cubits breadth will bring down the heighth exactly to the meaſure which *Diodorus* hath mentioned. For the uſual height of a man being four and a half of his breadth between the ſhoulders, if the image were ſix cubits broad between the ſhoulders, it muſt according to this proportion have been twenty ſeven cubits high, which is forty foot and an half. Beſides *Diodorus* [n] tells us, that this image of forty foot high contained a thouſand *Babyloniſh* talents of gold, which according to *Pollux* (who in his *Onomaſticon* reckons a *Babyloniſh* talent to contain ſeven thouſand *Attic* drachma's, *i. e.* eight hundred ſeventy five ounces) [o] amounts to three millions and a half of our money. But if we advance the height of the ſtatue to ninety foot without the pedeſtal, it will encreaſe the value to a ſum incredible, and therefore it is neceſſary to take the pedeſtal alſo into the height mentioned by *Daniel*. Other images and ſacred utenſils were alſo in that temple, all of ſolid gold. Thoſe that are particularly mentioned by *Diodorus* contain five thouſand and thirty talents, which with the thouſand talents in the image above-mentioned, amount to above one and twenty millions of our money. And beſides this we may well ſuppoſe the value of as much more in treaſure and utenſils not mentioned, which was a vaſt ſum. But it was the collection of near two thouſand years. For ſo long that temple had ſtood. All this *Xerxes* took away, when he deſtroyed it. And perchance to recruit himſelf with the plunder, after the vaſt expence which he had been at in his *Grecian* expedition, was that which chiefly excited him to the deſtruction of it, what other reaſon ſoever might be pretended for it. *Alexander* on his return to *Babylon* from his *Indian* expedition [p] purpoſed again to have rebuilt it, and in order hereto he did ſet ten thouſand men on work to rid the place of its rubbiſh, but after they had laboured herein two months *Alexander* died, before they had perfected much of the undertaking. And this did put an end to all farther proceedings in that deſign. Had he lived, and made that city the ſeat of his empire, as it was [q] ſuppoſed he would, the glory of *Babylon* would no doubt have been advanced by him to the utmoſt height that ever *Nebuchadnezzar* intended to have brought it to, and would again have been the Queen of the eaſt.

NEXT this temple [r] on the ſame eaſt ſide of the river ſtood the old palace of the Kings of *Babylon*, being four miles in compaſs. Exactly over againſt it on the other ſide of the river [s] ſtood the new palace, and this was that which *Nebuchadnezzar* built. It was four times as big as the former, as being [t] eight miles in compaſs. It was ſurrounded with three walls, one within another, and ſtrongly fortified according to the way of thoſe times. But what was moſt wonderful in it were the hanging gardens, which were of ſo celebrated a name among the *Greeks*. They [u] contained a ſquare of four plethra (that is of four hundred foot) on every ſide, and were carried up aloft into the air in the manner of ſeveral large terraſſes one above another, till the higheſt equalled the height of the walls of the city. The

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[n] Lib. 2. [o] *This is according to the loweſt computation, valuing an* Attic *drachm at no more than ſeven pence half penny, whereas Dr.* Bernard *reckons it to be eight pence farthing, which would mount the ſum much higher.* [p] Strabo, lib. 16. Joſephus contra Apionem, lib. 1. Arrianus de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7. [q] Strabo, lib. 15. p. 731. [r] Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Philoſtratus, lib. 1. c. 18. [s] Beroſus apud Joſephum, lib. 10. c. 11. [t] Diodor. lib. 2. Herodot. lib. 1. [u] Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Strabo, lib. 16. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

aſcent was from terraſs to terraſs by ſtairs ten foot wide. The whole pile was ſuſtained by vaſt arches built upon arches one above another, and ſtrengthened by a wall ſurrounding it on every ſide of twenty two foot thickneſs. The floors of every one of theſe terraſſes were laid in the ſame manner, which was thus: On the top of the arches were firſt laid large flat ſtones ſixteen foot long and four broad, and over them was a layer of reed mix'd with a great quantity of bitumen; over which were two rows of bricks cloſely cemented together by plaiſter, and then over all were laid thick ſheets of lead, and laſtly upon the lead was laid the mould of the garden. And all this floorage was contrived to keep the moiſture of the mould from running away down through the arches. The mould or earth laid hereon was of that depth, as to have room enough for the greateſt trees to take rooting in it, and ſuch were planted all over it in every terraſs, as were alſo all other trees, plants, and flowers, that were proper for a garden of pleaſure. In the upper terraſs there was an aquæduct or engine, whereby water was drawn up out of the river, which from thence watered the whole garden. *Amyitis* the wife of *Nebuchadnezzar* having been bred in *Media*, (for ſhe was the daughter of *Aſtyages*, the King of that countrey, as hath been before related) had been much taken with the mountainous and woody parts of that countrey, and therefore deſired to have ſomething like it at *Babylon*, and to gratify her herein was the reaſon of erecting this monſtrous work of vanity.

THE other works attributed to him by [v] *Beroſus* and [w] *Abydenus* were the banks of the river, and the artificial canals, and artificial lake, which were made for dreining of it in the times of the overflows. For [x] on the coming on of the ſummer the ſun melting the ſnow on the mountains of *Armenia*, from thence there is always a great overflow of water during the months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, which running into the *Euphrates*, makes it overflow all its banks during that ſeaſon, in the ſame manner as doth the river *Nile* in *Egypt*, whereby the city and countrey of *Babylon* ſuffering great damage, for [y] the preventing hereof he did a great way up the ſtream cut out of it on the eaſt ſide two artificial canals, thereby to drain off theſe overflowings into the *Tigris* before they ſhould reach *Babylon*. The [z] fartheſt of theſe was the current which did run into the *Tigris* near *Seleucia*, and the other that which taking its courſe between the laſt mentioned and *Babylon*, diſcharged it ſelf into the ſame river over againſt *Apamia*; which being very large and navigable for great Veſſels [a] was from thence called *Naharmalcha*, that is in the *Chaldean* language, the *Royal River*. This is ſaid to have been made by [b] *Gobaris* or *Gobrias*, who being the governor of the province had the overſeeing of the work committed to his care, and ſeemeth to have been the ſame, who afterwards on a great wrong done him revolted from the *Babylonians* to *Cyrus*, as will be hereafter related. And for the farther ſecuring of the countrey *Nebuchadnezzar* built [c] alſo prodigious banks of brick and bitumen on each ſide of the river to keep it within its channel, which [d] were carried along

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[v] Apud Joſephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem, lib. 1. [w] Apud Euſebium Præpar. Evang. lib. 9. [x] Strabo, lib. 16. Plin. 5. c. 26. Arrianus de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. [y] Abydenus apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. [z] Ptol. lib. 5. c. 18. Plin. lib. 5. c. 26. [a] Abydenus, ibid. Ptol. ibid. Plin. lib. 6. c. 26. Polybius, lib. 5. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 24. Strab. lib. 16. p. 747. Iſidorus Characenus de Stathmis Parthicis. [b] Plin. lib. 6. c. 26. [c] Abydenus, ibid. [d] Herodotus, lib. 1.

from the head of the ſaid canals down to the city, and ſome way below it. But the moſt wonderful part of the work was within the city it ſelf. For there[e] on each ſide of the river he built from the bottom of it a great wall for its bank of brick and bitumen, which was of the ſame thickneſs with the walls of the city, and over againſt every ſtreet that croſſed the ſaid river he made on each ſide a brazen gate in the ſaid wall, and ſtairs leading down from it to the river, from whence the citizens uſed to paſs by boat from one ſide to the other, which was the only paſſage they had over the river, till the bridge was built, which I have above mentioned. The gates were open by day, but always ſhut by night. And this prodigious work [f] was carried on on both ſides of the river to the length of an hundred and ſixty furlongs, which is twenty miles of our meaſure, and therefore muſt have been begun two miles and an half above the city, and continued down two miles and an half below it. For thorough the city was no more than fifteen miles. While theſe banks were a building the river was turn'd another way. For which purpoſe to the weſt of *Babylon* [g] was made a prodigious artificial lake, which was [h] according to the loweſt computation forty miles ſquare and an hundred and ſixty in compaſs, and in depth thirty five foot, ſaith *Herodotus*, ſeventy five, ſaith *Megaſthenes*. The former ſeems to meaſure from the ſurface of the ſides, and the other from the top of the banks that were caſt up upon them. And into this lake was the whole river turned by an artificial canal cut from the weſt ſide of it, till all the ſaid work was finiſhed, and then it was returned again into its own former channel. But that the ſaid river in the time of its increaſe might not through the gates above mentioned overflow the city, this lake with the canal leading thereto was ſtill preſerved, and proved the beſt, and the moſt effectual means to prevent it. For whenever the river roſe to ſuch an height, as to endanger this overflowing, it always diſcharged it ſelf by this canal into the lake, through a paſſage in the bank of the river at the head of the ſaid canal, made there of a pitch fit for this purpoſe, whereby it was prevented from ever riſing any higher below that place. And the water received into the lake at the time of theſe overflowings was there kept all the year, as in a common reſervatory for the benefit of the countrey, to be let out by ſluices at all convenient times for the watering of the lands below it. So it equally ſerved the convenience of *Babylon*, and alſo the convenience of that part of the province, in improving their lands, and making them the more fertile and beneficial to them, though at laſt it became the cauſe of great miſchief to both. For it affforded to *Cyrus* the means of taking the city, and in the effecting thereof became the cauſe of drowning a great part of that countrey, which was never after again recovered; of both which an account will be hereafter given in its proper place. *Beroſus*, *Megaſthenes*, and *Abydenus*, attribute all theſe works to *Nebuchadnezzar*, but *Herodotus* tells us, that the bridge, the river-banks, and the lake, were the work of *Nitocris* his daughter-in-law. Perchance *Nitocris* finiſhed what *Nebuchadnezzar* had left unperfected at his death, and this procured her with that hiſtorian the honour of the whole.

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[e] Beroſus apud Joſephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. [f] Diodor. lib. 2. p. 96. [g] Abydenus, ibid. Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodorus, ibid. [h] *According to* Herodotus, *this Lake was four hundred and twenty furlongs ſquare*, i. e. *fifty two miles and an half on every ſide, and then the whole compaſs muſt be two hundred and ten miles. But according to* Megaſthenes *the whole compaſs was but forty* paraſangæ, i. e. *an hundred and ſixty miles, for each* paraſanga *contained four of our miles.*

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ALL the flat, whereon *Babylon* ſtood, being by reaſon of ſo many rivers and canals running thorough it made in many places marſhy, eſpecially near the ſaid rivers and canals, this cauſed it to abound much in willows, and therefore it is called in Scripture, *The valley of willows.* (For ſo the words *Iſaiah* xv. 7. which we tranſlate the *brook of willows*, ought to be rendred.) And for the ſame reaſon the *Jews* (*Pſalm* cxxxvii. 1, 2.) are ſaid, when they were by the rivers of *Babylon* in the land of their captivity, to have hung their harps upon the willows, that, is, becauſe of the abundance of them which grew by thoſe rivers.

AT the end [i] of twelve months after *Nebuchadnezzar*'s laſt dream, while he was walking in his palace at *Babylon*, moſt likely in his hanging gardens, and in the uppermoſt terraſs of them, from whence he might have a full proſpect of the whole city, he proudly boaſting of his great works done therein ſaid, [k] *Is not this great* Babylon, *which I have built for the houſe of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majeſty?* But while the words were yet in his mouth, there came a voice to him from heaven to rebuke his pride, which told him that his kingdom was departed from him, and that he ſhould be driven from the ſociety of men, and thenceforth for ſeven years have his dwelling with the wild beaſts of the field, there to live like them in a brutal manner. And immediately hereon his ſenſes being taken from him he fell into a diſtracted condition, and continuing ſo for ſeven years, he lived abroad in the fields, eating graſs like the oxen, and taking his lodgings on the ground in the open air, as they did, till his hair was grown like eagles feathers, and his nails like birds claws. But at the end of ſeven years his underſtanding returning unto him, he was reſtored again to his kingdom, and his former majeſty and honour re-eſtabliſhed on him. And hereon being made fully ſenſible of the almighty power of the God of heaven and earth, and that it is he only that doth all things according to his will, both in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, and by his everlaſting dominion diſpoſeth of all things at his good pleaſure, he did by a publick decree make acknowledgment hereof through all the *Babyloniſh* empire, praiſing his almighty power, and magnifying his mercy in his late reſtoration ſhewn unto him.

An. 569. Nebuchadnezzar 36.

An. 563. Nebuchadnezzar 42.

AFTER this he lived only one year, and died, having reigned according to the *Babyloniſh* account from the death of his father forty three years, and according to the *Jewiſh* account from his firſt coming with an army into *Syria* forty five years. His death hapned about the end of the year, a little before the concluſion of the thirty ſeventh year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin.* He was one of the greateſt princes that had reigned in the eaſt for many ages before him, *Megaſthenes* [l] prefers him for his valour to *Hercules.* But his greatneſs, riches and power, did in nothing more appear, than in his prodigious works at *Babylon* above deſcribed, which for many ages after were ſpoken of as the wonders of the world. He is [m] ſaid at his death to have propheſyed of the coming of the *Perſians*, and their bringing of the *Babylonians* in ſubjection to them. But in this he ſpake no more than what he had been informed of by *Daniel* the pro-

An. 562. Nebuchadnezzar 43.

[i] Daniel iv. [k] Daniel iv. 30. [l] Abydenus, ibid. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. Strabo, lib. 15. p. 687. [m] Abydenus, ibid.

phet, and in the interpretation of his dreams been assured by him should speedily come to pass, as accordingly it did within twenty three years after.

An. 561. Evilmerodach 1. ON the death of this great Prince [n] *Evilmerodach* his son succeeded him in the *Babylonish* empire; and as soon as he was settled in the throne, he released *Jehoiachin* King of *Judah* out of prison, after he had lain there near thirty seven years, and promoted him to great honour in his palace, admitting him to eat bread continually at his table, and placing him there before all the other kings, and great men of his empire, that came to him to *Babylon*, and also made him a daily allowance to support him with an equipage in all things else suitable hereto. *Jerom* [o] tells us from an ancient tradition of the *Jews*, that *Evilmerodach* having had the government of the *Babylonish* empire during his father's distraction administred it so ill, that as soon as the old King came again to himself, he put him in prison for it; and that the place of his imprisonment hapning to be the same, where *Jehoiachin* had long lain, he there entered into a particular acquaintance and friendship with him, and that this was the cause of the great kindness which he afterwards shewed him. And since the old historical traditions of the *Jews* [p] are often quoted in the new Testament, if this were such, it is not wholly to be disregarded, and that especially since the male administrations which *Evilmerodach* was guilty of after his father's death, give reason enough to believe, that he could not govern without them before. For he [q] proved a very profligate and vicious Prince, and for that reason was called *Evilmerodach*, that is, *Foolish Merodach*. For his proper name was only *Merodach*. But whatsoever was the inducing reason, this favour he shewed to the captive Prince, as soon as his father was dead. So that the last year of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign was the last of the thirty seven years of *Jehoiachin*'s captivity, and this shews us when it begun, and serves to the connecting of the chronology of the *Babylonish* and *Jewish* history in all other particulars. For which reason it may be useful to have a particular state of this matter, which I take to have been as followeth. In the seventh year of the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, according to the *Babylonish* account, * in the beginning of the *Jewish* year, that is, in the month of *April* according to our year, *Jehoiachin* was carried captive to *Babylon*. And therefore the first year of his captivity beginning in the month of *April* in the seventh year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the thirty seventh year of it must begin in the same month of *April* in the forty third year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, towards the end whereof that great King dying, with the beginning of the next year began the first year of the reign of *Evilmerodach*, and the *March* following, [r] that is, on the twenty seventh day of the twelfth, or last month of the *Jewish* year, *Jehoiachin* was by the great favour of the new King released from his captivity in the manner as is above expressed, about a month before he had fully compleated thirty seven years in it.

An. 561. Evilmerodach 1. IN the same year, which was the first of *Evilmerodach* at *Babylon*, [s] *Crœsus* succeeded *Alyattes* his father in the kingdom of *Lydia*, and reigned

[n] 2 Kings xxv. 27. Jeremiah lii. 31. Berosus apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib 1. Et Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. [o] Comment. in Esaiam xiv. 19. [p] *By St.* Stephen, Acts vii. *By St.* Paul *to the* Hebrews, xi. 35, 36, 37. *and to* Timothy, Ep. ii. 3, 8. *and by St.* Jude, 9, 14, 15. [q] Berosus, ibid. * 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10. *for there it is said, that it was at the return of the year.* [r] 2 Kings xxv. 27. Jer. lii. 31. [s] Herodotus, lib. 1.

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there fourteen years. This was the twenty eighth year after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the forty ſixth of the ſeventy years captivity of *Judah*.

WHEN *Evilmerodach* had reigned two years at *Babylon*, his luſts and his other wickedneſs made him ſo intolerable, [f] that at length even his own relations conſpired againſt him and put him to death, and [g] *Nerigliſſar* his ſiſter's husband, who was the head of the conſpiracy againſt him, reigned in his ſtead. And ſince it is ſaid, that *Jehoiachin* was [y] fed by him until the day of his death, it is inferred from hence that he did not outlive him, but that he either died a little before him, or elſe as a favourite was ſlain with him. The laſt ſeemeth moſt probable, as beſt agreeing with the propheſy of *Jeremiah* concerning him. For it is therein denounced againſt him, [w] that he ſhould not proſper in his days, which could not be ſo well verified of him, if he died in full poſſeſſion of all that proſperity, which *Evilmerodach* advanced him unto. *An.* 559. Nerigliſſar 1.

ON the death of *Jehoiachin*, *Salathiel* his ſon [x] became the nominal Prince of the *Jews* after him. For after the loſs of the authority they ſtill kept up the title; and for a great many ages after in the parts about *Babylon*, there was always one of the houſe of *David*, which by the name of [y] *The Head of the Captivity*, was acknowledged and honoured as a Prince among that people, and had ſome ſort of juriſdiction, as far as it was conſiſtent with the government they were under, always inveſted in him, and ſometimes a ratification was obtained of it from the Princes that reigned in that Countrey. And it is ſaid, [z] this pageantry is ſtill kept up among them; and chiefly, it ſeems, that they may be furniſhed from hence with an anſwer to give the chriſtians, when they urge the propheſy of *Jacob* againſt them. For whenſoever from that propheſy it is preſſed upon them that the *Meſſiah* muſt be come, becauſe the ſcepter is now departed from *Judah*, and there is no more a lawgiver among them from between his feet, we are commonly told of *this head of the captivity*, their uſual anſwer being, that the ſcepter is ſtill preſerved among them in *the head of the captivity*; and that they have alſo in their [a] *Naſi*, or *Prince of the Sanhedrim*, (another pageantry officer of theirs) a lawgiver from between the feet of *Judah* (that is of his ſeed) ſtill remaining in *Iſrael*. But if theſe officers are now ceaſed from among them, as ſome of them will acknowledge, then this anſwer muſt ceaſe alſo, and the propheſy returns in its full force upon them, and why do they then any longer reſiſt the power of it?

THE ſame year that *Evilmerodach* was ſlain, died [b] *Aſtyages* King of *Media*, and after him ſucceeded *Cyaxares* the ſecond, his ſon, in the civil government of the kingdom, and *Cyrus* his grandſon by his daughter *Mandana* in the military. *Cyrus* at this time was [c] forty years old, and *Cyaxares* [d] forty one. And from this year thoſe who reckon to *Cyrus* a reign

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[f] Beroſus, ibid. Megaſthenes apud Euſebium Præp. Evang. lib. 9. [g] Beroſus, ibid. Ptolem. in Canone. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12. Megaſthenes, ibid. [y] Jer. lii. 33. [w] Jer. xxii. 30. [x] 2 Ezdras v. 16. [y] De eo vide Notas Conſtantini L'empereur ad Benjamini Itinerarium, p. 192, 193, &c. [z] Vide Jacobi Altingi Librum *Shilo*, lib. 1. c. 3. 13, 14, 15, &c. Et Seldenum de Synedriis, lib. 2. c. 7. §. 5. [a] Vide Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 1399. & Seldenum de Synedriis, lib. 2. c. 6. [b] Cyropædia, lib. 1. [c] Cicero, lib. 1. De Divinatione dicit de Cyro--- *Ad Septuageſimum pervenit cum quadraginta annos natus regnare cæpiſſet.*

[d] *For he was ſixty two when he began to reign in* Babylon *after the death of* Belſhazzar. Dan. v. 31. *which being nine years before* Cyrus's *death, (who lived ſeventy years) it muſt follow that* Cyrus *was then ſixty one, and therefore when he was forty* Cyaxares *muſt have been forty one.*

of

of thirty years begin that computation. For *Nerigliſſar*, on his coming to the crown, [d] making great preparations for a war againſt the *Medes*, *Cyaxares* called *Cyrus* out of *Perſia* to his aſſiſtance, and on his arrival with an army of thirty thouſand *Perſians*, *Cyaxares* made him general of the *Medes* alſo, and ſent him with the joynt forces of both nations to make war againſt the *Babylonians*. And from this time he was reckoned by all foreigners as King over both theſe nations, altho' in reality the regal power was ſolely in *Cyaxares*, and *Cyrus* was no more than general of the confederated army under him. But after his death he ſucceeded him in the kingdom of the *Medes*, as he did his father a little before in that of *Perſia*, which with the countries he had conquer'd made up the *Perſian* empire, of which he was the founder, and firſt monarch.

HE was a very extraordinary perſon in the age in which he lived, for wiſdom, valour, and virtue, and of a name famous in holy writ, not only for being [f] the reſtorer of the ſtate of *Iſrael*, but eſpecially in being there appointed for it [g] by name many years before he was born. Which is an honour therein given to none, ſave only to him and [h] *Joſiah* King of *Judah*. He was born (as hath been already taken notice of) on the ſame year in which *Jehoiakim* died. It is on all hands agreed, that his mother was *Mandana* the daughter of *Aſtyages* King of the *Medes*, and his father *Cambyſes* a *Perſian*. But whether this *Cambyſes* was King of that countrey, or only a private perſon, is not agreed. *Herodotus*, and thoſe who follow him, allow him to have been no more than a private nobleman of the family of *Achæmenes*, one of the ancienteſt in that countrey. But *Xenophon*'s account makes him King of the *Perſians*, but ſubject to the *Medes*. And not only in this particular, but alſo in moſt things elſe concerning this great prince, the relations of theſe two hiſtorians are very much different. But *Herodotus*'s account of him containing narratives which are much more ſtrange and ſurprizing, and conſequently more diverting and acceptable to the reader, moſt have choſen rather to follow him than *Xenophon*, that have written after their times of this matter. Which humour was much forwarded by *Plato* in his [i] giving a character of *Xenophon*'s hiſtory of *Cyrus*, (in which he was alſo followed by [k] *Tully*) as if therein under the name of *Cyrus* he rather drew a deſcription of what a worthy and juſt Prince ought to be, than gave us a true hiſtory of what that Prince really was. It muſt be acknowledged, that *Xenophon* being a great commander as well as a great philoſopher, did graft many of his maxims of war and policy into that hiſtory, and to make it a vehicle for this perchance was his whole deſign in writing that book. But it doth not follow from hence, but that ſtill the whole foundation and ground-plot of the work may all be true hiſtory. That he intended it for ſuch, is plain; and that it was ſo, its agreeableneſs with the holy writ doth abundantly verify. And the true reaſon why he choſe the life of *Cyrus* before all others for the purpoſe above-mentioned, ſeemeth to be no other, but that he found the true hiſtory of that excellent and gallant Prince to be above all others the fitteſt for thoſe maxims of right policy and true princely virtue to correſpond with, which he grafted upon it. And therefore, bating the military and political reflections, the deſcants, diſcourſes, and ſpeeches interſpers'd in

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[d] Cyropædia, lib. 1. [f] Ezra i. [g] Iſaiah xliv. 28. & xlv. 1. [h] 1 Kings xiii. 2.
[i] De Legibus, lib. 3. [k] Ep. 1. ad Quintum fratrem.

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that work, which must be acknowledged to have been all of *Xenophon*'s addition, the remaining bare matters of fact I take to have been related by that author, as the true history of *Cyrus*. And thus far I think him to have been an historian of much better credit in this matter than *Herodotus*. For *Herodotus* having travelled through *Egypt*, *Syria*, and several other countries, in order to the writing of his history, did as travellers use to do, that is, put down all relations upon trust, as he met with them, and no doubt he was imposed on in many of them. But *Xenophon* was a man of another character, [l] who wrote all things with great judgment and due consideration; and having lived in the court of *Cyrus the younger*, a descendent of the *Cyrus* whom we now speak of, had opportunities of being better informed of what he wrote of this great Prince than *Herodotus* was; and confining himself to this argument only, no doubt he examined all matters relating to it more thoroughly, and gave a more accurate and exact account of them, than could be expected from the other, who wrote of all things at large as they came in his way. And for these reasons in all things relating to this Prince I have chosen to follow *Xenophon*, rather than any of those who differ from him.

FOR the first [m] twelve years of his life *Cyrus* lived in *Persia* with his father, and was there educated after the *Persian* manner, in hardship and toil, and all such exercises as would best tend to fit him for the fatigues of war, in which he exceeded all his contemporaries. But here it must be taken notice of, that the name of *Persia* did then extend only to one province of that large countrey which hath been since so called. For then the whole nation of the *Persians* could number no more than [n] one hundred and twenty thousand men. But afterwards, when by the wisdom and valour of *Cyrus* they had obtained the empire of the east, the name of *Persia* became enlarged with their fortunes, and it thenceforth took in all that vast tract, which is extended east and west from the river *Indus* to the *Tigris*, and north and south from the *Caspian* sea to the ocean. And so much that name comprehends even to this day. After *Cyrus* was twelve years old he was sent for into *Media* by *Astyages* his grandfather, with whom he continued five years. And there by the sweetness of his temper, his generous behaviour, and his constant endeavour to do good offices with his grandfather for all he could, he did so win the hearts of the *Medes* to him, and gain'd such an interest among them, as did afterwards turn very much to his advantage for the winning of that empire which he erected. In the sixteenth year of his age *Evilmerodach*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, being abroad on an hunting expedition a little before his marriage, for a shew of his bravery made an inroad into the territories of the *Medes*, which drew out [o] *Astyages* with his forces to oppose him. On which occasion *Cyrus* accompanying his grandfather, then first entered the school of war, in which he behaved himself so well, that the victory, which was at that time gained over the *Assyrians*, was chiefly owing to his valour. The next year after he went home to his father into *Persia*, and there continued till the fortieth year of his

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[l] Diogenes Laertius in vita Xenophontis. [m] Cyropæd. lib. 1. [n] Cyropæd. lib. 1.

[o] *From hence it may be inferred, that* Evilmerodach *was not the son of* Nebuchadnezzar *by* Amyitis *the daughter of* Astyages, *but by some other wife, it not being likely that the grandfather and grandson would thus engage in war against each other.*

life.

life. At which time he was called forth to the aſſiſtance of his unkle *Cyaxares* on the occaſion which I have mentioned. Hereon he marched out of *Perſia* with his army, and behaved himſelf ſo wiſely, that from this ſmall beginning in twenty years time he made himſelf maſter of the greateſt empire that had ever been erected in the eaſt to that time, and eſtabliſhed it with ſuch wiſdom, that upon the ſtrengh of this foundation only it ſtood above two hundred years, notwithſtanding what was done by his ſucceſſors (the worſt race of men that ever governed an empire) thro' all that time to overthrow it.

An. 558. Nerigliſſar 2. *NERIGLISSAR*, upon intelligence that *Cyrus* was come with ſo great an army to the aſſiſtance of the *Medes*, farther to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt them [p] ſent embaſſadors to the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Carians*, *Cappadocians*, *Cilicians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other neighbouring nations to call them to his aid, and by repreſenting to them the ſtrength of the enemy, and the neceſſity of maintaining the ballance of power againſt them for the common good of *Aſia*, drew them all into confederacy with him for the enſuing war. Whereon the King of *Armenia*, who had hitherto lived in ſubjection to the *Medes*, looking on them as ready to be ſwallowed up by ſo formidable a confederacy againſt them, thought this a fit time for the recovering of his liberty, and therefore [q] refuſed any longer to pay his tribute, or ſend his quota of auxiliaries for the war on their being required of him; which being a matter that might be of dangerous conſequence to the *Medes*, in the example it might give to other dependent ſtates to do the ſame, *Cyrus* thought it neceſſary to cruſh this revolt with the utmoſt expedition, and therefore marching immediately with the beſt of his horſe, and covering his deſign under the pretence of an hunting-match, [r] entred *Armenia* before there was any intelligence of his coming, and having ſurprized the revolted King took him and all his family priſoners; and after this having ſeized the hills towards *Chaldea*, and planted good forts and garriſons on them for the ſecuring of the countrey againſt the enemy on that ſide, he came to new terms with the captive King, and having received from him the tribute and the auxiliaries which he demanded, he reſtored him again to his kingdom, and returned to the reſt of his army in *Media*. This hapned about the third year of the reign of *Nerigliſſar*, and the thirty ſecond after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

An. 557. Nerigliſſar 3.

An. 556. Nerigliſſar 4. AFTER both parties had now been for three years together forming their alliances, and making their preparations for the war, in the fourth year of *Nerigliſſar* the confederates on both ſides being all drawn together, both armies took the field, [s] and it came to a fierce battle between them, in which *Nerigliſſar* being ſlain, the reſt of the *Aſſyrian* army was put to the rout, and *Cyrus* had the victory. *Cræſus* King of *Lydia* after the death of *Nerigliſſar*, as being in dignity next to him, took upon him the command of the vanquiſhed army, and made as good a retreat with it as he could. But the next day following *Cyrus* purſuing after them overtook them at a diſadvantage, and put them to an abſolute rout, taking their camp, and diſpoſſeſſing them of all their baggage, which he effected chiefly by the aſſiſtance of the *Hyrcanians*, who had the night before revolted to him.

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[p] Cyropædia, lib. 1. [q] Cyropædia, lib. 2. [r] Cyropædia, lib. 3. [s] Cyropædia, lib. 3 & 4.

Hereon

Hereon *Cræſus* taking his flight out of *Aſſyria* made the beſt of his way into his own countrey. He being aware of what might happen, had the night before ſent away his women, and the beſt of his baggage, and therefore in this reſpect eſcaped much better than the reſt of the confederates.

THE death of *Nerigliſſar* was a great loſs to the *Babylonians*. For he was [t] a very brave and excellent prince. The preparations, which he made for the war, ſhewed his wiſdom, and his dying in it his valour. And there was nothing elſe wanting in him for his obtaining of better ſucceſs in it; and therefore, that he had it not, was owing to nothing elſe, but that he had to deal with the predominant fortune of *Cyrus*, whom God had deſigned for the empire of the eaſt, and therefore nothing was to withſtand him. But nothing made the loſs of *Nerigliſſar* more appear, than the ſucceeding of *Laboroſoarchod* his ſon in the kingdom after him. For he was [u] in every thing the reverſe of his father, being given to all manner of wickedneſs, cruelty, and injuſtice, to which on his advancement to the throne he did let himſelf looſe in the utmoſt exceſs, without any manner of reſtraint whatſoever, as if the regal office which he was now advanced to were for nothing elſe, but to give him a privilege of doing without controul all the vile and flagitious things that he pleaſed. Two acts of his tyrannical violence towards two of his principal nobility, *Gobrias* and *Gadates*, are particularly mentioned. The only ſon of the former he ſlew at an hunting to which he had invited him, for no other reaſon, but that he had thrown his dart with ſucceſs at a wild beaſt when he himſelf had miſſed it. And the other he cauſed to be caſtrated, only becauſe one of his concubines had commended him for an handſome man. Theſe wrongs done thoſe two noblemen, drove them, with the provinces which they governed, into a revolt to *Cyrus*, and the whole ſtate of the *Babyloniſh* empire ſuffered by it. For *Cyrus* encouraged hereby [v] penetrated into the very heart of the enemies countrey, firſt taking poſſeſſion of the province, and garriſoning the caſtles of *Gobrias*, and afterwards doing the ſame in the province and caſtles of *Gadates*. The *Aſſyrian* King was before him in the latter, to be revenged on *Gadates* for his revolt. But *Cyrus* on his coming having put him to the rout, and ſlain a great number of his men, forced him again to retreat to *Babylon*. After *Cyrus* had thus ſpent the ſummer in ravaging the whole countrey, and twice ſhewn himſelf before the walls of *Babylon* to provoke the enemy to battel, at the end of the year he led back his army again towards *Media*, and ending the campaign with the taking of three fortreſſes on the frontiers, there entred into winter quarters, and ſent for *Cyaxares* to come thither to him, that they might conſult together about the future operations of the war.

As ſoon as *Cyrus* was retreated, *Laboroſoarchod* being now freed from the fear of the enemy gave himſelf a thorough looſe to all the flagitious inclinations that were predominant in him, which carried him into ſo many wicked and unjuſt actions, like thoſe which *Gobrias* and *Gadates* had ſuffered from him, that being no longer tolerable, his [x] own people conſpired againſt him and ſlew him, after he had reigned only nine months. He is not named in the canon of *Ptolemy*, for it is the method of that canon to

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[t] Cyropædia, lib. 4. [v] Cyropædia, lib. 4. & 5. [w] Cyropædia, lib. 5.
[x] Beroſus apud Joſephum contra Apionem, lib. 1. Megaſthenes apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. Joſephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12.

aſcribe all the year to him that was King in the beginning of it, how ſoon ſoever he died after, and not to reckon the reign of the ſucceſſor but from the firſt day of the year enſuing; and therefore if any King reigned in the interim, and did not live to the beginning of the next year, his name was not put into the canon at all. And this was the caſe of *Laboroſoarchod*. For *Nerigliſſar* his father being ſlain in battel in the beginning of the ſpring, the nine months of his ſon's reign ended before the next year began, and therefore the whole of that year is reckoned to the laſt of *Nerigliſſar*, and the beginning of the next belonged to his ſucceſſor, and this was the reaſon that he is not at all mentioned in that canon.

An. 555. Belſhazzar 1.

AFTER him ſucceeded [y] *Nabonadius*, and reigned ſeventeen years. [z] *Beroſus* calls him *Nabonnedus*, *Megaſthenes* [e] *Nabonnidochus*, *Herodotus* [b] *Labynetus*, and *Joſephus* [c] *Naboandelus*, who he ſaith is the ſame with *Belſhazzar*. And there is as great a difference among writers, what he was, as well as what he was called. Some [d] will have him to be of the royal blood of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and [e] others no way at all related to him. And ſome ſay [f] he was a *Babylonian*, and others [g] that he was of the ſeed of the *Medes*. And of thoſe who allow him to have been of the royal family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, ſome will have it that he was his ſon, and others, that he was his grandſon. For the clearing of this matter theſe following particulars are to be taken notice of, 1*ſt*, That he is on all hands agreed to have been the laſt of the *Babyloniſh* Kings. 2*dly*, That therefore he muſt have been the ſame who in Scripture is called *Belſhazzar*. For immediately after the death of *Belſhazzar* the kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, [*Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31.] 3*dly*, That he was of the ſeed of *Nebuchadnezzar*, for he is called his ſon, and *Nebuchadnezzar* is ſaid to be his father in ſeveral places of the ſame v^th^ chapter of *Daniel*, and in the 2^d^ book of *Chronicles* [*chap.* xxxvi. 20.] it is ſaid that *Nebuchadnezzar* and his children, or offſpring, reigned at *Babylon* till the kingdom of *Perſia*. 4*thly*, That the nations of the eaſt were to ſerve *Nebuchadnezzar* and his ſon, and his ſon's ſon, according to the propheey of *Jeremiah*, [*chap.* xxvii. 7.] and therefore he muſt have had a ſon, and a ſon's ſon, ſucceſſors to him in the throne of *Babylon*. 5*thly*, That as *Evilmerodach* was his ſon, ſo none but *Belſhazzar*, of all the Kings that reigned after him at *Babylon*, could be his ſon's ſon. For *Nerigliſſar* was only his daughter's husband, and *Laboroſoarchod* was the ſon of *Nerigliſſar*, and therefore neither of them was either ſon, or ſon's ſon to *Nebuchadnezzar*. 6*thly*, That this laſt King of *Babylon* is ſaid by [h] *Herodotus* to be ſon to the great Queen *Nitocris*, and therefore ſhe muſt have been the wife of a King of *Babylon* to make her ſo, and he could have been none other than *Evilmerodach*. For by that King of *Babylon* only could ſhe have a ſon, that was ſon's ſon to *Nebuchadnezzar*. And therefore putting all this together, it appears, that this *Nabonadius* the laſt King of *Babylon* was the ſame with him that in Scripture is called *Belſhazzar*, and that he was the ſon of *Evilmerodah* by *Nitocris* his Queen, and ſo ſon's ſon to *Nebuchadnezzar*. And that whereas he is

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[y] Can. Ptol. [z] Apud Joſephum contra Apionem, lib. 1. Apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. [b] Herodot. lib. 1. [c] Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. [d] Joſephus, Ibid. [e] Megaſthenes, Ibid. [f] Beroſus Ibid. [g] Scaliger in notis ad fragmenta veterum Græcorum ſelecta, & de emendatione temporum, lib. 6. cap. *De Regibus Babyloniis*. [h] Herodotus, lib. 1.

called

called the ſon of *Nebuchadnezzar* in the v^th^ chapter of *Daniel*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* is there called his father, this is to be underſtood in the large ſenſe, wherein any anceſtor upward is often called father, and any deſcendent downward ſon, according to the uſual ſtyle of Scripture.

THIS new King came young to the crown, and had he been wholly left to himſelf, the *Babylonians* would have gotten but little by the change. For he hath in *Xenophon* the character [i] of an impious prince, and it ſufficiently appears, by what is ſaid of him in *Daniel*, that he was ſo. But his mother, who was a woman [k] of great underſtanding and a maſculine ſpirit, came in to their relief. For while her ſon followed his pleaſures ſhe took the main burden of the government upon her, and did all that could be done by human wiſdom to preſerve it. But God's appointed time for its fall approaching, it was beyond the power of any wiſdom to prevent it.

ON the coming of *Cyaxares* to *Cyrus*'s camp, and [l] conſultation thereon had between them concerning the future carrying on of the war, it was found, that by ravaging and plundering the countries of the *Babyloniſh* empire, they did not at all enlarge their own, and therefore it was reſolved to alter the method of the war for the future, and to apply themſelves to the beſieging of the fortreſſes, and the taking of their Towns, that ſo they might make themſelves maſters of the countrey, and in this ſort of war they employed themſelves for the next ſeven years.

IN the mean time [m] *Nitocris* did all that ſhe could to fortify the countrey againſt them, and eſpecially the city of *Babylon*, and therefore did ſet her ſelf diligently to perfect all the works that *Nebuchadnezzar* had left unfiniſhed there, eſpecially the walls of the city, and the banks of the river within it. By this laſt ſhe fortified the city as much againſt the river by walls and gates, as it was againſt the land, and had it been in both places equally guarded, it could never have been taken. And moreover while the river was turned for the finiſhing of theſe banks and walls, ſhe [n] cauſed a wonderful vault or gallery to be made under the river, leading croſs it from the old palace to the new, twelve foot high and fifteen foot wide, and having covered it over with a ſtrong arch, and over that with a layer of bitumen ſix foot thick, ſhe turned the river again over it. For it is the nature of that bitumen to petrify when water comes over it, and grow as hard as ſtone, and thereby the vault or gallery under was preſerved from having any of the water of the river pierce through into it. The uſe this was intended for was to preſerve a communication between the two palaces, whereof one ſtood on the one ſide of the river, and the other on the other ſide, that in caſe one of them were diſtreſſed (for they were both fortreſſes ſtrongly fortifyed) it might be relieved from the other; or in caſe either were taken, there might be a way to retreat from it to the other. But all theſe cautions and proviſions ſerved in no ſtead, when the city was taken by ſurprize, becauſe in that hurry and confuſion, which men were then in, none of them were made uſe of.

IN the firſt year of this King's reign, which was the thirty fourth after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, *Daniel* had revealed unto him the viſion of the four monarchies, and of the kingdom of the *Meſſiah*, that was to ſucceed after them, which is at full related in the vii^th^ chapter of *Daniel*. *An.* 555. Belſhazzar 1.

[i] Cyropædia, lib. 7. [k] Herodotus, lib. 1. [l] Cyropædia, lib. 6. [m] Herodotus, lib. 1. [n] Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. Philoſtratus, lib. 1. c. 18.

An. 553. Belſhazzar 3. IN the third year of King *Belſhazzar*, *Daniel* ſaw the viſion of the ram and the he-goat, whereby were ſignifyed the overthrow of the *Perſian* empire by *Alexander the Great*, and the perſecution that was to be raiſed againſt the *Jews* by *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Syria*. This viſion is at full related in the viii^th^ chapter of *Daniel*, and it is there ſaid, that it was revealed unto him at *Shuſhan* in the palace of the King of *Babylon*, while he attended there as a counſellor, and miniſter of ſtate about the King's buſineſs, which ſhews, that *Shuſhan* with the province of *Elam*, of which it was the metropolis, was then in the hands of the *Babylonians*. But about three years after *Abradates*, Viceroy or Prince of *Shuſhan*, revolting to *Cyrus*, it was thenceforth joyned to the empire of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and the *Elamites* came up with the *Medes* to beſiege *Babylon*, according to the propheſy of *Iſaiah*, (chap. xxi. 2.) and *Elam* was again reſtored, according to the propheſy of *Jeremiah*, (ch. xlix. 39.) For it recovered its liberty again under the *Perſians*, which it had been deprived of under the *Babylonians*.

An. 551. Belſhazzar 5. THE *Medes* and *Perſians* growing ſtill upon the *Babylonians*, and *Cyrus* making great progreſs in his conqueſts by taking fortreſſes, towns and provinces from them, to put a ſtop to this prevailing power the King of *Babylon* about the fifth year of his reign, taking a great part of his treaſure with him, goes into *Lydia* to King *Cræſus* his confederate, and there, by his aſſiſtance, framed a very formidable confederacy againſt the *Medes* and *Perſians*; and with his money hiring a very numerous army of *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and all the nations of leſſer *Aſia*, he appointed *Cræſus* to be their general, and ſent him with them to invade *Media*, and then returned again to *Babylon*.

CYRUS having full intelligence of all theſe proceedings from one of his confidents, who by his order, under the pretence of a deſerter, had gone over to the enemy, made ſuitable preparations to withſtand the ſtorm, and when all was ready, marched againſt the enemy. By this time *Cræſus*[o] had paſſed over the river *Halys*, taken the city of *Pteria*, and in a manner deſtroyed all the countrey thereabout. But before he could paſs any farther *Cyrus* came up with him, and having engaged him in battel put all his numerous army to flight; whereon *Cræſus* returning to *Sardis* the chief city of his kingdom, diſmiſſed all his auxiliaries to their reſpective homes, ordering them to be again with him by the beginning of the enſuing ſpring, and ſent to all his allies for the raiſing of more forces, to be ready againſt the ſame time for the carrying on of the next year's war, not thinking that in the interim, now winter being approaching, he ſhould have any need of them. But *Cyrus* purſuing the advantage of his victory followed cloſe after him into *Lydia*, and there came upon him juſt as he had diſmiſſed his auxiliaries. However, *Cræſus* getting together all his own forces ſtood battel againſt him. But the *Lydians* being moſt horſe, *Cyrus* brought his camels againſt them, whoſe ſmell the horſes not being able to bear, they were all put into diſorder by it, whereon the *Lydians* diſmounting fought on foot, but being ſoon over-powered were forced to make their retreat to *Sardis*, where *Cyrus* immediately ſhut them up in a cloſe ſiege.

An. 548. Belſhazzar 8.

WHILE he lay there, he[p] celebrated the funeral of *Abradates* and *Panthea* his wife. He was prince of *Shuſhan* under the *Babylonians*, and had

[o] Cyropædia, lib. 6. [p] Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 6. [q] Cyropædia, lib. 7.

revolted

revolted to *Cyrus* about two years before, as hath been already mentioned. His wife, a very beautiful woman, had been taken priſoner by *Cyrus* in his firſt battle againſt the *Babylonians*. *Cyrus* having treated her kindly, and kept her chaſtly for her husband, the ſenſe of this generoſity drew over this Prince to him, and he happning to be ſlain in this war, as he was fighting valiantly in his ſervice, his wife out of grief for his death ſlew herſelf upon his dead body, and *Cyrus* took care to have them both honourably buried together, and a ſtately monument was erected over them near the river *Pactolus*, where it remained many ages after.

CROESUS being ſhut up in *Sardis* [s] ſent to all his allies for ſuccours, but *Cyrus* preſſed the ſiege ſo vigorouſly, that he took the city before any of them could arrive to its relief, and *Cræſus* in it, whom he condemned to be burnt to death; and accordingly a great pile of wood was laid together, and he was placed on the top of it for the execution, in which extremity calling to mind the conference he formerly had with *Solon*, cryed out with a great ſigh three times, *Solon, Solon, Solon*. This *Solon* [t] was a wiſe *Athenian*, and the greateſt philoſopher of his time, who coming to *Sardis* on ſome occaſion, *Cræſus*, out of the vanity and pride of his mind, cauſed all his riches, treaſures and ſtores to be ſhewn unto him, expecting that on his having ſeen them he ſhould have applauded his felicity, and pronounced him of all men the moſt happy herein. But on his diſcourſe with him *Solon* plainly told him, that he could pronounce no man happy as long as he lived, becauſe no one could foreſee what might happen unto him before his death. Of the truth of which *Cræſus* being now thoroughly convinced by his preſent calamity, this made him call upon the name of *Solon*, whereon *Cyrus* ſending to know what he meant by it, had the whole ſtory related to him, which excited in him ſuch a ſenſe of the uncertainty of all human felicity, and ſuch a compaſſion for *Cræſus*, that he cauſed him to be taken down from the pile, juſt as fire had been put to it; and not only ſpared his life, but allowed him a very honourable ſubſiſtence, and made uſe of him, as one of his chief counſellors all his life after, and at his death recommended him to his ſon *Cambyſes*, as the perſon whoſe advice he would have him chiefly to follow. The taking of this city happened [u] in the firſt year of the fifty eighth olympiad, which was the eighth year of *Belſhazzar*, and the forty firſt after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

CROESUS being a very religious Prince according to the idolatrous ſuperſtition of thoſe time, [x] entered not on this war without having firſt conſulted all his gods, and taken their advice about it; and he had two oracular anſwers given him from them, which chiefly conduced to lead him into this unfortunate undertaking, that coſt him the loſs of his kingdom. The one of them was, That *Cræſus* ſhould the only think himſelf in danger, [y] when a mule ſhould reign over the *Medes*; and the other, That when he ſhould paſs over *Halys* to make war upon the *Medes*, he ſhould overthrow a great empire. The firſt

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[r] Cyropædia, lib. 5. [s] Cyropædia, lib. 6. [t] Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7. [u] Plutarchus in vitâ Solonis. Herodotus, lib. 1. [x] Solinus, cap. 7. Euſebius in Chronico. [y] Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7. [y] Nebuchadnezzar *propheſyed of the coming of* Cyrus *under the ſame appellation, telling the* Babylonians *at the time of his death, that a* Perſian *mule ſhould come and reduce them into ſervitude. So ſaith* Magaſthenes in Euſebius de Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

from

from the impoſſibility of the thing, that ever a mule ſhould be a King, made him argue, that he was for ever ſafe. The ſecond made him believe, that the empire that he ſhould overthrow on his paſſing over the river *Halys*, ſhould be the empire of the *Medes*. And this chiefly encouraged him in this expedition, contrary to the advice of one of the wiſeſt of his friends, who earneſtly diſſuaded him from it. But now all things having hapned otherwiſe, than theſe oracles had made him expect, he obtained leave of *Cyrus* to ſend meſſengers to the temples of thoſe gods, who had thus miſ-led him, to expoſtulate with them about it. The anſwers which he had hereto were, That *Cyrus* was the mule intended by the oracle, for that he was born of two different kinds of people, of the *Perſians* by his father, and of the *Medes* by his mother, and was of the more noble kind by his mother. And the empire which he was to overthrow by his paſſing over the *Hayls*, was his own. By ſuch falſe and fallacious oracles did thoſe evil ſpirits, from whom they proceeded, delude mankind in thoſe days, rendring their anſwers, when conſulted, in ſuch dubious and ambiguous terms, that whatſoever the event were, they might admit of an interpretation to agree with it.

AFTER this *Cyrus* [a] continued ſome time in leſſer *Aſia*, till he had brought all the ſeveral nations which inhabited in it, from the *Egean* ſea to the *Euphrates*, into thorough ſubjection to him. From hence he went into *Syria* and *Arabia*, and there did the ſame thing, and then marched into the upper countries of *Aſia*, and having there alſo ſettled all things in a thorough obedience under his dominion, he again entred *Aſſyria*, and marched on towards *Babylon*, that being the only place of all the eaſt which now held out againſt him. And having overthrown *Belſhazzar* in battel he ſhut him up in *Babylon*, and there beſieged him. This hapned in the ninth year after the taking of *Sardis*, and in the beginning of the ſixteenth year of *Belſhazzar*. But this ſiege proved a very difficult work. For the walls were high and impregnable, the number of men within to defend them very great, and they were fully furniſhed with all ſorts of proviſions for twenty years, and [a] the void ground within the walls was able both by tillage and paſturage to furniſh them with much more. And therefore the inhabitants thinking themſelves ſecure in their walls and their ſtores, looked on the taking of the city by a ſiege as an impracticable thing, and therefore from the top of their walls ſcoffed at *Cyrus*, and derided him for every thing he did towards it. However he went on with the attempt, and firſt he drew a line of circumvallation round the city, making the ditch broad and deep, and by the help of palm-trees, [b] which uſually grow in that countrey to the heighth of an hundred foot, he erected towers higher than the walls, thinking at firſt to have been able to take the place by aſſault, but finding little ſucceſs this way, he applied himſelf wholly to the ſtarving of it into a ſurrender, reckoning that the more people there were within, the ſooner the work would be done. But that he might not over-fatigue his army by detaining them all at this work, he divided all the forces of the empire into twelve parts, and appointed each its month to guard the trenches. But after near two years had been waſted this way, and nothing effected, he at length lighted on a ſtratagem, which with little

An. 540. Belſhazzar 16.

[a] Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7. [a] Vide Q. Curtium, lib. 5. c. 1. [b] Cyropædia, lib. 7.

difficulty

difficulty made him master of the place. For understanding, that a great annual festival was to be kept at *Babylon* on a day approaching, and that it was usual for the *Babylonians* on that solemnity, to spend the whole night in revelling, drunkenness, and all manner of disorders, he thought this a proper time to surprize them, and for the effecting of it he had this device. He sent up a party of his men to the head of the canal leading to the great lake above-described, with orders at a time set to break down the great bank or dam, which was between the river and that canal, and to turn the whole current that way into the lake. In the interim, getting all his forces together, he posted one part of them at the place where the river ran into the city, and other where it came out, with orders to enter the city that night by the chanel of the river, as soon as they should find it fordable. And then toward the evening he opened the head of the trenches on both sides the river above the city, to let the water of it run into them. And by this means, and the opening of the great dam, the river was so drained, that by the middle of the night, it being then in a manner empty, both parties according to their orders enter'd the chanel, the one having *Gobrias*, and the other *Gadates*, for their guides, and finding the gates leading down to the river, which used on all other nights to be shut, then all left open, through the neglect and disorder of that time of looseness, they ascended through them into the city; and both parties being met at the palace, as had been concerted between them, they there surprized the guards, and slew them all; and when, on the noise, some that were within opened the gates to know what it meant, they rushed in upon them and took the palace. Where finding the King with his sword drawn, at the head of those who were at hand to assist him, they slew him, valiantly fighting for his life, and all those that were with him. After this, proclamation being made of life and safety to all such as should bring in their arms, and of death to all that should refuse so to do, all quietly yielded to the conquerors, and *Cyrus* without any farther resistance became master of the place, and this concluded all his conquests after a war of one and twenty years. For so long was it from his coming out of *Persia* with his army for the assistance of *Cyaxares* to his taking of *Babylon*, during all which time he lay abroad in the field, carrying on his conquests from place to place, till he at length had subdued all the east, from the *Egean* sea to the river *Indus*, and thereby erected the greatest empire that had ever been in *Asia* to that time, which work was owing as much to his wisdom as his valour, for he equally excelled in both. And he was also a person of that great candour and humanity to all men, that he made greater conquests by his courtesy, and his kind treatment of all he had to do with, than by his sword, whereby he did knit the hearts of all men to him, and in this foundation lay the greatest strength of his empire, when he first erected it.

An. 539. Belshazzar 17.

THIS account *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* both give of the taking of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*, and herein they exactly agree with the Scripture. For *Daniel*[d] tells us, that *Belshazzar* made a great feast for a thousand of his lords, and for his wives, and for his concubines, and that in that very night he was slain, and *Darius* the *Mede*, that is, *Cyaxares* the unkle of *Cyrus*, took the kingdom. For *Cyrus* allowed him the title of all his con-

[c] Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7. [d] Daniel v.

quests

queſts as long as he lived. In this feaſt *Belſhazzar* having impiouſly prophaned the gold and ſilver veſſels which were taken out of the temple of *Jeruſalem*, in cauſing them to be brought into the banqueting-houſe, and there drinking out of them, he and his lords, and his wives, and his concubines, God did in a very extraordinary and wonderful manner expreſs his wrath againſt him for the wickedneſs hereof. For he cauſed an hand to appear on the wall, and there write a ſentence of immediate deſtruction againſt him for it. The King ſaw the appearance of the hand that wrote it, for it was exactly over againſt the place where he ſat. And therefore being exceedingly affrighted and troubled at it, he commanded all his wiſe men, magicians, and aſtrologers to be immediately called for, that they might read the writing, and make known unto him the meaning of it. But [a] none of them being able to do it, the Queen-mother on her hearing of this wonderful thing came into the banqueting-houſe, and acquainted the King of the great skill and ability of *Daniel* in ſuch matters, whereon he being ſent for did read to the King the writing, and boldly telling him of his many iniquities and tranſgreſſions againſt the great God of heaven and earth, and particularly in prophaning at that banquet the holy veſſels which had been conſecrated to his ſervice in his temple at *Jeruſalem*, made him underſtand that this hand-writing was a ſentence from heaven againſt him for it, the interpretation of it being, That his kingdom was taken from him, and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*. And it ſeemeth to have been immediately upon it that the palace was taken, and *Belſhazzar* ſlain. For [f] candles were lighted before the hand-writing appear'd, ſome time after this muſt be required for the calling of the wiſe men, the magicians, and aſtrologers, and ſome time muſt be waſted in their trying in vain to read the writing. After that, the Queen-mother came from her apartment into the banqueting-houſe to direct the King to ſend for *Daniel*, and then he was called for, perchance from ſome diſtant place. And by this time many hours of the night muſt have been ſpent, and therefore we may well ſuppoſe that by the time *Daniel* had interpreted the writing, the *Perſians* were got within the palace, and immediately executed the contents of it by ſlaying *Belſhazzar*, and all his lords that were with him. The Queen that entred the banqueting-houſe, to direct the King to call for *Daniel*, could not be his wife; for all his wives and concubines, the text tells us, ſat with him at the feaſt. And therefore it muſt have been *Nitocris* the Queen-mother. And ſhe ſeemeth to have been there called the Queen by way of eminency, becauſe ſhe had the regency of the kingdom under her ſon, which her great wiſdom eminently qualifyed her for. And *Belſhazzar* ſeemeth to have left this entirely to her management. For when *Daniel* was called in before him, he did [g] not know him, though he was one of the chief miniſters of ſtate that [h] did the King's buſineſs in his palace, but asked of him whether he were *Daniel*. But *Nitocris*, who conſtantly employed him in the publick affairs of the kingdom, knew him well, and therefore adviſed that he ſhould be ſent for on this occaſion. This ſhews *Belſhazzar* to have been a prince that wholly minded his pleaſures, leaving all things elſe to others to be managed for him, which is a

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[a] *The reaſon why they could not read it was becauſe it was written in the old* Hebrew *letters, now called the* Samaritan *character, which the* Babylonians *knew nothing of.* [f] Dan. v. 5.
[g] Dan. v. 13. [h] Dan. viii. 13.

conduct

conduct too often followed by ſuch princes, who think kingdoms made for nothing elſe but to ſerve their pleaſures and gratify their luſts. And therefore that he held the crown ſeventeen years, and againſt ſo potent an enemy as *Cyrus*, was wholly owing to the conduct of his mother, into whoſe hands the management of his affairs fell. For ſhe was a lady of the greateſt wiſdom of her time, and did the utmoſt that could be done to ſave the ſtate of *Babylon* from ruine. And therefore her name was long after of that fame in thoſe parts, that *Herodotus* ſpeaks of her as if ſhe had been ſovereign of the kingdom, in the ſame manner as *Semiramis* is ſaid to have been, and attributes to her all thoſe works about *Babylon* which [l] other authors aſcribe to her ſon. For although they were done in his reign, it was ſhe that did them, and therefore ſhe had the beſt title to the honour that was due for them; tho', as hath been above hinted, the great lake, and the canal leading to it, (which, tho' reckoned among the works of *Nebuchadnezzar*, muſt at leaſt have been finiſhed by her according to *Herodotus*) how wiſely ſoever they were contrived for the benefit both of the city and countrey, turned to the great damage of both. For *Cyrus* draining the river by this lake and canal, by that means took the city. And when by the breaking down of the banks at the head of the canal the river was turned that way, no care being taken afterwards again to reduce it to its former channel by repairing the breach, [k] all the countrey on that ſide was overflown and drowned by it. And the current by long running this way, at length making the breach ſo wide as to become irreparable, unleſs by an expence as great, as that whereby the bank was firſt built, a whole province was loſt by it. And the current which went to *Babylon* afterwards grew ſo ſhallow, as to be ſcarce fit for the ſmalleſt navigation, which was a farther damage to that place. *Alexander*, who intended to have made *Babylon* the ſeat of his empire, endeavoured to remedy this miſchief, and did accordingly ſet himſelf to build the bank anew, which was on the weſt ſide of it, but when he had carried it on the length of four miles, he was ſtopp'd by ſome difficulties that he met with in the work from the nature of the ſoil, which poſſibly would have been overcome had he lived, but his death, which hapned a little after, put an end to this, as well as to all other his deſigns. And a while after *Babylon* falling into decay on the building of *Seleucia* in the neighbourhood, this work was never more thought of, but that countrey hath remained all bog and marſh ever ſince. And no doubt this was one main reaſon which helped forward the deſertion of that place, eſpecially when they found a new city built in the neighbourhood, in a much better ſituation.

IN the taking of *Babylon* ended the *Babyloniſh* empire, after it had continued from the beginning of the reign of *Nabonaſſar* (who firſt founded it) two hundred and nine years. And here ended the power and pride of this great city, juſt fifty years after it had deſtroyed the city and temple of *Jeruſalem*, and hereby were in a great meaſure accompliſhed the many propheſies which were by the prophets *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Habakkuk*, and *Daniel*, delivered againſt it. And here it is to be obſerved, that in reference to the preſent beſieging and taking of the place, it was particularly foretold by them, That it [l] ſhould be ſhut up, and beſieged by the *Medes*,

[k] Beroſus apud Joſephum contra Apionem, lib. 1. [k] Arrianus de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7. [l] Iſaiah xiii. 17. *and* xxi. 2. Jer. li. 11, 27, 28, 29, 30.

Elamites, and *Armenians*; That the river [m] ſhould be dried up; That the city ſhould be taken in the time [n] of a feaſt, while her princes and her wiſe men, her captains and her rulers, and her mighty men were drunken, and that they ſhould be thereon made to ſleep a perpetual ſleep, from which they ſhould not awake. And ſo accordingly all this came to paſs, *Belſhazzar*, and all his thouſand princes who were drunk with him at the feaſt, having [o] been all ſlain by *Cyrus*'s ſoldiers when they took the palace. And ſo alſo was it particularly foretold by the prophet *Iſaiah* (*chap.* xiv.) that God would make the countrey of *Babylon a poſſeſſion for the bittern, and pools of water*, (*ver.* 23.) which was accordingly fulfilled by the overflowing and drowning of it, on the breaking down of the great dam in order to take the city, which I have above given an account of. And ſo alſo that God would cut off from that city *the ſon and the grandſon*, (*ver.* 22.) that is, the ſon and grandſon of their great King *Nebuchadnezzar*; and they were accordingly both cut off by violent deaths in the flower of their age, *Evilmerodach* the ſon before this time in the manner as hath been above related, and *Belſhazzar* the grandſon in the preſent taking of *Babylon*, and hereby the ſcepter of *Babylon* was broken, as was foretold by the ſame propheſy: (*ver.* 5.) For it did never after any more bear rule. Where I read *the ſon and the grandſon*, (*ver.* 22.) it is, I confeſs, in the *Engliſh* tranſlation *the ſon and nephew*. But in the xxi[ſt] chapter of *Geneſis*, (*ver.* 23.) the ſame *Hebrew* word *Neked* is tranſlated *ſon's ſon*, and ſo it ought to have been tranſlated here; for this is the proper ſignification of the word, which appears from the uſe of the ſame word, (*Job* xviii. 19.) For *Bildad* there ſpeaking of the wicked, and the curſe of God which ſhall be upon him in the want of a poſterity, expreſſeth it thus, *Lo nin lo velo Neked*, i. e. *he ſhall have neither ſon nor grandſon*. For nephew, in the *Engliſh* ſignification of the word, whether brother's ſon or ſiſter's ſon, cannot be within the meaning of the text, the context not admitting it.

An. 538. Darius the Mede I.

AFTER the death of *Belſhazzar*, *Darius the Mede* [p] is ſaid in Scripture to have taken the kingdom. For *Cyrus*, as long as his unkle lived, allowed him a joint title with him in the empire, altho' it was all gained by his own valour, and out of deference to him yielded him the firſt place of honour in it. But the whole power of the army, and the chief conduct of all affairs being ſtill in his hands, he only was looked on as the ſupreme governor of the empire which he had erected, and therefore there is no notice at all taken of *Darius* in the canon of *Ptolemy*, but immediately after the death of *Belſhazzar* (who is there called *Nabonadius*) *Cyrus* is placed as the next ſucceſſor, as in truth and reality he was, the other having no more than the name and the ſhadow of the ſovereignty, excepting only in *Media*, which was his own proper dominion.

THERE are [q] ſome that will have *Darius the Median* to have been *Nabonadius*, the laſt *Babyloniſh* King in the canon of *Ptolemy*. And their ſcheme is, that after the death of *Evilmerodach Nerigliſſar* ſucceeded only as guardian to *Laboroſoarchod* his ſon, who was next heir in right of his mother, ſhe having been daughter to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and that *Laboroſoarchod* was the *Belſhazzar* of the Scriptures, who was ſlain in the night of the impious feſtival, not by *Cyrus* (ſay they) but by a conſpiracy

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[m] Jer. l. 38. *and* li. 36. [n] Jer. li. 39, 57. [o] Cyropædia, lib. 7. [p] Dan. vi. 31.
[q] Scaliger, Calviſius, *and others.*

of his own people; That the Scriptures attribute to him the whole four years of *Belſhazzar*, which the canon of *Ptolemy* doth to *Nerigliſſar* (or *Nericaſſolaſſar*, as he is there called) becauſe *Nerigliſſar* reigned only as guardian for him; And that hence it is that we hear of the firſt and the third year of *Belſhazzar* in *Daniel*, tho' *Laboroſoarchod* reigned alone after his father's death only nine months; That after his death the *Babylonians* made choice of *Nabonadius*, who was no way of kin to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, but a *Median* by deſcent, and that for this reaſon only is he called *Darius the Median* in Scripture. As to what they ſay of *Nabonadius*'s not being of kin to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, it muſt be confeſſed, that the fragments of *Megaſthenes*[s] may give them ſome authority for it. But as for all the reſt, it hath no other foundation but the imagination of them that ſay it. And the whole is contrary to Scripture. For 1*ſt*, The hand-writing on the wall told *Belſhazzar*, that his kingdom ſhould be divided, or rent from him, and be given to[t] the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and immediately after[u] the ſacred text tells us, that *Belſhazzar* was ſlain that night, and *Darius the Median* took the kingdom, who could be none other than *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, who in conjunction with *Cyrus* the *Perſian* conquered *Babylon*. 2*dly*, Therefore *Belſhazzar* muſt have been the laſt *Babyloniſh* King, and conſequently the *Nabonadius* of *Ptolemy*. 3*dly*, This laſt King was not a ſtranger to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, for the ſacred text makes him[v] his deſcendent. 4*thly*, *Darius* is ſaid to have governed the kingdom by the laws[w] of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, which cannot be ſuppoſed till after the *Medes* and *Perſians* had conquered that kingdom. Had this *Darius* been *Nabonadius* the *Babyloniſh* King, he would certainly have governed by the *Babyloniſh* laws, and not by the laws of his enemies, the *Medes* and *Perſians*, who were in hoſtility againſt him all his reign, and ſought his ruine. 5*thly*, *Darius* is ſaid to have divided his empire into[x] an hundred and twenty provinces, which could not have been true of the *Babyloniſh* empire, that never having been large enough for it. But it muſt be underſtood of the *Perſian* empire only, which was vaſtly larger. And afterwards on the conqueſt of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes*, and of *Thrace* and *India* by *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, it had ſeven other provinces added to its former number. And therefore in the time of *Eſther* it conſiſted of an hundred twenty and ſeven provinces. And this having been the diviſion of the *Perſian* empire at that time, it ſufficiently proves the former to have been of the ſame empire alſo. For if the *Perſian* empire from *India* to *Ethiopia* contained but an hundred and twenty ſeven provinces, the empire of *Babylon* alone, which was not the ſeventh part of the other, could not contain an hundred and twenty. The teſtimony which *Scaliger* brings to prove *Nabonadius* to have been a *Mede* by deſcent, and by election made King of *Babylon*, is very abſurd. In the propheſy of *Nebuchadnezzar*, delivered to the *Babylonians* a little before his death, concerning their future ſubjection to the *Perſians*, which is preſerved in the fragments of *Megaſthenes*, there are theſe words,[y] *A* Perſian *mule ſhall come, who by the help of your own Gods fighting for him ſhall bring ſlavery upon you, whoſe aſſiſtant, or fellow-cauſer herein, ſhall be the* Mede. By

[s] Apud Euſebium Præp. Evang. lib. 9.
[t] Dan. v. 30, 31.
[u] Dan. v. 28.
[v] Dan. v. 11, 13, 18, 22.
[w] Dan. vi. 8, 15.
[x] Dan. vi. 1.
[y] Apud Euſebium Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

which *Mede* is plainly meant *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, who was confederate with *Cyrus* in the war, wherein *Babylon* was conquered. But *Scaliger* ſaith, it was *Nabonadius*, and hence proves that he was a *Mede*, and quotes this place in *Megaſthenes* for it. If you ask him why he ſaith this, his anſwer is, that the perſon, who is in that propheſy ſaid to be the aſſiſtant of *Cyrus*, and fellow cauſer with him in bringing ſervitude upon *Babylon*, muſt be *Nabonadius*, becauſe he was an aſſiſtant and fellow cauſer with him herein in being beaten, and conquered by him. This argument needs no anſwer, it is ſufficiently refuted by being related. And therefore *Iſaac Voſſius* well obſerves, that the arguments which *Scaliger* brings for this are *indigna Scaligero*, i. e. *unworthy of Scaliger*. Chronologia Sacra, *p.* 144.

AFTER *Cyrus* had ſettled his affairs at *Babylon*, [a] he went into *Perſia* to make a viſit to his father and mother, they being both yet living, and on his return through *Media*, he there married the daughter of *Cyaxares*, having with her for her dower the kingdom of *Media* in reverſion after her father's death, for ſhe was his only child; and then with his new wife he went back to *Babylon*. And *Cyaxares* being earneſtly invited by him thither accompanied him in the journey. On their arrival at *Babylon*, they there took counſel in concert together for the ſettling of the whole empire; and [b] having divided it into one hundred and twenty provinces, which I have before ſpoken of, they [c] diſtributed the government of them among thoſe, that had born with *Cyrus* the chief burden of the war, and beſt merited from him in it. Over theſe were appointed [d] three preſidents, who conſtantly reſiding at court, were to receive from them from time to time an account of all particulars relating to their reſpective government, and again remit to them the King's orders concerning them. And therefore in theſe three, as the chief miniſters of the King, was entruſted the ſuperintendency and main government of the whole empire. And of them *Daniel* was made the firſt. To which preference, not only his great wiſdom, (which was of eminent fame all over the eaſt) but alſo his ſeniority, and long experience in affairs, gave him the juſteſt title. For he had now from the ſecond year of *Nebuchadnezzar* been employed full ſixty five years as a prime miniſter of ſtate under the Kings of *Babylon*. However this ſtation advancing him to be the next perſon to the King in the whole empire, it ſtirred up ſo great an envy againſt him among the other courtiers, that they laid that ſnare for him which caſt him into the lion's den. But he being there delivered by a miracle from all harm, this malicious contrivance ended in the deſtruction of its authors, and *Daniel* being thenceforth immoveably ſettled in the favour of *Darius* and *Cyrus*, [e] he proſpered greatly in their time as long as he lived.

IN the firſt year of *Darius*, *Daniel* computing that the ſeventy years of *Judah*'s captivity, which were propheſied of by the prophet *Jeremiah*, were now drawing to an end, [f] earneſtly prayed unto God, that he would remember his people, and grant reſtoration to *Jeruſalem*, and make his face again to ſhine upon the holy city and his ſanctuary, which he had placed there. Whereon in a viſion he had aſſurance given him by the angel *Gabriel*, not only of the deliverance of *Judah* from their temporal

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[a] Cyropædia, lib. 8. [b] Dan. vi. 1. [c] Cyropædia, lib. 8. [d] Dan. vi. 2.
[e] Dan. vi. 28. [f] Dan. ix.

captivity

captivity under the *Babylonians*, but alſo of a much greater redemption, which God would give his church in his deliverance of them from their ſpiritual captivity under ſin and ſatan, to be accompliſhed at the end of ſeventy weeks after the going forth of the commandment to rebuild *Jeruſalem*, that is, at the end of four hundred and ninety years. For taking each day for a year, according as is uſual in the prophetic ſtyle of Scripture, ſo many years ſeventy weeks of years will amount to, which is the cleareſt propheſy of the coming of the *Meſſiah*, that we have in the *Old Teſtament*. For it determines it to the very time on which he accordingly came, and by his death and paſſion, and reſurrection from the dead, compleated for us the great work of our ſalvation.

CYRUS immediately on his return to *Babylon* had iſſued out his orders [f] for all his forces to come thither to him, which at a general muſter he found to be an hundred and twenty thouſand horſe, two thouſand ſithed chariots, and ſix hundred thouſand foot. Of theſe, having diſtributed into garriſons as many as were neceſſary for the defence of the ſeveral parts of the empire, he marched with the reſt in an expedition into *Syria*, where he ſettled all thoſe parts of the empire, reducing all under him as far as the *Red Sea*, and the confines of *Ethiopia*. In the interim [g] *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius the Median*) ſtaid at *Babylon*, and there governed the affairs of the empire, and during that time hapned what hath been above related concerning *Daniel's* being caſt into the lion's den, and his miraculous deliverance from it.

AND about the ſame time ſeem to have been coined thoſe famous pieces of gold called *Darics*, [h] which by reaſon of their fineneſs, were for ſeveral ages preferred before all other coin throughout all the eaſt. For we are told that the author of this coin was [i] not *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, as ſome have imagined, but an ancienter *Darius*. But there is no ancienter *Darius* mentioned to have reigned in the eaſt, excepting only this *Darius*, whom the Scripture calls *Darius the Median*. And therefore it is moſt likely that he was the author of this coin; and that during the two years that he reigned at *Babylon*, while *Cyrus* was abſent from thence on his *Syrian*, *Egyptian*, and other expeditions, he cauſed it to be made there out of the vaſt quantity of gold, which had been brought thither into the treaſury, as the ſpoils of the war which he and *Cyrus* had been ſo long engaged in, from whence it became diſperſed all over the eaſt, and alſo into *Greece*, where it was of great reputation. According [k] to Dr. *Bernard* it weighed two grains more than one of our guineas, but the fineneſs added much more to its value. For it was in a manner all of pure gold, having none, or at leaſt very little alloy in it, and therefore may well be reckon'd, as the proportion of gold and ſilver now ſtands with us in reſpect to each other, to be worth twenty five ſhillings of our money. In thoſe [l] parts of Scripture, which were written after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, theſe pieces are mentioned by the name of *Adarkonim*, and in the *Talmudiſts* by the name of [m] *Darkonoth*, both from the *Greek* Δαρεικοὶ, *i. e. Darics*. And it is to be obſerved, that all thoſe pieces of gold, which were afterwards

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[f] Cyropædia, lib. 8. [g] Dan. v. 31. [h] Herodotus, lib. 4. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.
[i] Harpocration. Scholiaſtes Ariſtophanis ad Eccleſ. p. 741, 742. Suidas ſub voce Δαρεικός.
[k] De ponderibus & menſuris antiquis, p. 171. [l] 1 Chron. xxix. 7. & Ezra viii. 27.
[m] Vide Buxtorfii Lexicon. Rabbinicum, p. 577.

coined,

coined of the ſame weight and value by the ſucceeding Kings, not only of the *Perſian*, but alſo of the *Macedonian* race, were all called *Darics* from the *Darius*, that was the firſt author of them. And theſe were either whole *Darics* or half *Darics*, as with us there are guineas and half guineas.

BUT about two years after *Cyaxares* dying, and *Cambyſes* being alſo dead in *Perſia*, [n] *Cyrus* returned and took on him the whole government of the empire, over which he reigned ſeven years. His reign is reckoned, from his firſt coming out of *Perſia* with an army for the aſſiſtance of *Cyaxares*, to his death, to have been thirty years, from the taking of *Babylon* nine years, and from his being ſole monarch of the whole empire after the death of *Cyaxares* and *Cambyſes* ſeven years. *Tully* [o] reckons by the firſt account, [p] *Ptolemy* by the ſecond, and [q] *Xenophon* by the third. And the firſt of theſe ſeven years is that firſt year of *Cyrus* mentioned in the firſt verſe of the book of *Ezra*, wherein an end was put to the captivity of *Judah*, and a licenſe given them by a publick decree of the King's, again to return into their own countrey. The ſeventy years which *Jeremiah* had propheſied ſhould be the continuance of this captivity were now juſt expired. For it began a year and two months before the death of *Nabopollaſar*, after that *Nebuchadnezzar* reigned forty three years, *Evilmerodach* two years, *Nerigliſſar* four years, *Belſhazzar* ſeventeen years, and *Darius* the *Median* two years, which being all put together make juſt ſixty nine years and two months, and if you add hereto ten months more to compleat the ſaid ſeventy years, it will carry down the end of them exactly into the ſame month in the firſt year of *Cyrus*, in which it began in the laſt ſave one of *Nabopollaſar*, *i. e.* in the ninth month of the *Jewiſh* year, which is the *November* of ours. For in that month *Nebuchadnezzar* firſt took *Jeruſalem*, and carried great numbers of the people into captivity, as hath been before related. And that their releaſe from it hapned alſo in the ſame month may be thus inferr'd from Scripture. The firſt time the *Jews* are found at *Jeruſalem* after their return was in their *Niſan*, *i. e.* in our *April*, as will hereafter be ſhewn. If you allow them four months for their march thither from *Babylon*, (which was the time [r] in which *Ezra* performed the like march) the beginning of that march will fall in the middle of the *December* preceding. And if you allow a month's time after the decree of releaſe for their preparing for that journey, it will fix the end of the ſaid captivity, which they were then releaſed from, exactly in the middle of the month of *November* in the firſt year of *Cyrus*, which was the very time, on which it began juſt ſeventy years before. And that this firſt of *Cyrus* is not to be reckoned with *Ptolemy* from the taking of *Babylon*, and the death of *Belſhazzar*; but with *Xenophon* from the death of *Darius* the *Mede*, and the ſucceſſion of *Cyrus* into the government of the whole empire, appears from hence, that this laſt is plainly the Scripture reckoning. For therein after the taking of *Babylon*, and the death of *Belſhazzar*, *Darius* the *Mede* [s] is named in the ſucceſſion before *Cyrus* the *Perſian*, and the years [t] of the reign of *Cyrus* are not there reckoned, till the years of the reign of *Darius* had ceaſed, and therefore

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[n] Cyropædia, lib. 8. [o] De Divinatione, lib. 1. [p] In Canone. [q] Cyropædia, lib. 8. *Where* Xenophon *ſaith, that* Cyrus *reigned after the death of* Cyaxares *ſeven years.*
[r] Ezra. vii. 9. [s] Dan. vi. 28. [t] *Compare* Daniel ix. 1. *with the* x^th^ chap. ver. 1.

according

according to Scripture, the firſt of *Cyrus* cannot be till after the death of *Darius*.

THERE can be no doubt, but that this decree in favour of the *Jews* was obtained by *Daniel*. When *Cyrus* firſt came into *Babylon* on his taking the city, he found him there an old miniſter of ſtate, famed for his great wiſdom all over the eaſt, and long experienced in the management of the publick affairs of the government, and ſuch counſellors wiſe Kings always ſeek for; and moreover his late reading of the wonderful handwriting on the wall, which had puzled all the wiſe-men of *Babylon* beſides, and the event which hapned immediately after exactly agreeable to his interpretation, had made a very great and freſh addition to his reputation. And therefore on *Cyrus*'s having made himſelf maſter of the city, he was ſoon called for, as a perſon that was beſt able to adviſe and direct about the ſetling of the government on this revolution, and was conſulted with in all the meaſures taken herein. On which occaſion he ſo well approved himſelf, that afterwards on the ſetling of the government of the whole empire, he was made firſt ſuperintendent, or prime miniſter of ſtate over all the provinces of it, as hath been already ſhewn. And when *Cyrus* returned from his *Syrian* expedition again to *Babylon*, he found a new addition to his fame from his miraculous deliverance from the lion's den. All which put together, gave ſufficient reaſon for that wiſe and excellent prince to have him in the higheſt eſteem, and therefore it is ſaid, that [v] he proſpered under him, as he did under *Darius* the *Median*, with whom it appears he was in the higheſt favour and eſteem. And ſince he had been ſo earneſt with God in prayer for the reſtoration of his people, as we find in the ninth chapter of *Daniel*, it is not to be thought that he was backward in his interceſſions for it with the King, eſpecially when he was in ſo great favour, and of ſo great authority with him. And to induce him the readier to grant his requeſt, he ſhewed him the propheſies of the prophet *Iſaiah*, [w] which ſpake of him by name one hundred and fifty years before he was born, as one whom God had deſigned to be a great conqueror, and King over many nations, and the reſtorer of his people, in cauſing the temple to be built, and the land of *Judah*, and the city of *Jeruſalem* to be again dwelt in by its former inhabitants. That *Cyrus* had ſeen and read theſe propheſies, [x] *Joſephus* tells us, and it is plain from Scripture that he did ſo. For they are recited [y] in his decree in *Ezra*, for the rebuilding of the temple. And who was there that ſhould ſhew them unto him but *Daniel*; who in the ſtation that he was in had conſtant acceſs unto him, and of all men living had it moſt at heart to ſee theſe propheſies fulfilled in the reſtoration of *Sion*? Beſides, *Cyrus* in his late expedition into *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, having ſeen ſo large and good a countrey as that of *Judea* lie wholly deſolate, might juſtly be moved with a deſire of having it again inhabited. For the ſtrength and riches of every empire being chiefly in the number of its ſubjects, no wiſe prince would ever deſire, that any part of his dominions ſhould lye unpeopled. And who could be more proper again to plant the deſolated countrey of *Judea* than its former inhabitants? They were firſt carried out

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[v] Daniel i. 21. & vi. 28. [w] Iſaiah xliv. 28. & xlv. 1. [x] Lib. xi. c. 1.
[y] Ezra i. 2.

of

of *Judea* by *Nebuchadnezzar* to people and ſtrengthen *Babylon*, and perchance under this government of the *Perſians*, to which the *Babylonians* were never well affected, the weakning and diſpeopling of *Babylon* might be as ſtrong a reaſon for their being ſent back again into their own countrey. But whatſoever ſecond cauſes worked to it, God's over-ruling power, which turneth the hearts of Princes which way he pleaſeth, brought it to paſs, that in the firſt year of *Cyrus*'s monarchy over the eaſt, he iſſued out his royal decree for the rebuilding of the temple at *Jeruſalem*, and the return of the *Jews* again into their own countrey. And hereon the ſtate of *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* began to be reſtored, of which an account will be given in the next book.

THE

Old and *New* TESTAMENT

Connected in the

HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS and Neighbouring Nations,

FROM THE

Declenſion of the Kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah* to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK III.

CYRUS[a] having iſſued out his decree for the reſtoring of the *Jews* unto their own land, and the rebuilding of the temple at *Jeruſalem*, they gathered together out of the ſeveral parts of the Kingdom of *Babylon* to the number of forty two thouſand three hundred and ſixty perſons, with their ſervants, which amounted to ſeven thouſand three hundred thirty and ſeven more. *An.* 536. Cyrus 1.

THEIR chief leaders were[b] *Zerubbabel* the ſon of *Salathiel* the ſon of *Jehoiachin* or *Jeconias* King of *Judah*, and *Jeſhua* the ſon of *Jozadack*

[a] Ezra i. *and* ii. [b] Ezra ii. a.

the high-prieſt. *Zerubbabel* (whoſe *Babyloniſh* name was [c] *Shezbazzar*) was made [d] governor of the land under the title of *Tirſhatha*, by commiſſion from *Cyrus*. But *Jeſhua* was high-prieſt by lineal deſcent from the pontifical family. For [e] he was the ſon of *Jozadack*, who was the ſon of *Seraiah*, that was high-prieſt when *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed, and the temple burnt by the *Chaldeans*. *Seraiah* being then taken priſoner by *Nebuzaradan*, and carried to *Nebuchadnezzar* to *Riblah* in *Syria*, was [f] then put to death by him. But *Jozadack* his ſon being ſpared as to his life, [*] was only with the reſt led captive to *Babylon*, where he died before the decree of reſtoration came forth, and therefore the office of high-prieſt was then in *Jeſhua* his ſon, and under [g] that title he is named next *Zerubbabel*, among the firſt of thoſe that returned. The reſt were [h] *Nehemiah*, *Seraiah*, *Reelaiah*, *Mordecai*, *Bilſham*, *Miſpar*, *Bigvai*, *Rehum*, and *Baanah*, who were the prime leaders of the people, and the chief aſſiſtants to *Zerubbabel* in the reſettling of them again in their own land, and are by the *Jewiſh* writers reckoned the chief men of the great ſynagogue. So they call the convention of elders, which, they ſay, ſat at *Jeruſalem* after the return of the *Jews*, and did there again re-eſtabliſh all their affairs both as to church and ſtate, of which they ſpeak great things, as ſhall hereafter be ſhewn. But it is to be obſerved, that the *Nehemiah* and *Mordecai* above mentioned were not the *Nehemiah* and *Mordecai*, of whom there is ſo much ſaid in the books of *Nehemiah* and *Eſther*, but quite different perſons who bore the ſame name.

AT the ſame time that *Cyrus* iſſued out his decree for the rebuilding of the temple at *Jeruſalem*, he [i] ordered all the veſſels to be reſtored which had been taken from thence. *Nebuchadnezzar*, on the burning of the former temple, had brought them to *Babylon*, and placed them there in the temple of *Bel* his God. From thence they were according to *Cyrus*'s order, by *Mithredath* the King's treaſurer, delivered to *Zerubbabel*, who carried them back again to *Jeruſalem*. All the veſſels of gold and ſilver that were at this time reſtored were five thouſand four hundred, the remainder was brought back by *Ezra* in the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* many years after.

AND not only thoſe of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, but ſeveral alſo of the other tribes, took the benefit of this decree to return again into their own land. For [k] ſome of them, who were carried away by *Tiglath-Pileſer*, *Salmaneſer*, and *Eſarhaddon*, ſtill retained the true worſhip of God in a ſtrange land, and did not go into the idolatrous uſages and impieties of the heathens, among whom they were diſperſed, but joined themſelves to the *Jews*, when by a like captivity they were brought into the ſame parts. And ſome after all the *Aſſyrian* captivities were ſtill left in the land. For we find ſome of them ſtill there in the time [l] of *Joſiah*, and they ſuffered the *Babyloniſh* captivity as well as the *Jews*, till at length they were wholly carried away in the laſt of them by *Nebuzaradan*, in the [m] twenty third year of *Nebuchadnezzar*. And many of them had long before [n] left their tribes for their religion, and incorporating themſelves with their brethren of *Judah* and *Benjamin* dwelt in their cities, and there fell into the ſame cala-

[c] Ezra i. 8, 11. [d] Ezra v. 14. [e] 1 Chron. vi. 14, 15. [f] 2 Kings xxv. 18.
[*] 1 Chron. vi. 15. [g] Ezra ii. 2. iii. 2. Haggai i. 12. *and* ii. 2. [h] Ezra ii. 2. Nehem. vii. 7.
[i] Ezra i. 7---11. [k] Tobit i. 11, 12. xiv. 9. [l] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9. *and* xxxv. 18.
[m] Jer. lii. 30. [n] 2 Chron. xi. 16. xv. 9. *and* xxxi. 6.

mity

mity with them in their captivity under the *Babylonians*. And of all these a great number took the advantage of this decree again to return and dwell in their own cities. For both *Cyrus*'s decree, as well as that of *Artaxerxes*, extended to all the house of *Israel*. The decree of *Artaxerxes* [o] is by name to all the people of *Israel*, and that of *Cyrus* [p] is to all the people of the God of *Israel*, that is, (as appears by the text) to all those that worshipped God at *Jerusalem*, which must be understood of the people of *Israel* as well as of *Judah*. For that temple was built for both, and both had an equal right to worship God there. And therefore *Ezra*, when he returned in the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, [q] sent a copy of the King's decree, whereby that favour was granted him through all *Media*, where the ten tribes were in captivity, as well as through all *Chaldea* and *Assyria*, where the *Jews* were in captivity, which plainly implies, that both of them were included in that decree, and that being a renewal of the decree of *Cyrus*, both must be understood of the same extent. And we are told in Scripture, that after the captivity [r] some of the children of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* dwelt in *Jerusalem*, as well as those of *Judah* and *Benjamin*. And it appears from several places [s] in the New Testament, that some of all the tribes were still in being among the *Jews*, even to the time of their last dispersion on the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, tho' then all were comprehended under the name of *Jews*, which after the *Babylonish* captivity became the general name of the whole nation, as that of *Israelites* was before. And this being premised, it solves the difficulty which ariseth from the difference that is between the general number, and the particulars, of those that returned upon *Cyrus*'s decree. For the general number both in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* is said to be forty two thousand three hundred and sixty; but the particulars, as reckoned up in their several families in *Ezra*, amount only to twenty nine thousand eight hundred and eighteen, and in *Nehemiah* to thirty one thousand thirty and one. The meaning of which is, they are only the tribes of *Judah*, *Benjamin*, and *Levi*, that are reckoned by their families in both these places, [t] the rest being of the other tribes of *Israel* are number'd only in the gross sum, and this is that which makes the gross sum so much exceed the particulars in both the computations. But how it comes to pass, that the particulars in *Ezra* differ from the particulars in *Nehemiah*, since there are several ways how this may be accounted for, and we can only conjecture which of them may be the right, I shall not take upon me to determine.

OF the twenty four courses of the priests, that were carried away to *Babylon*, only [u] four returned, and they were the courses of *Jedaiah*, *Immer*, *Pashur*, and *Harim*, which made up the number of four thousand two hundred eighty and nine persons; the rest either tarried behind or were extinct. However, the old number of the courses, as established by King *David*, were still kept up. For of the four courses that returned, [v] each subdivided themselves into six, and the new courses taking the names of those that were wanting, still kept up the old titles; and hence it is, that after this *Mattathias* is said to have been of the course [w] of *Joarib*, and *Zacharias* of the course of [x] *Abias*, tho' neither of these courses were of

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[o] Ezra vii. 13. [p] Ezra i. 3. [q] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5. [r] 1 Chron. ix. 3.
[s] Luke ii. 36. James i. 1. Acts xxvi. 7. [t] Seder Olam Rabba, c. 29. [u] Ezra ii. 36---39.
[v] Talmud Hierosol. in Taanith. [w] 1 Mac. ii. 1. [x] Luke i. 5.

the number of thoſe that returned. For the new courſes took the names of the old ones tho' they were not deſcended from them, and ſo they were continued by the ſame names under the ſecond temple as they had been under the firſt; only the fifth courſe, tho' of the number of theſe that returned, changed its name, and for that of *Malchijah*, under which it was firſt eſtabliſhed, took the name of *Paſhur*, that is, the name of the ſon inſtead of that of the father. For [y] *Paſhur* was the ſon of *Malchijah*. It is a common ſaying among the *Jews*, that they were [z] only the bran, that is, the dregs of the people, that returned to *Jeruſalem* after the end of the captivity, and that all the fine flower ſtaid behind at *Babylon*. It is moſt certain, that notwithſtanding the ſeveral decrees that had been granted by the Kings of *Perſia*, for the return of the *Jews* into their own land, there were a great many that waved taking the advantage of them, and continued ſtill in *Chaldea*, *Aſſyria*, and other eaſtern provinces, where they had been carried, and it is moſt likely that they were of the beſt and richeſt of the nation that did ſo. For when they had gotten houſes and lands in thoſe parts, it cannot be ſuppoſed that ſuch would be very forward to leave good ſettlements, to new plant a countrey that had lain many years deſolate. But of what ſort ſoever they were, it's certain a great many ſtaid behind, and never returned again into their own countrey. And if we may gueſs at their number by the family of *Aaron*, they muſt have been many more than thoſe who ſettled again in *Judea*. For of the twenty four courſes of the ſons of *Aaron* which were carried away, we find only four among thoſe that returned, as hath been already taken notice of. And hereby it came to paſs, that during all the time of the ſecond temple, and for a great many ages after, the number of the *Jews* in *Chaldea*, *Aſſyria*, and *Perſia*, grew to be ſo very great, that they were all along thought to exceed the number of the *Jews* of *Paleſtine*, even in thoſe times when that countrey was beſt inhabited by them.

An. 535. Cyrus 2. THOSE who made this firſt return into *Judea* arrived there in *Niſan*, the firſt month of the *Jewiſh* year (which anſwers to part of *March* and part of *April* in our calendar,) for the [a] ſecond month of the next year is ſaid to be in the ſecond year after their return, and therefore they muſt then have been a whole year in the land. As ſoon as they came thither, [b] they diſperſed themſelves according to their tribes, and the families of their fathers, into their ſeveral cities, and there betook themſelves to rebuild their houſes, and again manure their lands, after they had now from the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the flight of the remainder of the people into *Egypt* on the death of *Gedaliah*, lain deſolate and uncultivated fifty two years, according to the number of the ſabbatical years, which they had neglected to obſerve. For according to the *Moſaical* law they ought to have left their lands fallow every ſeventh year. But among other commandments of God this alſo they had neglected, and therefore [d] God made the land lie deſolate without inhabitants or cultivation, till it had enjoyed the full number of its ſabbaths that it had been deprived of. And this tells us how long the *Jews* had neglected this Law of the ſabbatical year. For it's certain the land was deſolated only fifty two years,

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[y] 1 Chron. ix. 12. *and* ii. 70 *and* iii. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.
[z] Talmud Bab. in Kidduſhim. Nehem. vii. 6.
[a] Ezra iii. 8.
[b] Ezra ii. 1.
[c] Levit. xxv. 2--4.
[d] Levit. xxvi. 34, 35, 43.

that

that is, from the death of *Gedaliah* till the end of the ſeventy years captivity in the firſt year of the empire of *Cyrus*. And fifty two ſabbatical years make fifty two weeks of years; which amount to three hundred ſixty four years, which carries up the computation to the beginning of the reign of *Aſa*, and therefore from that time the *Jews* having neglected to obſerve the ſabbatical years, till they had deprived the land of fifty two of them, God made that land lie deſolate without cultivation or inhabitants juſt ſo many years, till he had reſtored to it that full reſt, which the wickedneſs of its inhabitants had, contrary to the law of their God, denied unto it. If we reckon the whole ſeventy years of the captivity into thoſe years of deſolation, which were to make amends for the ſabbatical years that the land had been deprived of, then we muſt reckon the obſervation of them to have been laid aſide for ſeventy weeks of years, that is, four hundred and ninety years. But this will carry back the omiſſion higher up than the days of *David* and *Samuel*, in whoſe time it is not likely, that ſuch a breach of the law of God would have been permitted in the land.

ON the ſeventh month, which is called the month *Tiſri*, all the people which had returned to their ſeveral cities gathered [e] together at *Jeruſalem*, and there, on the firſt [f] day of that month celebrated the feaſt of trumpets. This month began about the time of the autumnal equinox, and was formerly [g] the firſt month of the year, till it was [h] changed at the time of the coming up of the children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*. For that hapning in the month of *Abib*, afterwards called *Niſan*, that month for this reaſon had the honour given it as thenceforth to be reckoned among the *Iſraelites* for the firſt month of the year, that is in all eccleſiaſtical matters. Before this time [i] *Tiſri* was reckoned every where to begin the year, becauſe from thence did commence (it was thought) [k] the beginning of all things, it being the general opinion among the ancients, that the world was created and firſt began at the time of the autumnal equinox. And for this reaſon the *Jews* do ſtill in their *Æra* of the creation of the world, as well as in their *Æra* of contracts, compute the beginning of the year from the firſt of *Tiſri*, and all their bills and bonds, and all other civil acts and contracts are ſtill dated among them according to the ſame computation. And from this month alſo they [l] begun all their jubilees, and ſabbatical years. And therefore altho' their eccleſiaſtical year began from *Niſan*, and all their feſtivals were reckoned according to it, yet their civil year was ſtill reckoned from *Tiſri*, and the firſt day of that month was their new-years day; and for the more folemn celebration of it, this feaſt of trumpets ſeems to have been appointed.

ON the [m] tenth day of the ſame month was the great day of expiation, when the high-prieſt made atonement for all the people of *Iſrael*, and on the [n] fifteenth day began the feaſt of tabernacles, and laſted till the twenty ſecond incluſively. During all which ſolemnities the people ſtaid at *Jeruſalem*, and employed all that time to the beſt of their power, to ſet forward the reſtoration of God's worſhip again in that place, toward which,

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[e] Ezra iii. 1. [f] Ezra iii. 6. Levit. xxiii. 24. Num. xxix. 1. [g] Exod. xxiii. 16. *and* xxxiv. 22. [h] Exod. xii. 2. [i] Chaldee *Paraphraſt on* Exodus xii. 2. [k] Vide Scaligerum de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 5. c. De Conditu Mundi, p. 366, *&c.* [l] Levit. xxv. 9. [m] Levit. xvi. 29, 30. *and* xxiii. 27. Num. xxix. 7. [n] Levit. xxiii. 34. Num. xxix. 12, *&c.*

all

all that had riches contributed according to their abilities. And the [o] free-will offerings which were made on this occaſion, beſides an hundred veſtments for the prieſts, amounted to ſixty one thouſand drams of gold, and five thouſand minas of ſilver, which in all, comes to about ſeventy five thouſand five hundred pound of our money. For every dram of gold is worth ten ſhillings of our money, and every mina of ſilver nine pound, for [p] it contained ſixty ſhekels, and every [q] ſhekel of ſilver is worth of our money three ſhillings. And upon this fund they began the work. And a great ſum it was to be raiſed by ſo ſmall a number of people, and on their firſt return from their captivity, eſpecially if they were only of the poorer ſort, as the *Rabbins* ſay. It muſt be ſuppoſed that theſe offerings were made by the whole nation of the *Jews*, that is, by thoſe who ſtaid behind, as well as by thoſe who returned, otherwiſe it is ſcarce poſſible to ſolve the matter. For all having an equal intereſt in that temple; and the daily ſacrifices there offered up having been in the behalf of all, it is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that all did contribute to the building of it, and that eſpecially ſeeing that as long as that temple ſtood, [r] every *Jew* annually paid an half ſhekel, *i. e.* about eighteen pence of our money, towards its repair, and the ſupport of the daily ſervice in it, into what parts ſoever they were diſperſed through the whole world.

THE firſt thing they did, was [s] to reſtore the altar of the Lord for burnt offerings. This ſtood [t] in the middle of the inner court of the temple, exactly before the porch leading into the holy place, and hereon were made the daily offerings of the morning and evening ſervice, and all other offerings ordinary and extraordinary, which were offered up to God by fire. It had been beaten down and deſtroyed by the *Babylonians* at the burning of the temple, and in the ſame place was it now again reſtored. That it [u] was built, and ſtood in another place with a tabernacle round it, till the rebuilding of the temple was fully finiſhed and compleated, is a fancy without a foundation. It was certainly built in its proper place, [v] that is in the ſame place where it before ſtood; and there they daily offered ſacrifices upon it, even before any thing elſe of the temple was built about it. It was [w] a large pile built all of unhewn ſtones, thirty two cubits (*i. e.* forty eight foot) ſquare at the bottom. From thence it riſing one cubit benched-in one cubit: And from thence, being thirty cubits ſquare, it did riſe five cubits, and benched-in one cubit. And from thence being twenty eight cubits ſquare, it did riſe three cubits, and benched-in two cubits. From whence it did riſe one cubit, which was the hearth, upon which the offerings were burned, and the benching-in of two cubits breadth was the paſſage round it, on which the prieſts ſtood, when they tended the fire, and placed the ſacrifices on it. So this hearth was a ſquare of twenty four cubits, or thirty ſix foot on every ſide, and one cubit high, which was all made of ſolid braſs, and from hence it was called the [x] brazen altar. For it is not to be

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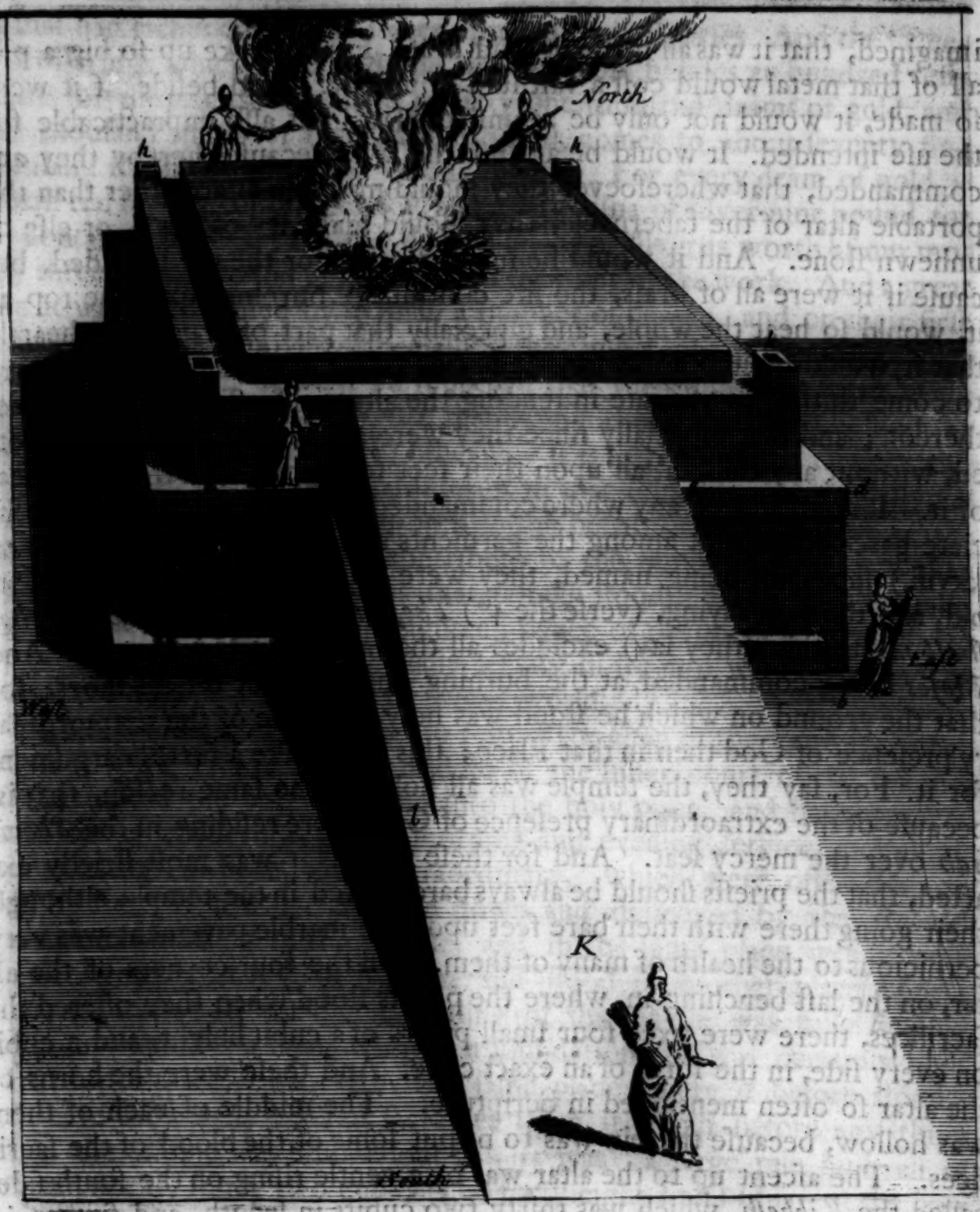
[o] Ezra ii. 69. [p] Ezek. xlv. 12. [q] Vide Bernardum de Menſuris & Ponderibus antiquis, p. 129. [r] Exod. xxx. 13---15. Maimonides in Shekalim, cap. 1, 2, 4. [s] Ezra iii. 3. [t] *See* Lightfoot *of the Temple*, ch. xxxiv. [u] *Biſhop* Patrick *in his Comment on the firſt of* Chronicles, ch. ix. [v] Ezra iii. 3. *For there it is ſaid, that they did ſet the altar upon its baſes or foundations*, i. e. *upon the ſame baſes or foundations, on which it before had ſtood.* [w] Miſnaioth in Middoth. Maimonides in Beth-Habbechira, cap. i. ii. [x] 1 Kings viii. 64.

imagined,

imagined, that it was all made of ſolid braſs. For to make up ſo big a pile all of that metal would coſt a vaſt ſum of money. And beſides if it were ſo made, it would not only be againſt the law, but alſo impracticable for the uſe intended. It would be againſt the law, becauſe thereby they are commanded, that whereſoever they ſhould make an altar, other than the portable altar of the tabernacle, they ſhould make it [x] of earth, or elſe of unhewn ſtone. And it would be impracticable for the uſe intended, becauſe if it were all of braſs, the fire continually burning upon the top of it, would ſo heat the whole, and eſpecially that part of it next the hearth, that it would be impoſſible for the prieſts to ſtand on it, when they were to come thither to officiate in tending the altar, and offering the ſacrifices thereon; and that eſpecially ſince they were always to officiate barefooted, without any thing at all upon their feet to fence them from the heat of it. It is not indeed any where commanded, that the prieſts ſhould officiate bare-footed, but among the garments aſſigned for the prieſts (*Exod.* xxviii.) ſhoes not being named, they were ſuppoſed therefore to be forbid, and the text ſaying, (verſe the 4th) *Theſe are the garments which they ſhall make*, this (they ſay) excludes all that are not there named. And *Moſes* being commanded at the burning buſh [y] to put off his ſhoes, for that the ground on which he ſtood was holy, becauſe of the extraordinary preſence of God then in that Place; this they make a further argument for it, For, ſay they, the temple was all holy for the ſame reaſon, that is, becauſe of the extraordinary preſence of God there reſiding in the *Shecinah* over the mercy ſeat. And for theſe reaſons it was moſt ſtrictly exacted, that the prieſts ſhould be always bare footed in the temple, although their going there with their bare feet upon the marble pavement was very pernicious to the health of many of them. On the four corners of the altar, on the laſt benching-in, where the prieſts ſtood when they offered the ſacrifices, there were fixed four ſmall pillars of a cubit height, and a cubit on every ſide, in the form of an exact cube. And theſe were the horns of the altar ſo often mentioned in Scripture. The middle of each of them was hollow, becauſe therein was to be put ſome of the blood of the ſacrifices. The aſcent up to the altar was by a gentle riſing on the ſouth ſide, called the *Kibbeſh*, which was thirty two cubits in length, and ſixteen in breadth, and landed upon the upper benching-in next the hearth, or the top of the altar. For [z] to go up to the altar by ſteps was forbid by the law. The form of the whole will be beſt underſtood by the annexed Draught.

[x] Exod. xx. 24, 25. [y] Exod. iii. 5. Acts vii. 33. [z] Exod. xx. 26.

(a) The



(*a*) The foundation of the altar thirty two cubits ſquare, and one cubit high.

(*aa*) The firſt inbenching one cubit broad.

(*b*) A ſquare ſpace of one cubit ſquare, cut out of the foundation at the ſouth-eaſt corner of the altar, at the bottom of which were two holes, through which the blood of the altar did run down into a ſink underneath the pavement.

(*c*) The riſing of the altar from the firſt inbenching, thirty cubits ſquare and five cubits high.

(*d*) A red line, which went round the altar to diſtinguiſh the holy part, *i. e.* that above it from the prophane, *i. e.* that which was below it, was exactly in the middle of the altar, five cubits above the floor or pavement of the court, and five cubits below the top of the hearth.

(*e*) The ſecond inbenching, being a cubit broad.

(*f*) The riſing of the altar from the ſecond inbenching, being twenty eight cubits ſquare and three cubits high.

(*g*) The laſt inbenching, being two cubits broad, which was the paſſage round the altar where the prieſts ſtood when they offered the ſacrifices and tended the altar.

(*h*) The four horns of the altar placed at the four corners of the laſt inbenching, each of which was a cube of one cubit every way, and hollow in the middle, where ſome of the blood of the ſacrifices were always put.

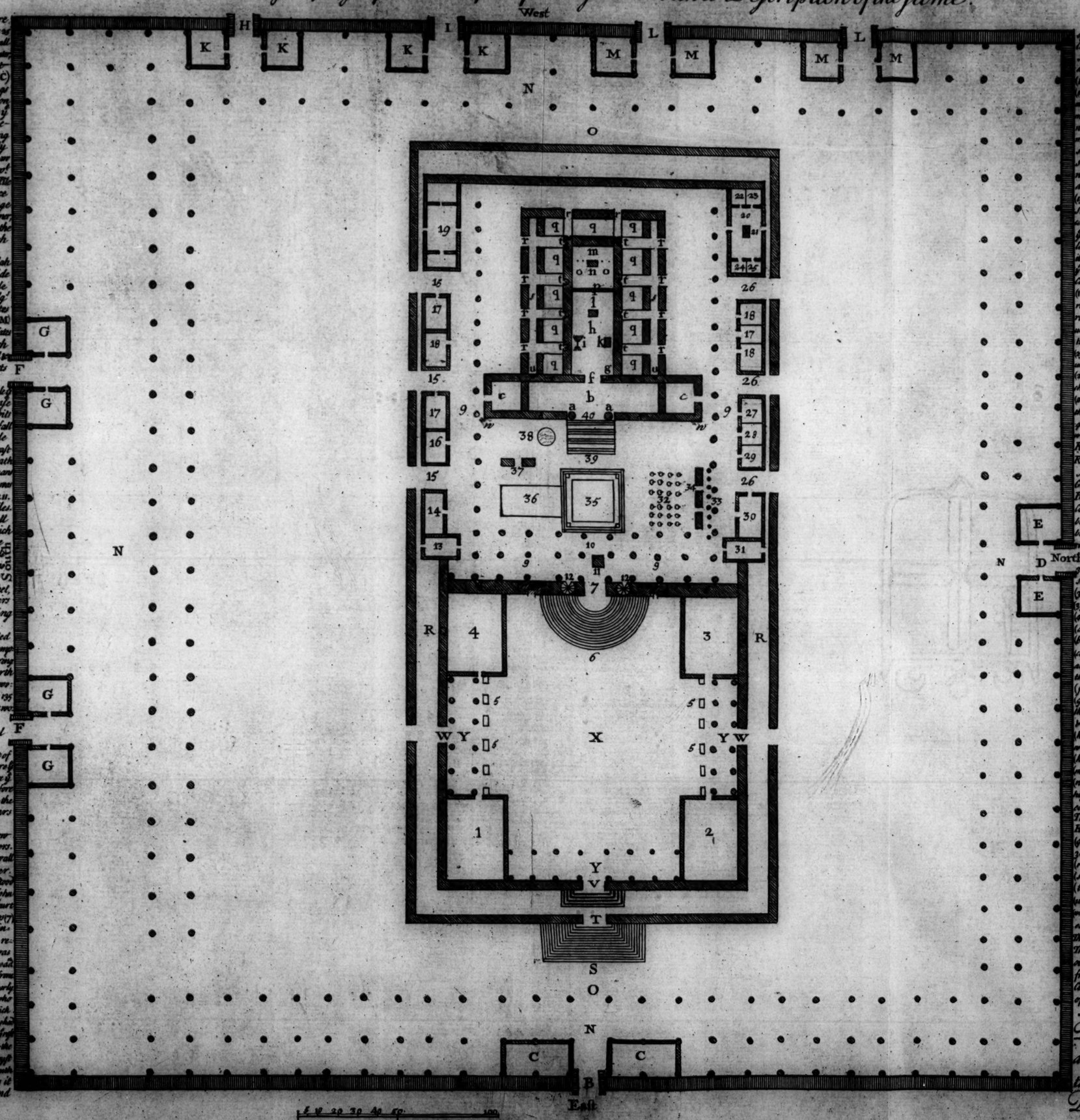
(*i*) The brazen hearth on which all the ſacrifices were burnt, it was twenty four cubits ſquare, and one cubit high from the laſt inbenching.

(*k*) The kibbeſh, or ſloping aſcent to the top of the altar, being ſixteen cubits broad and thirty two long.

(*l*) A paſſage from the kibbeſh to the ſecond inbenching, one cubit broad.

Page. 111.

The Ichnography of the Temple of Jerusalem with a Description of the same.



(A)(A)(A)(A) The outer Wall of ye Temple which was a Square of 500 Cubits on every Side, & 2000 in ye whole Circuit it was 25 Cubits high measuring on ye inside, which was ye Size of all the other walls of ye Temple, as well in ye inner part as ye outer, excepting only that of the Chel, every Cubit was a foot and an half. (B) The East Gate or Gate of Shusham (CC) the Place where ye Wine, Oyle, Salt, Meale, and other things used in the Sacrifices, were Sold with Chambers, over on either side (D) The North Gate called Ye di (EE) ye Porters lodges & Chambers over on either side Between this Gate & ye Western Corner upon a jetting out of ye Mountain stood ye Castle Antonia formerly called Baris, where ye Romans Kept a Garrison to over awe the Temple from hence ye Captain of it was called ye Capt of ye Temple, Luke 22. v. 52. Acts 4 v. 1. It was a Square Tower (F) standing at a little distance from ye Temple Wall, by from which there was a passage down into ye Cloysters at ye Northwest Corner through which ye Soldiers ran down to appease the tumult risen about Paul. Acts. 21 v. 32 & from which Paul spake to ye people v. 40.

(G) the Gates in ye South Side called ye Gates of Huldah the Porters lodges & Chambers over on either side (H) the Gate Shallecheth, or Coponius on the West Side (I) the Gate Parbor on ye same side (K) the Porters lodges and Chambers over on either side of ye said two Gates (L) the two Gates of Asuppim on the same West side (M) Many Chambers over on either side of ye said 2 Gates Where the Treasury of ye Temple was kept the Isle of each Gate was 10 Cubits broad & 20 high & ye entrance 10 Cubits broad & 20 high. And all ye Gates, as well in the inner parts of ye Temple as the outer, were every one of them of the same size (N) the Portico or Cloysters round ye Temple ye South side was called the Royall Cloysters, because the largest for it contained 3 Isles & middle 30 Cubits broad & 60 Cubits high which was ye Size of all the other Cloysters of this Court, that on ye East side was called Solomans Porch because it stood upon ye vast Temple which Soloman built up from ye Valley beneath of 400 Cubits height, which was ye only works of Solomans which remained in our Saviours time & therefore it was called Solomans Porch or Cloyster Joh. 10. v. 23. Act. 3. v. 11.

(O) the Outer Court of ye Temple called ye Court of ye Gentiles. (P) the Inclosure of ye Inner Courts, being a Wall of Stone wrought of 3 Cubits height, within which none was to enter, or any polluted with the (Q) the Wall inclosing ye Inner Court of ye Temple (R) the Void Space between ye said Wall & ye outer inclosure 10 Cubits broad called ye Chel (S) the Stairs on ye East side leading from ye Court of ye Gentiles into the Chel, consisting of 14 steps each 9 inches high (T) the stairs from the Chel into ye Court of ye women consisting of 15 steps each 9 inches high.

(V) the Gate entering into ye Court of ye women on ye East called the Beautifull Gate of ye Temple Acts 3 v. 2 because of its sumptuous & beautifull adornments (W) the 2 Gates entering into the Court of ye Women one on ye South & ye other on ye North (X) the Court of ye Women so called because thus far ye women might enter to worship, but not further; it was 135 Cubits square (Y) Cloysters on 3 sides of ye Court of the women under which were Galleryes for ye women (Z) the Rooms under ye Floor of ye Court of Israel where the Musitians did lay up their instruments (1)(2)(3)(4) the four smaller Courts in ye 4 Corners of the Court of Israel in each 40 Cubits Long, & 30 broad (1) where ye Nazarites performed what ye Law required (2) where ye Leper was cleansed (3) where ye Leper was cleansed (4) where the Wood was laid up for ye use of ye Altar in Cellars under it on ye inside.

(a) the Mercury Chests where our Saviour saw ye Widdow cast in her mites, he then sitting on ye Bench in ye Cloysters. (b) the Benches of ye Temple had Benches next ye Innerwall where People Sold in this Court as well as in ye Outer. (c) the place nigh the Chests is it to be understood where our Saviour is said to preach in ye Treasury. John 8. (d) the Semicircular Stairs leading up from ye Court of the Gentiles to ye great Brazen Gate consisting of 15 steps (e) the Brazen Gate or ye Gate Nicanor leading into ye Court of Israel in which ye Temple & Altar stood, which Court was called ye Tabernacle & contained that part which was afterwards called ye Sanctuary it was 135 Cubits in broad & 187 in length. (f) the Wall parting ye Sanctuary from the Court of ye women. (g) the place within ye Sanctuary properly the Court of Israel, for here stood ye Stationary men who represented the whole people of Israel at all times of publick Worship when they came up all other Israelites when they had Sacrifice to be offered (h) the ordinary place where all sorts of Israelites in ye Court of ye women, men on ye floor & the Women in the Gallery (i) the Entrance into ye Isle of ye double Cloysters on ye South & both ye simple Cloysters on ye North & South (k) the place properly called ye Court of ye Priests it self & ye Isle of ye double Cloysters at ye East end of ye Sanctuary. the 1st two Cubits of its breadth next the Court of Israel were taken up by ye Desks of ye Singers and Musitians, the other part was ye place where ye Priests did worship that were out of attendance.

(l) the Lamps Stood near ye Pillar a Gen. 8. v. 13. and ch. 28. v. 18. (m) Winding staires leading up to ye Rooms over ye Gate Nitzanor, that on ye right hand led to ye Wardrobe, where ye Vestments for ye Priests were kept and that on ye left to ye Room where were provided ye Cakes for the high Priests daily meat Offering (n) the Room Gazeth, where ye Sanhedrim sate, part was within the Sanctuary and part without & Sanhedrim Sate in that part which was without. (o) the well Room where was a well from whence water was drawn for ye use of the Temple.

(p) Three Gates leading into ye Sanctuary on ye South Side & first next ye Draw well Room was from thence called ye Well Gate over which was ye Room of Nitzus where Jechonias was made a Captive (q) Gates of Perfumes (r) Gate of Kindling (s) The Wood Room, where ye wood for ye Altar after it had been examined was laid ready for use & over it was ye Chamber of the High Priest called Paradrin where he held ye Council of the Temple (17) a Guard Room for ye Levites. (18) a Treasury Room (19) The Common fire Room, & Chiefe Guard Room for ye Levites (20) The Common first Room & Chiefe Guard Room for ye Priests (21) a Stone in ye middle of ye said Room, under which the Ashes of ye Temple were layd every night (22) the Room where ye Lambs for ye daily Sacrifice were kept. (23) the Bath Room where ye Priests Bathed on their entering and coming off. (24) the Room where ye shew bread was made. (25) the Room where ye Stones of ye Altar polluted by Antiochus were layd up by the Maccabees.

(26) Three Gates on the North Side leading into ye Sanctuary the 1st towards ye East and called ye Gate Nitzutz, or of Singing & ye 2d Gate of Women & Gate Jechon (27) The Room where ye Salt was kept for ye service of ye Altar (28) The Room where ye skins of ye Sacrifices were layd up (29) The Room where ye inwards of ye Sacrifices were washed (30) Another Guard Room for ye Levites over which was a Guard Chamber for ye Priests (31) The Room where the Priest was set apart seven days, that was to burn ye red Cow (32) Ringles where ye Sacrifices were tyed down to be slain (33) 8 Posts on which ye Sacrifices were hung up to be flead (34) Marble Tables where ye Sacrifices were cut out in peices (35) The Altar of Burnt Offerings 24 Cubits Square & 10 Cubits high (36) The Ascent to ye Altar being 32 Cubits long (37) The Marble Tables where ye peices of the Sacrifices were laid that were ready for the Altar (38) The Brazen Sea.

(39) The staires up into ye Porch being 12 in number (40) The entrance into ye Porch 20 Cubits broad & 40 high (a) The 2 Pillars Jachin & Boaz standing in ye entrance (b) The Porch 11 Cubits broad and Sixty long. (c) The Room where ye Butchering Instruments used about the Sacrifices were layd up (d) The outer wall of the Porch (e) The inner wall of the Porch (f) The Gate from the Porch into the Holy Place (g) The wicket through which the Priest went to untar the Gate on the infside for ye opening of it in ye morning & come out after having shut it in the Evening.

(h) The Holy place 40 Cubits broad and 40 long in which were (i) The Candlestick having Seven Lamps (k) The shew bread Table (l) The Altar of Incence (m) The Holy of Holys 20 Cubits Square in which were (n) The Ark of ye Covenant (o) The two Cherubims 10 Cubits high with their faces inwards and their wings extended to each other over ye Ark & to ye walls on either side (p) The Veil of ye Temple parting between ye Holy & ye Holy of Holys which was rent in peices at our Saviours death (q) The Treasury Rooms on the side & west end of ye Temple 3 Storys high in which the Tithes were layd up (r) The Passages into the said Rooms (s) The Galleryes runing before them (t) The winding staires for leading into ye upper Storys (u) winding staires leading up into ye Rooms over ye South & Temple (w) The Pinacles or wings of ye Temple stretching out on either side.

The length of the Temple from east to west was 100 Cubits The breadth of the Temple at the Pinacles from east to west 100 Cubits ye breadth of ye Temple beyond ye Pinacles from east to west 70 Cubits the height of ye Temple 100 Cubits. The height of the Pinacles 120 Cubits at ye top of which it was that the Devil did set our Saviour Math. 4. v. 5

Delineated & Described according to ye Scriptures Josephus & the Talmud by H. Prideaux DD Dean of Norwich

(E) after 60 Cubits high add, The other 2 Each 15 Cubits broad & 25 Cubits high.

BUT their zeal for the temple being that, which had brought moſt of them back again into *Judea*, the rebuilding of this was what they had their hearts moſt intent upon. And therefore having employed the firſt year [a] in preparing materials, and contracting with carpenters and maſons for the work, [a] in the ſecond month of the ſecond year they laid the foundation of the houſe, which was done with great ſolemnity. For *Zerubbabel* the governor, and *Jeſhua* the high-prieſt, being preſent with all the congregation, the trumpeters blew their trumpets, and the muſicians ſounded their inſtruments, and ſingers ſung, all in praiſe to the Lord their God, and all the reſt of the people ſhouted for joy, while the firſt ſtones were laid; only the old men, who had ſeen the glory of the firſt temple, and had no expectation that this, which was now a building by a few poor exiles lately returned into their countrey, could ever equal that which had all the riches of *David* and *Solomon*, two of the wealthieſt princes of the eaſt, expended in the erecting of it, wept at the remembrance of the old temple, while others rejoiced at the laying the foundations of the new. And indeed the difference between the former temple, and this which was now a building, was ſo great, that God himſelf tells the prophet [b] *Haggai*, that the latter in compariſon with the former was as nothing, ſo much did it come ſhort of it; but this is not to be underſtood of its bigneſs. For the ſecond temple was of the ſame dimenſions with the firſt, it being built upon the very ſame foundations, and therefore it was exactly of the ſame length and breadth. *Cyrus*'s commiſſion may ſeem to make it broader. For that allows [c] ſixty cubits to its breadth, whereas *Solomon*'s temple is ſaid to have been but [d] twenty cubits in breadth. But theſe different meaſures are to be underſtood in reſpect of the different diſtances, between which the ſaid meaſures were taken. The twenty cubits breadth ſaid of *Solomon*'s temple was only the breadth of the temple it ſelf, meaſuring from the inſide of the wall on the one ſide to the inſide of the wall on the other ſide. But the ſixty cubits breadth in *Cyrus*'s commiſſion was the breadth of the whole building, meaſuring from the inſide of the outer wall of it on the one ſide, to the inſide of the outer wall on the other ſide. For [e] beſides the temple it ſelf, which contained the holy place, and the holy of holies, each twenty cubits broad, there were thick walls incloſing it on each ſide, and without them chambers on each ſide, then another wall, then a gallery, and then the outer walls of all encloſing the whole building, being five cubits thick; which all together made up the whole breadth to be ſeventy cubits from out to out; from which deducting the five cubits breadth of the outer wall on each ſide, you have remaining the breadth of *Cyrus*'s commiſſion, that is, ſixty cubits, which was the breadth of the whole building, from the inſide of one outer wall to the inſide of the other. So that the difference of the ſaid twenty cubits breadth, and of the ſaid ſixty cubits breadth, is no more than this, that one of them was meaſured from the inſide to the inſide of the inner walls, and the other from the inſide to the inſide of the outer walls of the ſaid temple.

An. 534. Cyrus 3.

BUT the glory of *Solomon*'s temple was not in the temple it ſelf, much leſs in the bigneſs of it. For that alone was but a ſmall pile of building, [f] as containing no more than an hundred and fifty foot in length, and an

[a] Ezra iii. 7. [a] Ezra iii. 8, 9, 10, &c. [b] Haggai ii. 3. [c] Ezra vi. 3.
[d] 1 Kings vi. 2. 2 Chron. iii. 3. [e] *See* Lightfoot *of the temple*. [f] *See my map of the temple*.

hundred and five in breadth, taking the whole of it together from out to out, which is exceeded by many of our pariſh churches. The main grandeur and excellency of it conſiſted 1*ſt*, In its ornaments, its workmanſhip being every where exceeding curious, and its overlayings vaſt and prodigious. For the overlayings of the holy of holies only, which was a room but thirty foot ſquare and thirty foot high, amounted [g] to ſix hundred talents of gold, which comes to four millions three hundred and twenty thouſand pound of our ſterling money. 2*dly*, In its materials. For *Solomon*'s temple was all built of new large ſtones, hewn out in the moſt curious and artful manner, whereas the ſecond temple was moſtly built of ſuch ſtones only as they dug up out of the ruines of the former. 3*dly*, In its out-buildings. For the court in which the temple ſtood, and that without it, called the court of the women, were built round with ſtately buildings and cloyſters, and the gates entring thereinto were very beautiful and ſumptuous. And the outer court, which was a large ſquare encompaſſing all the reſt, of ſeven hundred and fifty foot on every ſide, was ſurrounded with a moſt ſtately and magnificent cloyſter, ſuſtained by three rows of pillars on three ſides of it, and by four on the fourth. And all the out-buildings then lay in their rubbiſh, without any proſpect of a ſpeedy reparation. And there could then be no ſuch ornaments or materials in this new temple, as there were in the former. In proceſs of time indeed all the out-buildings were reſtored, and ſuch ornaments and materials were added on *Herod*'s repairing of it, that the ſecond temple after that came little ſhort herein of the former. And there are [h] ſome who will ſay that it exceeded it. But ſtill what was the main glory of the firſt temple, thoſe extraordinary marks of the divine favour, with which it was honoured, were wholly wanting in the ſecond. The *Jews* reckon them up in theſe [i] five particulars; 1*ſt*, The ark of the covenant, and the mercy ſeat which was upon it: 2*dly*, The *Shecinah*, or divine preſence: 3*dly*, The *Urim* and *Thummim*: 4*thly*, The holy fire upon the altar: And 5*thly*, The ſpirit of propheſy.

I. THE ark of the covenant was [k] a ſmall cheſt, or coffer, three foot nine inches in length, and two foot three inches in breadth, and two foot three inches in height: In which were put the two tables of the law, as well the broken ones (ſay [l] the *Rabbins*) as the whole; and that there was nothing elſe in it, when it was brought into *Solomon*'s temple, is ſaid in [m] two places of Scripture. But the *Rabbins* raiſe a controverſy concerning *Aaron*'s rod, and the pot of manna, and the original volume of the law written by *Moſes*'s own hand, whether they were not alſo in the ark. It is ſaid of [n] *Aaron*'s rod, and the [o] pot of manna, that they were laid up before the teſtimony, and it being agreed on all hands, that by the teſtimony are meant the two tables, thoſe who interpret theſe words [*before the teſtimony*] in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, will have the ſaid rod and pot of manna to

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[g] 2 Chron. iii. 8. [h] R. Azarias in Meor Enaiim, part 3. c. 51. [i] Talmud Bab. in Yoma, c. 1. f. 21. & Talmud Hieroſol. in Taanith, c. 2. f. 65. [k] Exod. xxv. 10---22.

[l] *For the proof of this they bring the* 2[d] *verſe of the* x[th] *chapter of* Deuteronomy, *which they read thus*: And I will write on the tables the words that were on the firſt tables, which thou brakeſt, and haſt put in the ark; *and it is true the word is* Veſhamata, *i. e.* thou haſt put, *in the præter tenſe, but it being with a* Vau *before it, that turns the præter tenſe into the future, and therefore it muſt be read* thou ſhalt put them, *as in our tranſlation, and not* thou haſt put them, *as the fauters of this opinion would have it.* [m] 1 Kings viii. 9. 2 Chron. v. 10. [n] Num. xvii. 10.

[o] Exod. xvi. 33. *where* to lay up before the Lord, *is by the Jewiſh commentators interpreted as the ſame with* before the teſtimony of the Lord.

have

have been laid up immediately before the tables within the ark. For otherwiſe (ſay they) they would not have been laid up before the teſtimony, but before the ark. But others, who do not underſtand the word in ſo ſtrict a ſenſe, ſay they were laid up in the holy of holies without the ark, in a place juſt before it, thinking that in this poſition without the ark, they may be as well ſaid to be laid up before the teſtimony or tables of the law, as if they had been placed immediately before them within the ark. But the holy apoſtle St. *Paul* decides this controverſy. For he poſitively tells us, *That* [p] *within the ark were the golden pot that had manna, and* Aaron's *rod, and the tables of the covenant.* As to the book or volume of the law, it being commanded to be put [q] *Mitzzad*, i. e. *on the ſide* of the ark, thoſe who interpret that word of the inſide, place it within the ark; and thoſe who interpret it of the outſide, place it on the outſide of it, in a caſe or coffer made of purpoſe for it, and laid on the right ſide, meaning by the right ſide that end of it which was on the right hand. And the laſt ſeem to be in the right as to this matter. For, 1*ſt*, The ſame word [r] *Mitzzad* is made uſe of, where it is ſaid, that the *Philiſtines* ſent back the ark, with an offering of jewels of gold put in a coffer *by the ſide of it.* And there it is certain, that word muſt be underſtood of the outſide, and not of the inſide. 2*dly*, The ark was not of capacity enough to hold the volume of the whole law of *Moſes* with the other things placed therein. 3*dly*, The end of laying up the original volume of the law in the temple was, that it might be reſerved there as the authentick copy, by which all others were to be corrected and ſet right, and therefore to anſwer this end it muſt have been placed ſo, as that acceſs might be had thereto on all occaſions requiring it, which could not have been done, if it had been put within the ark, and ſhut up there by the cover of the mercy ſeat over it, which was not to be removed. And 4*thly*, When [s] *Hilkiah* the high-prieſt in the time of *Joſiah* found the copy of the law in the temple, there is nothing ſaid of the ark, neither is it there ſpoken of as taken from thence, but as found elſewhere in the temple. And therefore putting all this together it ſeems plain, that the volume of the law was not laid within the ark, but had a particular coffer or repoſitory of its own, in which it was placed on the ſide of it. And the word *Mitzzad*, which anſwers to the *Latin à latere*, cannot truly bear any other meaning in the *Hebrew* language. And therefore the *Chaldee* paraphraſe, which goes under the name of *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*, in paraphraſing on theſe words of *Deuteronomy*, [t] *Take this book of the law, and put it in the ſide of the ark of the covenant*, renders it thus, *Take the book of the law, and place it in a caſe or coffer on the right ſide of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God.* Over [v] the ark was the mercy ſeat, and it was the covering of it. It was all made of ſolid gold, and of the thickneſs (ſay the *Rabbins*) of an hand's breadth. At the two ends of it were two cherubins looking inward towards each other with wings expanded, which embracing the whole circumference of the mercy ſeat, did meet on each ſide in the middle. All which (ſay [w] the *Rabbins*) was made out of the ſame maſs, without joyning any of the parts by ſolder. [x] Here it was where the *Shecinah* or divine preſence reſted both in

[p] Hebrews ix. 4. *and hereto agree* Abarbanel on 1 Kings viii. 9. & R. Levi Ben Gerſom.
[q] Deuteron. xxxi. 26. [r] 1 Sam. vi. 8. [s] 2 Kings xxii. 8. [t] Deut. xxxi. 26.
[v] Exod. xxv. 17---22. [w] R. Levi Ben Gerſon, R. Solomon, Abarbanel, *and others.*
[x] Lev. xvi. 2.

the tabernacle and temple, and was visibly seen in the appearance of a cloud over it. And from hence [y] the divine oracles were given out by an audible voice, as often as God was consulted in the behalf of his people. And hence it is, that God is so often said Scripture [z] to dwell between the cherubins, that is, between the cherubins on the mercy seat, because there was the seat or throne of the visible appearance of his glory among them. And [a] for this reason the high-priest appeared before this mercy seat once every year, on the great day of expiation, when he was to make his neareſt approach to the divine presence, to mediate and make atonement for the whole people of *Israel*. And all else of that nation, who served God according to the *Levitical* law, made it the centre of their worship. And not only in the temple, when they came up thither to worship, but every where else in their dispersion through the whole world, when ever they prayed [b] they turned their faces towards the place where the ark stood, and directed all their devotions that way. And therefore the author of the book [c] *Cozri* justly saith, that the ark, with the mercy seat and cherubins, were the foundation, root, heart and marrow of the whole temple, and all the *Levitial* worship therein perfomed. And therefore had there nothing else of the first temple been wanting in the second but the ark only, this alone would have been reason enough for the old men to have wept, when they remembred the first temple, in which it was, and also for the saying of *Haggai*, That [d] the second temple was as nothing in comparison of the first; so great a part had it in the glory of this temple, as long as it remained in it. However the defect was supplied, as to the outward form. For in [*] the second temple there was also an ark made of the same shape and dimensions with the first, and put in the same place. But tho' it was there substituted in its stead, (as there was need, that such an one should, for the service, that was annually performed before it on the great day of expiation) yet it had none of its prerogatives or honours conferred upon it. For there were no tables of the law, no *Aaron*'s rod, no pot of manna in it, no appearance of the divine glory over it, no oracles given from it. The first ark was made and consecrated by God's appointment, and had all these prerogatives and honours given unto it by him. But the second being appointed and substituted by man only, to be in the stead and place of the other, could have none of them. And the only use that was made of it, was to be a representative of the former on the great day of expiation, and to be a repository of the holy Scriptures, that is, of the original copy of that collection, which was made of them after the captivity by *Ezra*, and the men of the great synagogue as will be hereafter related. For when this copy was perfected, it was there laid up in it. And in imitation hereof the *Jews* in all their synagogues have a like [e] ark or coffer of the same size or form, in which they keep the scriptures belonging to the synagogue, and from whence they take it out with great solemnity whenever they use it, and return it with the like when they have done with it. That there was any ark at all in the second temple,

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[y] Exod. xxv. 22. Numb. vii. 89. [z] 1 Sam. iv. 4. 2 Sam. vi. 2. 2 Kings xix. 15. 1 Chron. xiii. 6. Psal. lxxx. 1. *and* Psal. xc. 1. [a] Levit. xvi. 29---34. Numb. xxix. 7. Heb. ix. 7. Talmud in *Yoma*. [b] 1 Kings viii. 48. Dan. vi. 10. [c] *Part* II. §. 28. [d] *Chap.* ii. 3. [*] Lightfoot *of the Temple*, *c.* 15. §. 4. [e] Vide Buxtorfii Synagogam, c. 14.

many

many of the *Jewiſh* writers do deny, and ſay that the whole ſervice of the great day of expiation was performed in the ſecond temple, not before any ark, but before [f] the ſtone on which the ark ſtood in the firſt temple. But ſince on their building of the ſecond temple they found it neceſſary for the carrying on of their worſhip in it to make a new altar of incenſe, a new ſhew-bread table, and a new candleſtick, inſtead of thoſe which the *Babylonians* had deſtroyed, though none of them could be conſecrated, as in the firſt temple, there is no reaſon to believe, but that they made a new ark alſo, there being as much need of it for the carrying on of their worſhip, as there was of the others. And ſince the holy of holies, and the veil that was drawn before it, were wholly for the ſake of the ark, what need had there been of theſe in the ſecond temple, if there had not been the other alſo? Were it clear that it is the figure of the ark, that is on the triumphal arch of *Titus*, ſtill remaining at *Rome*, this would be an undeniable demonſtration for what I here ſay. For therein his triumph for the taking of *Jeruſalem* being ſet forth in ſculpture, there is to be ſeen even to this day carried before him in that triumph the golden candleſtick, and another figure, which *Adrichomius* and ſome others, ſay, is the ark; but *Villalpandus*, *Cornelius a Lapide*, *Ribera*, and the generality of learned men, who have viewed that triumphal arch, tell us, that it is the table of ſhew-bread. The obſcurity of the figures, now almoſt worn out by length of time, makes the difficulty; but by the exacteſt draughts which I have ſeen of it, it plainly appears to have been the ſhew-bread table, eſpecially from the two cups on the top of it. For two ſuch cups filled with frankincenſe were always put upon the ſhew-bread table, but never upon the ark. *Joſephus*, who was preſent at the triumph of *Titus*, and ſaw the whole of it, [g] tells us of three things therein carryed before him, 1*ſt*, The *ſhew-bread table*; 2*dly*, *The golden candleſtick*; (which he mentions in the ſame order as they are on the arch) and, 3*dly*, *The law*; which is not on the arch: Moſt likely it was omitted there only for want of room to engrave it. For as there is the figure of a table carried aloft before the *ſhew-bread table*, and another before the *golden candleſtick*, to expreſs by the writings on them, what the things were which they were carried before, ſo after the golden candleſtick there is on the ſaid arch a third table without any thing after it, the arch there ending without affording room for any other ſculpture; where the thing omitted, no doubt, was what *Joſephus* ſaith, was carried in the third place, that is, *The law*; which is not to be underſtood of any common volume, (of which there were hundreds every where in common uſe, both in their ſynagogues and in private hands) but of that which was found in the temple, (as the other two particulars were) and laid up there, as the authentick and moſt ſacred copy of it. And it cannot be imagined it ſhould be carried otherwiſe, than in that repoſitory in which it was laid, that is, in the ark, which was made for it under the ſecond temple. But to return to the ark under the firſt temple, which was that I was deſcribing. It was made [h] of wood, excepting only the mercy ſeat, but over-laid with gold all over both in the inſide and the outſide, and it had a ledge of gold ſurrounding it on the top in form of

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[f] *This the* Rabbins *call the ſtone of foundation, and give us a great deal of traſh about it. See the* Miſhnah in Yoma, *and* Buxtorf de Areâ, c. 22. [g] Joſeph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 7. c. 17.

[h] Exod. xxv. 10---22.

a crown,

a crown, into which, as into a ſocket, the cover was let in. The place where it ſtood [i] was the innermoſt and moſt ſacred part of the temple, called, *The holy of holies*, and ſometimes, *The moſt holy place*, which was ordained and made of purpoſe for its reception. The whole end and reaſon of that moſt ſacred place being none other, but to be a tabernacle for it. This place or room was [k] of an exact cubic form, as being thirty foot ſquare, and thirty foot high. In the centre of it the ark was placed, upon a ſtone (ſay [l] the *Rabbins)* riſing there three fingers breadth above the floor, to be, as it were, a pedeſtal for it. On the two ſides of it ſtood [m] two cherubins fifteen foot high, one on the one ſide, and the other on the other ſide, at equal diſtance between the centre of the ark and each ſide wall; where having their wings expanded, with two of them they touched the ſaid ſide walls, and with the other two they did meet, and touch each other exactly over the middle of the ark; ſo that the ark ſtood exactly in the middle between theſe two cherubins. But it is not in reſpect of theſe, that God is ſo often ſaid in Scripture to dwell between the cherubins, but in reſpect of the cherubins only, which were on the mercy ſeat, as hath been obſerved. For moſt of thoſe places of Scripture, wherein this phraſe is found, were written before *Solomon*'s temple was built, and till then there were no ſuch cherubins in the moſt holy place. For they were put there in the temple only, and not in the tabernacle. Theſe cherubins ſtood not with their faces outward, as they are commonly repreſented, but with their faces [n] inward, and therefore were in the poſture of figures worſhipping, and not in the poſture of figures to be worſhipped, as ſome fautors of idolatry do aſſert. The ark, while it was ambulatory with the tabernacle, was carried [o] by ſtaves on the ſhoulders of the *Levites*. Theſe ſtaves were overlaid with gold, and put thorough golden rings made for them, not on the ſides of the ark, as all hitherto have aſſerted, but on the two ends of it; which plainly appears from this, that when it was carried into the temple of *Solomon*, and fixed there in the moſt holy place, which was ordained and prepared of purpoſe for it, the Scriptures tell us, [p] that the ſtaves being drawn out reached downward towards the holy place, which was without the moſt holy place, or holy of holies. For had they been on the ſides of the ark length-way, they would on their being drawn out have reached towards the ſide wall, and not downward, unleſs you ſuppoſe the ark to have been there put ſideway with one of its ends downward, and the other upward, which no one will ſay. And it is a plain argument againſt it, that the high-prieſt, when he appeared before the ark on the great day of expiation, is ſaid to have gone up to it [q] between the ſtaves; but if theſe ſtaves had been drawn out from the ſides, there would then have been but two foot three inches between them, which would not have afforded the high-prieſt room enough, with all his veſtments on, to have paſſed up between them towards the ark for the performance of that duty. Neither could the bearers, in ſo near a poſition of the ſtaves to each other, go with any convenience in the carrying of the ark from place to place on their ſhoulders, but they muſt neceſſarily have incommoded each

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[i] 1 Kings viii. 16. [k] 1 Kings vi. 20. [l] Yoma, c. v. §. 2. [m] 1 Kings vi. 23. 2 Chron. iii. 10. [n] 2 Chron. iii. 13. [o] Exod. xxv. 13, 14, *&c. and* xxvii. 5. Numb. iv. 4, 5, 6. 1 Chron. xv. 15. [p] 1 Kings vii. 8. 2 Chron. v. 9. [q] Miſhnah in Yoma, c. v. Maimonides in Avodhath. Yom. Haccipurim.

other

other both before and behind, in going ſo near together. What became of the old ark, on the deſtruction of the temple by *Neburhadnezzar*, is a diſpute among the *Rabbins*. Had it been carried to *Babylon*, with the other veſſels of the temple, it would again have been brought back with them at the end of the captivity. But that it was not ſo, is agreed on all hands, and therefore it muſt follow that it was deſtroyed with the temple; as were alſo the altar of incenſe, the ſhew-bread table, and the golden candleſtick. For all theſe in the ſecond temple were made anew after the rebuilding of it. However, the *Jews* contend that it was hid and preſerved; by *Jeremiah*, ſay ſome, out of the ſecond book of *Maccabees*. But moſt of them will have it, that King *Joſiah* being foretold by *Huldah* the propheteſs, that the temple would ſpeedily after his death be deſtroyed, cauſed the ark to be put in a vault under ground, which *Solomon* foreſeeing this deſtruction had cauſed of purpoſe to be built for the preſerving of it. And for the proof hereof they produce the text, where *Joſiah* commands the *Levites* to put the holy ark in the houſe, *which* Solomon *the Son of* David *King of* Iſrael *did build*, interpreting it of his putting of the ark into the ſaid vault, where they ſay it hath lain hid ever ſince, even to this day, and from thence ſhall be manifeſted, and brought out again in the days of the *Meſſiah*; whereas the words import no more, than that *Manaſſeh* or *Ammon* having removed the ark from whence it ought to have ſtood, *Joſiah* commanded it again to be reſtored into its proper place. Other dotages of the *Rabbins*, concerning this ark, I forbear troubling the reader with.

II. THE ſecond thing wanting in the ſecond temple, which was in the firſt, was the *Shecinah*, or the divine preſence, manifeſted by a viſible cloud reſting over the mercy-ſeat, as hath been already ſhewn. This cloud did there firſt appear when *Moſes* conſecrated the tabernacle, and was afterwards on the conſecrating of the temple by *Solomon* tranſlated thither. And there it did continue in the ſame viſible manner till that temple was deſtroyed, but after that it never appeared more. Its conſtant place was [u] directly over the mercy-ſeat, but it reſted there only when the ark was in its proper place in the tabernacle firſt, and afterwards in the temple, and not while it was in movement from place to place, as it often was during the time of the tabernacle.

III. THE third thing wanting in the ſecond temple, which was in the firſt, was the *Urim and Thummim*. Concerning this many have written very much, but by offering their various opinions have helped rather to perplex than explain the matter. The points to be enquired into concerning it are theſe two: 1. What it was; and 2. What was the uſe of it.

1. AS to what it was, the Scripture hath no where explained it any farther, than to ſay that it was [v] ſomething which *Moſes* did put into the breaſt-plate of the high-prieſt. This breaſt-plate [w] was a piece of cloth doubled, of a ſpan ſquare, in which were ſet in ſockets of gold twelve precious ſtones bearing the names of the twelve tribes of *Iſrael* engraven on them, which being fixed to the *Ephod*, or upper veſtment of the high-prieſt's robes, was worn by him on his breaſt on all ſolemn occaſions. In this breaſt-plate the *Urim and Thummim*, ſay [x] the Scriptures, were put. They who

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[t] Vide Buxtorfium de Arca, c. 21, 22. [s] 2 Macc. ii. [u] Vide Buxtorfium, Ibid.
[x] 2 Chron. xxxv. 3. [u] Levit. xvi. 2. [v] Exod. xxviii. 30. Levit. viii. 8.
[w] Exod. xxviii. 15---30. *and* xxix. 8---21. [x] Exod. xxviii. 30. Levit. viii. 8.

hold

hold them to have been ſome corporeal things there placed beſides the ſtones, will have them to be encloſed within the folding or doubling of the breaſt-plate, which they ſay was doubled for this very purpoſe, that it might be made fit as in a purſe to contain them in it. [y] *Chriſtophorus à Caſtro*, and from him [z] Dr. *Spencer* tell us, that they were two images, which being thus ſhut up in the doubling of the breaſt-plate, did from thence give the oracular anſwer by a voice. But this is a conceit which [a] a late very learned man hath ſufficiently ſhewn to be both abſurd and impious, as ſavouring more of heatheniſm and idolatry, than of the pure inſtitution of a divine law. Some will have them to be the [b] *Tetragrammaton*, or the ineffable name of God, which being written or engraven, ſay they, in a myſterious manner, and done in two parts, and in two different ways, were the things ſignified by the *Urim and Thummim*, which *Moſes* is ſaid to have put into the breaſt-plate, and that theſe did give the oracular power to it. And [c] many of the *Rabbins* go this way. For they have all of them a great opinion of the miraculous power of this name. And therefore not being able to gainſay the evidence which there is for the miracles of *Jeſus Chriſt*, their uſual anſwer is, [*] that he ſtole this name out of the temple from the ſtone of foundation, on which it was there written, (that is, the ſtone on which the ark formerly ſtood) and keeping it hid always about him, by virtue of that did all his wondrous works. Others, who hold in general for the addition of ſome things corporeal, denoted by the names of *Urim and Thummim*, [d] think not fit to enquire what they were as to the particular, but are of opinion that they were things of a myſterious nature, hid and cloſed up in the doubling of the breaſt-plate, which *Moſes* only knew of, who did put them there, and no one elſe was to pry into; and that theſe were the things that gave the oracular power to the high-prieſt when he had the breaſt-plate on. But this looking too much like a teleſme, or a ſpell, which were of thoſe abominations that God abhorred, it will be ſafeſt to hold that the words *Urim and Thummim* meant no ſuch things, but only the divine virtue and power, given to the Breaſt-plate in its conſecration, of obtaining an oraculous anſwer from God, whenever counſel was asked of him by the high-prieſt with it on, in ſuch manner as his word did direct; and that the names of *Urim and Thummim* were given hereto only to denote the clearneſs and perfection which theſe oracular anſwers always carried with them. For *Urim* ſignifieth *light*, and *Thummim perfection*. For theſe anſwers were not, like the heathen oracles, enigmatical and ambiguous, but always clear and manifeſt, not ſuch as did ever fall ſhort of perfection, either of fulneſs in the anſwer, or certainty in the truth of it. And hence it is that the *Septuagint* tranſlate *Urim and Thummim* by the words Δήλωσιν καὶ Ἀλήθειαν, i. e. *Manifeſtation and Truth*, becauſe all theſe oracular anſwers given by *Urim and Thummim* were always clear and manifeſt, and their truth ever certain and infallible.

2. As to the uſe which was made of the *Urim and Thummim*, it was to ask counſel of God in difficult and momentous caſes relating to the whole

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[y] De Vaticinio. [z] In Diſſertatione de Urim & Thummim. [a] *Dr.* Pocock, *in his comment on* Hoſea, *c.* 3. *v.* 4. [b] Paraphraſis Jonathanis in Exod. xxviii. 30. Liber *Zohar*, fol. 105. editionis Cremonenſis. [c] R. Solomon, R. Moſes Ben Nachman, R. Becai, R. Levi Ben Gerſom, aliique. [*] Toledoth Jeſu, ex editione Wagenſelii, p. 6, 7. Raymundi Pugio Fidei, part II. c. 8. Buxtorfii Lexicon Rab. p. 2541. [d] R. David Kimchi, R. Abraham Seva, Aben Ezra, aliique.

blod ſtate

ſtate of *Iſrael*. In order whereto the high-prieſt did put on his Robes, and over them his breaſt-plate, in which the *Urim and Thummim* were, and then preſented himſelf before God to ask counſel of him. But he [e] was not to do this for any private man, but only for the King, for the preſident of the ſanhedrim, for the general of the army, or for ſome other great prince or publick governor in *Iſrael*; and not for any [f] private affairs, but for ſuch only as related to the publick intereſt of the nation, either in church or ſtate. For he appeared before God with the names of the twelve tribes of *Iſrael* upon his breaſt-plate, and therefore whatever counſel he asked, was in the name, and on the behalf, of all the tribes, and conſequently it muſt have been concerning matters which related publickly to them all. The place where he preſented himſelf before God, was [g] before the ark of the covenant, not within the veil of the holy of holies, (for thither he never entred, but once a year on the great day of expiation) but without the veil in the holy place. And there ſtanding with his robes and breaſt-plate on, and his face turned directly towards the ark, and the mercy-ſeat over it, on which the divine preſence reſted, he propos'd the matter, concerning which counſel of God was asked; and directly behind him, at ſome diſtance without the holy place, perchance at the door, (for farther no lay-man could approach) ſtood the perſon in whoſe behalf the counſel was asked, whether it were the King or any other publick officer of the nation, and there with all humility and devotion expected the anſwer that ſhould be given. But how this anſwer was given, is that which is made the great diſpute. The [h] moſt common received opinion among the *Jews* is, that it was by the ſhining and protuberating of the letters in the names of the twelve tribes, graven on the twelve ſtones in the breaſt-plate of the high-prieſt, and that in them he did read the anſwer. They [i] explain it by the example which we have in the i[ſt] chapter of the book of *Judges*. There the children of *Iſrael*, either by the preſident of the ſanhedrim, or ſome other officer entruſted with the publick intereſt, did ask counſel of God: [k] *Who ſhall go up for us againſt the* Canaanites, *firſt, to fight againſt them?* The anſwer given by the high-prieſt, who did by *Urim and Thummim* then ask counſel of God for them, was, [l] *Judah ſhall go up*. For having asked the counſel, he did immediately (ſay they) look into the breaſt-plate, and ſaw there thoſe letters ſhining above the reſt, and protuberating beyond them, which being combined into words made up the anſwer which was given. And this notion was very ancient among them. For both [m] *Joſephus* and [n] *Philo Judæus* have it, and from them ſeveral of the [o] ancient fathers of the chriſtian church, give the ſame account of this matter. But there are unanſwerable objections againſt it. For 1*ſt*, All the letters of the *Hebrew* alphabet are not to be found in theſe twelve names, four of them, that is, *Cheth*, *Teth*, *Zaddi*, and *Koph*, being wholly want-

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[e] Miſhnah in Yoma, c. 7. §. 5. *The* Talmudiſts *prove this from* Num. xxvii. 21. *See* Maimonides in Cele Hammikdaſh, c. 10. §. 12. [f] Abarbanel in Exod. xxviii. & in Deuteron. xxxiii. R. Levi Ben Gerſom, Maimonid. ibid. aliique. [g] Maimonides, ibid. Yalkut fol. 248. col. 1.

[h] Maimonides in Cele Hammikdaſh, c. 10. §. 11. Zohar in Exodum. Yalkut ex antiquo libro Siphre. R. Becai in Deuteron. xxxiii. 8. Ramban, R. Levi Ben Gerſom, Abarbanel, R. Azarias in Meor Enaim, R. Abraham Seba, aliique. [i] Abarbanel in legem, Ramban in legem.

[k] Judg. i. 1. [l] Judg. i. 2. [m] Antiq. lib. iii. c. 9. [n] De monarchiâ, lib. 2.

[o] Chryſoſtom. Hom. 37. adverſus Judæos. Auguſtin. lib. 2. Quæſtionum ſupra Exodum, aliique.

ing in them. And therefore an anſwer could not be given this way to every thing, concerning which counſel might have been asked of God. To ſolve this they have added the names of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob* to the breaſt-plate. But ſtill the letter *Teth* will be wanting, and therefore farther to botch up the matter they have added alſo theſe words, *Col elleh ſhilte Iſrael*, i. e. *All theſe are the tribes of Iſrael.* But this is not only without any foundation in Scripture, but rather contrary to it. For the deſcription of the breaſt-plate in ſcripture being very particular in the reckoning up of all its parts, ſeems plainly to exclude whatever is not there named. 2*dly*, The aſſertors of this opinion do not tell us, where the words which they would have added were placed in the breaſt-plate. They could not be written or engraven on the breaſt-plate it ſelf, for that was only a piece of cloth. They muſt therefore be engraven, either on ſome of the twelve ſtones, or elſe on others ſet there on purpoſe for it. They could not be on any one of the twelve ſtones, becauſe on them were only engraven the names of the twelve tribes of *Iſrael*. And they could not be on other ſtones, becauſe there were none other ſet there, but theſe twelve ſtones only. And in theſe two particulars the Scriptures are ſufficiently poſitive to exclude all ſuch additions. 3*dly*, They that hold this opinion are forced to have recourſe to the ſpirit of propheſy in the high-prieſt, for the right combining of thoſe ſhining and protuberating letters, that were to make up the words of which the anſwer did conſiſt, which is a difficulty of it ſelf alone ſufficient to explode this conceit. 4*thly*, There were ſome anſwers given of that length (as particularly that in the ſecond of *Samuel*, ch. v. ver. 23, 24.) that all the letters in the breaſt-plate, taking in all thoſe alſo which the aſſertors of this opinion have added, will not ſuffice for them. It would be too tedious to add all elſe, that might be ſaid to ſhew the abſurdity of this opinion. Dr. *Spencer* deſervedly ſaith of it, that it is a Talmudical camel, which no one that is in his wits can ever ſwallow.

THERE are alſo other opinions offered by others concerning this matter. But to me it appears plain from Scripture, that when the high-prieſt appeared before the veil to ask counſel of God, the anſwer was given him by an audible voice from the mercy-ſeat, which was within behind the veil. There it was that [p] *Moſes* went to ask counſel of God in all caſes, and from thence he was anſwered by an audible voice. For from thence God communed with him of all thoſe things, which he gave him in commandment unto the children of *Iſrael*. And in the ſame way did God afterwards communicate his will to the governors of *Iſrael*, as often as he was conſulted by them, only with this difference, that whereas *Moſes* through the extraordinary favour that was granted unto him, had immediate acceſs to the divine preſence, and God did there commune with him, and ſpeak to him, as it were, [q] face to face, as a man ſpeaketh to his friend, none other was admitted thither to ask counſel of him, but through [r] the mediation of the high-prieſt, who in his ſtead asked counſel for him by *Urim and Thummim*, that is, by preſenting himſelf with the breaſt-plate on over all his other robes before the veil, exactly over againſt the mercy-ſeat, where the divine preſence reſted. And when he thus preſented himſelf

[p] Exod. xxv. 22. xxx. 6. Num. vii. 89. [q] Exod. xxxiii. 11. [r] Num. xxvii. 21. Judg. xx. 28.

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in due manner, according to the preſcription of the divine law, God gave him an anſwer in the ſame manner as he did unto *Moſes*, that is, by an audible voice from the mercy ſeat. For in [r] many inſtances, which we have in Scripture of God's being conſulted this way, the anſwer in every one of them, [s] except two, is uſhered in with *the Lord ſaid*; And when the *Iſraelites* made peace with the *Gibeonites*, they are blamed in that they asked not counſel [x] *at the mouth of God*; both which phraſes ſeem plainly to expreſs a vocal anſwer, and taking them both together, I think they can ſcarce import any thing elſe. And for this reaſon it is, that the holy of holies, the place where the ark and the mercy ſeat ſtood, from whence this anſwer was given, is ſo often in Scripture called [w] *the oracle*, becauſe from thence the divine oracles of God were uttered forth to thoſe that asked counſel of him.

THIS, I take it to be plain, was the manner of conſulting God by *Urim* and *Thummim* in the tabernacle, but how it was done in the camp raiſeth another queſtion. For it appeareth by Scripture, that either the high-prieſt, or another deputed in his ſtead, always went with the armies of *Iſrael* to the wars, and carried with him the *Ephod*, and breaſt-plate, therewith to ask counſel of God by *Urim* and *Thummim*, in all difficult emergencies that might happen. Thus [y] *Phineas* went to the wars againſt the *Midianites, with the holy inſtruments*, that is, ſay the *Jewiſh* commentators, [y] with the ephod and the breaſt-plate, which were, ſay they, put into an ark or coffer made on purpoſe for it, and carried by *Levites* on their ſhoulders, as the other ark was. And of this ark they underſtand that place of Scripture, where *Saul* ſaith to *Ahiah* the high-prieſt, [z] *Bring hither the ark of God*. For this could not be the ark of the covenant. For that was then at *Kirjath-Jearim*, and never ought to have been removed from its place in the tabernacle to be carried to the wars, or any where elſe from its proper ſtation, and never was ſo but once againſt the *Philiſtins*, and then God gave the armies of *Iſrael*, and alſo the ark it ſelf into the hands of the enemy, for the puniſhment hereof. It muſt therefore have been no other ark which *Saul* called to *Ahiah* for, than that ark or coffer, in which the ephod and breaſt-plate were carried; and the end for which he called for it ſhews the thing. For it was to ask counſel of God, for which the ephod and breaſt-plate ſerved. So that the ſaying of *Saul* to *Ahiah (Bring hither the Ark)* importeth no more, than the ſaying of *David* afterwards to *Abiathar* in the like caſe, [a] *Bring hither the Ephod*. For this ark was the coffer in which the *ephod* was kept, and with which *Abiathar* fled to *David*, when *Saul* deſtroyed his father's houſe. And of the ſame ark they underſtand the ſaying of *Uriah* the *Hittite* unto *David*, when he excuſed his not going to his houſe, and lying with his wife. [b] *The ark, and* Iſrael, *and* Judah *abide in tents, and my lord* Joab, *and the ſervants of my lord are encamped in the open fields; ſhall I then go into my houſe to eat, and to drink, and to lie with my wife?* For if this be underſtood of

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[r] Judg. i. 1, 2. xx. 18, 23, 28. 1 Sam. x. 22. xxiii. 2, 4, 11, 12. 2 Sam. ii. 1. *and* v. 19, 23.
[s] 1 Sam. xxx. 7, 8. 2 Sam. xxi. 1. [t] Joſh. ix. 14. [w] Pſal. xxviii. 2. 1 Kings vi. 5, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 31. *and* vii. 49. *and* viii. 6, 8. 2 Chron. iii. 16. iv. 20. *and* v. 7, 9.
[x] Num. xxxi. 6. [y] Paraphraſis Chaldaica Jonathanis Ben Uzziel Textum interpretatur his verbis. *Et miſit eos Moſes, & Phineaſum filium Eleazaris Sacerdotem ad bellum, & Urim & Thummim Sanctitatis ad interrogandum per ea.* [z] 1 Sam. xiv. 18. [a] 1 Sam. xxiii. 9.
[b] 2 Sam. xi. 11.

the ark of the covenant, and the tent or tabernacle in which it was kept, what he ſaid would have been a reaſon for him never to have lain with his wife. For that was always kept in ſuch a tent or tabernacle, till the temple of *Solomon* was built. It is moſt likely therefore, that the ark which he ſpeaks of, was the ark or coffer in which the ephod and breaſt-plate were put, which the prieſt carried with him, who was ſent to the war.

THE prieſt that was ſent on this occaſion, that he might be fully qualifyed to act in the high-prieſt's ſtead, whenever there ſhould be occaſion for him to ask counſel of God by *Urim* and *Thummim*, was [c] conſecrated to the office by the holy anointing oil, in the ſame manner as the high-prieſt was, and therefore he was called, *The anointed for the wars*. But how he had the anſwer is the difficulty. For there was no mercy ſeat in the camp to appear before, or from whence to receive the oracle, as there was in the tabernacle. And yet that ſuch oracles were given in the camp is certain from ſeveral Inſtances which we have of it in Scripture. For *David* did by the *ephod* and breaſt-plate only ask counſel of God [d] three ſeveral times in the caſe of *Keilah*, and * twice at *Ziglag*, once on the purſuit of thoſe who had burnt that city, and again on his going from thence for *Hebron*, there to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Judah* on the death of *Saul*, and on every one of theſe times he had an anſwer given him, tho' it is certain the ark of the covenant was not then preſent with him. It is moſt likely, ſince God allowed that counſel ſhould be thus asked of him in the camp without the ark, as well as in the tabernacle where the ark was, that the anſwer was given in the ſame manner by an audible voice. It ſeems moſt probable, that *the prieſt anointed for the wars*, had a tent in the camp on purpoſe there erected for this uſe, in which a part was ſeparated by a veil, in the ſame manner as the holy of holies was in the tabernacle, and that when he asked counſel of God in the camp, he appeared there before that veil in the ſame manner, as the high-prieſt on the like occaſion did before that in the tabernacle, and that the anſwer was given from behind it, tho' no ark or mercy ſeat was there. And the words of *Uriah* above recited plainly refer us to ſuch a tent. And it cannot be agreeable to a religion of ſo much ceremony and ſolemnity, to ſuppoſe them to be without it for ſo ſacred an Office.

ALTHO' this way of asking counſel of God was frequently uſed during the tabernacle, and no doubt continued afterward till the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the *Chaldeans*, yet we have no inſtance of it in ſcripture during the whole time of the firſt temple; and it is moſt certain, that it was wholly wanting in the ſecond temple. For [e] both *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* tell us as much. And hence is that ſaying among the *Jews*, That the holy ſpirit ſpake to the children of *Iſrael* during the tabernacle by *Urim* and *Thummim*, and under the firſt temple by the prophets, and under the ſecond by † *Bath-Kol*.

THEY who would have the *Urim* and *Thummim* abſolutely to have ceaſed under the firſt temple, give two reaſons for it. 1*ſt*, [f] That it was an appendent of the theocracy. For as long as God was the immediate go-

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[c] Maimonides in Cele Hammikdaſh, c. 1. §. 7. & in Melachim, c. 7. [d] 1 Sam. xxiii.
* 1 Sam. xxx. 8. 2 Sam. ii. 1. [e] Ezra ii. 63. Nehem vii. 65. † *By this the Jews mean a voice from the clouds, ſuch as was heard from thence concerning our Saviour.* Matth. iii. 7. xvii. 5. 2 Pet. i. 17. [f] Spencerus de Urim & Thummim. c. 2. §. 2.

vernor

vernor of *Iſrael*, it was neceſſary, ſay they, that a method ſhould be eſtabliſhed, whereby he might at all times be applyed to, and conſulted with, by his people; and for this reaſon, they tell us the oracle by *Urim* and *Thummim* was appointed. But when the theocracy ceaſed, (which they ſay it did, when *Solomon* the firſt hereditary King ſate upon the throne) this oracle ceaſed with it. And, *2dly*, they ſay, That the *Urim* and *Thummim* was eſtabliſhed to ask counſel only about that, which belonged to the common intereſt of all *Iſrael*, and therefore whenever the high-prieſt asked counſel of God this way, it was with the names of all the tribes of *Iſrael* upon his breaſt to denote, that what was asked, was for the common intereſt of all of them. But that common intereſt ceaſing upon the diviſion of the kingdom, this way of asking counſel of God muſt in the nature of the thing have then ceaſed alſo, as being no longer practicable. But how far theſe arguments may conclude, is left to every one to conſider.

IV. THE fourth thing wanting in the ſecond temple, which was in the firſt, was the holy fire, which came down from heaven upon the altar. [g] It deſcended firſt upon the altar in the tabernacle at the conſecrating of *Aaron*, and his ſons, to the prieſthood, and afterwards it deſcended anew [h] upon the altar in the temple of *Solomon*, at the conſecrating of that temple. And there it was conſtantly fed and maintained by the prieſts day and night, without ſuffering it ever to go out in the ſame manner, as it had been before in the tabernacle, and with this all the offerings were offered that were made by fire. And for uſing other fire were *Nadab* and *Abihu* conſumed by fire from the Lord. This, ſay [i] ſome of the *Jewiſh* writers, was extinguiſhed in the days of *Manaſſeh*. But the more general opinion among them is, that it continued till the deſtruction of the temple by the *Chaldeans*. After that it was never more reſtored, but inſtead of it they had only common fire in the ſecond temple. For what is ſaid of its being [k] hid in a pit by *Jeremiah*, and again brought thence, and revived upon the altar in the ſecond temple, is a fable that deſerves no regard.

V. THE fifth thing wanting in the ſecond temple, which was in the firſt, was the ſpirit of propheſy; but this was not wholly wanting there. For the prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah* and *Malachi*, lived after the ſecond temple was built, and propheſyed under it. But on their death, which (ſay the *Rabbins)* hapned all in one year, the prophetick ſpirit wholly ceaſed from among them.

BESIDES theſe five things there was wanting alſo a ſixth, that is, the holy anointing oil, [l] which was made by *Moſes* for the anointing and conſecrating of the King, the high-prieſt, and all the ſacred veſſels made uſe of in the houſe of God. And for this uſe it was commanded to be kept by the children of *Iſrael* throughout their generations. And therefore it was laid up before the Lord in the moſt holy place. And as the original copy of the law was placed there on the right ſide of the ark of the covenant, ſo perchance the veſſel containing this oil was placed on the other ſide of it, and there kept till the firſt temple being deſtroyed that alſo was deſtroyed with it. Every [m] King was not anointed, but only the firſt of the family. For he being anointed for himſelf, and all the ſucceſſors of

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[g] Lev. ix. 24. [h] 2 Chron. vii. 1. [i] Talmud in Zebachim, cap. 6. [k] 2 Mac. j. 18, 19. [l] Exod. xxx. 22---33. [m] Maimonides in Cele Hammikdaſh, c. 1. §. 11.

his

his race, they needed no other anointing, only if there aroſe any difficulty or diſpute about the ſucceſſion, then he that obtained it though of the ſame family, was anointed anew to put an end to the controverſy, and after that no one was to queſtion the title; and this was the caſe of *Solomon*, *Joaſh*, and *Jehoahaz*. But [n] every high-prieſt was anointed at his conſecration, or firſt admiſſion to the office, and ſo alſo was [o] the prieſt, that went in his ſtead to the wars. The veſſels and utenſils that were anointed were the [p] ark of the covenant, the altar of incenſe, the ſhew-bread table, the golden candleſtick, the altar of burnt-offerings, the laver, and all other the veſſels and utenſils belonging to them. And as by this [q] anointing they were firſt conſecrated at the erecting of the tabernacle by *Moſes*, ſo in caſe any of them were afterwards decayed, deſtroyed, or loſt, they could, as long as this anointing oil remained, be again reſtored, by making and conſecrating new ones in their place of the ſame virtue and holineſs with the former. But this being wanting in the ſecond temple, the want hereof cauſed a want of ſanctity in all things elſe belonging to it. For although on the return of the *Jews* from the *Babyloniſh* captivity, and the rebuilding of their temple, they did anew make an ark, an altar of incenſe, a ſhew-bread table, a golden candleſtick, an altar of burnt-offerings, and a laver, with the other veſſels and utenſils belonging to them, and did put them all in their former places, and applied them to their former uſes, yet through want of the holy anointing oil to conſecrate them, theſe all wanted that holineſs under the ſecond temple, which they had under the firſt. And their high-prieſt, who officiated in that temple, was no otherwiſe conſecrated than [r] by the putting on of his veſtments. So that the want of this one thing only in the ſecond temple, cauſed a great want and defect in all things elſe that were therein, every thing in it falling ſhort of its former holineſs by reaſon hereof. And therefore this anointing oil might well under the ſecond temple have been reckoned among the principal things that were wanting in it. But the *Jews* ſuperſtitiouſly confine themſelves to the number of five particulars in this reckoning. For in the 8th verſe of the 1st chapter of *Haggai*, where God ſaith of the ſecond temple, *I will take pleaſure in it, and will be glorified*, the *Hebrew* word *Aicabedha*, i. e. *I will be glorified*, being written without the letter *He* at the end of it, which it ought to have been written with, they make a myſtery of it, as [s] if this letter (which is the numerical letter for five) were there left out for this purpoſe, that the want of it might denote the five things of the firſt temple, that were wanting in the ſecond, and therefore will not add a ſixth. But however there are ſome among them, who to make room for it contract the *Shecinah* and the *ſpirit of propheſy* under one and the ſame head, and inſtead of them two (which are two of the particulars above-mentioned) put *the holy ſpirit*, as reckoning them no other than different manifeſtations of the ſame holy ſpirit of God, the one in a place, and the other in a perſon, and thereby without altering the number of five in the reckoning up of theſe defects, have given the holy anointing oil a place among them, and therefore name them [t] as followeth. 1. The ark of the covenant with the mercy-ſeat. 2. The holy fire

[n] Exod. xxx. 30. [o] Maimonides in Cele Hammikdaſh, c. 1. §. 7. [p] Exod. xxx. 26---29.
[q] Exod. xi. [r] Maimonides in Cele Hammikdaſh, c. 1. §. 8. [s] Talmud Hieroſol. in Taanith. c. 2.
[t] Talmud Hieroſol. in Taanith.

3. The

3. The *Urim and Thummim*. 4. The holy anointing Oil. And 5. The holy ſpirit. And theſe, as well as many other particulars of the glory of the firſt temple, being wanting in the ſecond, there was reaſon enough for thoſe to weep at the rebuilding of the ſecond temple, who remembred the firſt. But all theſe wants and defects were abundantly repaired in the ſecond temple, [t] when the deſire of all nations, the Lord, whom they ſought, came to this his temple, and *Chriſt* our Saviour, who was the trueſt *Shecinah* of the divine majeſty, honoured it with his preſence, and in this reſpect the glory of the latter houſe did far exceed the glory of the former houſe. And herein the propheſies of the prophet *Haggai*, [v] which foretold it ſhould be ſo, had a very full and thorough completion.

THE *Samaritans* hearing that the *Jews* had begun to rebuild the temple of *Jeruſalem*, [u] came thither, and expreſſing a great deſire of being admitted to worſhip God at the ſame temple, in joint communion with them, offered to join with them in the building of it, telling them, that ever ſince the days of *Eſarhaddon* King of *Aſſyria* they had worſhipped the ſame God that they did. But *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhua*, and the reſt of the elders of *Iſrael*, made anſwer to them, That they not being of the ſeed of *Iſrael* had nothing to do to build a temple to their God with them: That *Cyrus*'s commiſſion being only to thoſe of the houſe of *Iſrael*, they would keep themſelves exactly to that, and according to the tenor of it build the houſe to the Lord their God themſelves, without admitting any other with them into the work. The reaſon of this anſwer was, they ſaw they intended not ſincerely what they ſaid, but came with an inſidious deſign to get an opportunity, by being admitted among them, of doing them miſchief. And beſides, they were not truly of their religion. For altho' from the time that they had been infeſted with lions in the days of *Eſarhaddon*, they had worſhipped the God of *Iſrael*, yet it was only [w] in conjunction with their other Gods whom they worſhipped before, and therefore notwithſtanding their worſhip of the true God, ſince they worſhipped falſe gods too at the ſame time, they were in this reſpect idolaters; and this was reaſon enough for the true worſhippers of God to have no communion with them. At which the *Samaritans* being much incenſed, they did all they could to hinder the work, and altho' they could not alter *Cyrus*'s decree, yet [x] they prevailed by bribes and under-hand dealings with his miniſters, and other officers concerned herein, to put obſtructions to the execution of it, ſo that for ſeveral years the building went but very ſlowly on; which the *Jews* reſenting, according as it deſerved, this became the beginning of that bitter rancour which hath ever ſince been between them and the *Samaritans*; which being improved by other cauſes, grew at length to that height, that nothing became more odious to a *Jew* than a *Samaritan*, of which we have ſeveral inſtances in the goſpels, and ſo it ſtill continues. For even to this day a *Cuthean* (that is, a *Samaritan*) in their language, is the moſt odious name among them, and that which in the height of their anger by way of infamy and reproach they beſtow on thoſe they moſt hate and abominate. And by this they commonly call us chriſtians, when they would expreſs the bittereſt of their hatred againſt us.

An. 534. Cyrus 3.

BY theſe under-hand and ſubdolous dealings the work of the temple

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[t] Malachi iii. 1. Haggai ii. 7. [v] Haggai ii. 9. [u] Ezra iv. [w] 2 Kings xvii. 3.
[x] Ezra iv. 5. Joſephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 2.

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being much retarded, and *Cyrus*'s decree in many particulars defeated of its effect, this ſeems to have been the cauſe, that in the third year of *Cyrus*, in the firſt month of that year, [y] *Daniel* did give himſelf up to mourning and faſting for three weeks together. After this, on the twenty fourth day of that month, he ſaw the viſion concerning the ſucceſſion of the Kings of *Perſia*, the empire of the *Macedonians*, and the conqueſts of the *Romans*, of which the three laſt chapters of his propheſies contain an account. And by what is written in the concluſion of the laſt of them, he ſeems to have died ſoon after, and his great age makes it not likely that he could have ſurvived much longer. For the third of *Cyrus* being the ſeventy third year of his captivity, if he were eighteen years old at his carrying to *Babylon*, (as I have ſhewn before, is the leaſt that can be ſuppoſed) he muſt have been in the ninety firſt year of his age at this time, which was a length of years given to few in thoſe days. He was a very extraordinary perſon both in wiſdom and piety, and was favoured of God and honoured of men, beyond any that had lived in his time. His propheſies concerning the coming of the *Meſſiah*, and other great events of after-times, are the cleareſt and the fulleſt of all that we have in the holy Scriptures, inſomuch that [z] *Porphyry*, in his objections againſt them, ſaith, they muſt have been written after the facts were done. For it ſeems they rather appeared to him to be a narration of matters afore tranſacted, than a prediction of things to come, ſo great an agreement was there between the facts when accompliſhed, and the propheſies which foretold them. But notwithſtanding all this, * the *Jews* do not reckon him to be a prophet, and therefore place his propheſies only among the *Hagiographa*, and they ſerve the *Pſalms* of *David* after the ſame rate. The † reaſon which they give for it, in reſpect of both, is, that they lived not the prophetic manner of life, but the courtly, *David* in his own palace, as King of *Iſrael*, and *Daniel* in the palace of the King of *Babylon*, as one of his chief counſellors and miniſters in the government of that empire. And in reſpect of *Daniel*, they farther add, ‡ That altho' he had divine revelations delivered unto him, yet it was not in the prophetic way, but by dreams and viſions of the night, which they reckon to be the moſt imperfect manner of revelation, and below the prophetic. But [a] *Joſephus*, who was one of the ancienteſt writers of that nation, reckons him among the greateſt of the prophets, and ſays farther of him, that he had familiar converſe with God, and did not only foretel future events, as other prophets did, but alſo determined the time when they ſhould come to paſs. And that whereas other prophets only foretold evil things, and thereby drew on them the ill will both of princes and people, *Daniel* was a prophet of good things to come, and by the good report which his predictions carried with them on this account, reconciled to himſelf the good will of all men. And the event of ſuch of them, as were accompliſhed, procured to the reſt a thorough belief of their truth, and a general opinion that they came from God. But what makes moſt for this point with us, againſt all that contra-

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[y] Daniel x. [z] Hieronymus in Procemio ad Comment. in Danielem. * Hieronymi Præfatio in Danielem. Maimonides in Moreh Nevochim, Part. II. c. 45. † Vide Grotium in præfatione ad Comment. in Eſaiam, & Huetii demonſtrationem Evangelicam, Prop. 4. c. 14. §. De prophetiâ Danielis. ‡ Maimonides, ibid. David Kimchi in præfatione ad Comment. in Pſalmos.
[a] Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12.

dict

dict it, our Saviour *Chriſt* acknowledgeth *Daniel* to be a prophet. For [b] he ſo ſtyles him in the goſpel, and this is a ſufficient deciſion of this matter.

BUT *Daniel's* wiſdom reached not only to things divine and political, but alſo to arts and ſciences, and particularly to that of architecture. And *Joſephus* [c] tells us of a famous edifice built by him at *Suſa*, in the manner of a caſtle (which he ſaith was remaining to his time) and finiſhed with ſuch wonderful art, that it then ſeemed as freſh and beautiful as if it had been newly built. Within this edifice, he ſaith, was the place where the *Perſian* and *Parthian* Kings uſed to be buried, and that for the ſake of the founder the keeping of it was committed to one of the *Jewiſh* nation even to his time. The copies of *Joſephus* that are now extant, do indeed place this building in *Ecbatana* in *Media*, but [d] St. *Jerom*, who gives us the ſame account of it word for word out of *Joſephus*, and profeſſeth ſo to do, placeth it in *Suſa* in *Perſia*, which makes it plain, that the copy of *Joſephus*, which he made uſe of, had it ſo, and it is moſt likely to have been the true reading. For *Suſa* being within the *Babyloniſh* empire, the Scripture tells us that *Daniel* had ſometimes his reſidence [e] there, and the common tradition of thoſe parts hath been for many ages paſt, That *Daniel* [f] died in that city which is now called *Tuſter*, and there they ſhew his monument even to this day. And it is to be obſerved, that *Joſephus* calls this building *Baris*, which is the ſame name by which *Daniel* himſelf calls the caſtle or palace at *Shuſhan* or *Suſa*. For what we tranſlate [g] *at* Shuſhan *in the palace*, is in the original *Beſhuſhan Habirah*, where no doubt the *Birah* of *Daniel* is the ſame with the *Baris* of *Joſephus*, and both ſignify this palace or caſtle there built by *Daniel*, while he was governor of that province. For [h] *there he did the King's buſineſs*, i. e. was governor for the King of *Babylon*.

PART of the book of *Daniel* is originally written in the *Chaldee* language, that is, from the 4th verſe of the iid chapter to the end of the viith chapter. For there the holy prophet treating of *Babyloniſh* affairs, he wrote of them in the *Chaldee* or *Babyloniſh* language. All the reſt is in *Hebrew*. The [i] *Greek* tranſlation of this book, uſed by the *Greek* churches through all the eaſtern countries, was that which was tranſlated by *Theodotion*. In the vulgar *Latin* edition of the Bible, there is added in the iiid chapter after the 23d verſe, between that and the 24th verſe, the ſong of the three children; and at the end of the book, the hiſtory of *Suſanna*, and of *Bel and the Dragon*; and the former is made the xiiith, and the other the xivth chapter of the book in that edition. But theſe additions [k] were never received into the canon of holy writ by the *Jewiſh* church, neither are they extant either in the *Hebrew* or the *Chaldee* language, nor is there any evidence that they ever were ſo. That there are hebraiſms in them can prove no more, than that they were written by an *Hebrew* in the *Greek* tongue, who transferred the idioms of his own tongue into that which he wrote in, as is uſual in this caſe. And that they were thus originally written in the *Greek* tongue, by ſome helleniſtical *Jew*, without having any higher fountain from whence they are derived, appears from this, That in the hiſto-

[b] Matth. xxiv. 15. [c] Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12. [d] Comment in Dan. c. viii. 2.
[e] *For* Suſa *is the ſame which the Scriptures call* Shuſhan. [f] Benjaminis Itinerarium.
[g] Dan. viii. 2. [h] Dan. viii. 27. [i] Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Danielem & in Procemio ad Comment. in eundem. [k] Hieronymus, ibid.

ry of *Suſanna*, *Daniel* in his replies to the elders alludes to the *Greek* names of the trees, under which they ſaid the adultery, which they charged *Suſanna* with, was committed, which alluſions cannot hold good in any other language. However, the church of *Rome* allows them to be of the ſame authority with the reſt of the book of *Daniel*, and by their decree [n] at *Trent* have given them an equal place with it among the canonical Scriptures. But the ancients never did ſo. *Africanus*, *Euſebius*, and *Apollinarius*, have rejected thoſe pieces, not only as being uncanonical, but alſo as fabulous; and [o] *Jerom* gives the hiſtory of *Bel* and the *Dragon* no better title, than that [p] of the fables of *Bel* and the *Dragon*. And others, who have been content to admit them for inſtruction of manners, have yet rejected them from being parts of the canonical Scripture, whom the proteſtant churches following herein do give them a place in their Bibles among the *Apocryphal* writings, but allow them not to be canonical.

IN the death of *Daniel* the *Jews* having loſt a powerful advocate in the *Perſian* Court, this gave their enemies the greater advantage of ſucceeding in their deſigns againſt them. But altho' they prevailed by under-hand dealings to divert thoſe encouragements which *Cyrus* had ordered for the carrying on of the work, yet they could not put an open ſtop to it. So that as far as the *Jews* of themſelves were able they ſtill carried on the work, in which they were much helped by [q] the *Tyrians*, and the *Zidonians*, not only in furniſhing them with maſons, and other workmen and artificers, but chiefly in bringing the cedars which *Cyrus* had given them out of the foreſt of mount *Libanus*, from thence to *Joppa* by ſea, from which place they were carried by land to *Jeruſalem*. For the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* being wholly given to traffic and navigation, did very little addict themſelves to the planting of oliveyards or vineyards, or the tillage of the ground, neither had they indeed any territory for either. For their gain being very great by ſea, they did not ſet themſelves to make any enlargements by land, but were in a manner pent up within the narrow precincts of the cities in which they dwelt, and therefore having very little of corn, wine, or oil of their own, they depended moſtly on their neighbours for theſe proviſions; from whom they had them either for their money, or by way of barter and exchange for other commodities which they ſupplied them with; and they were moſtly furniſhed this way [r] out of the *Jews* countrey, and therefore they readily aſſiſted them with their labour, and ſhipping, to be ſupplied with theſe neceſſaries in exchange for it. So that as it was by their help that *Solomon* built the firſt temple, ſo alſo was it by their help that the *Jews* were enabled to build the ſecond.

An. 530. Cyrus 7. IN the ſeventh year after the reſtoration of the *Jews* [s] died *Cyrus* their great benefactor, after he had reigned from his firſt taking on him the command of the *Perſian* and *Median* armies [t] thirty years; from his taking of *Babylon* [u] nine years; and from his being ſole monarch of the eaſt

[l] *In the examination of the elders, when one of them ſaid that he ſaw the adultery committed* ὑπὸ χῖνον, i. e. *under a maſtick tree*, Daniel *anſwers in alluſion to* χῖνον, The angel of God hath received ſentence of God χίσαι σε μέσον, i. e. to cut thee in two. *And when the other elder ſaid it was* ὑπὸ πεῖνον, i. e. *under an holm-tree*, Daniel *anſwers in alluſion to the word* πεῖνον, The angel of the Lord waiteth with the ſword πεῖσαι σε μέσον, i. e. *to cut thee in two.* Vide Hieron. ibid.

[n] Seſſione 4ta. [o] Hieronymus, ibid. [p] Peter Comeſtor *doth alſo ſo call them, as doth likewiſe* Erafmus in Schol. ſuper Præf. Hieronymi in Danielem. [q] Ezra iii. 7.

[r] Acts xii. 20. [s] Cyropædia, lib. 8. [t] Cicero de Divinatione, lib. 1. [u] Can. Ptolemæi.

after

after the death of *Cyaxares* or *Darius* the *Median* his uncle [v] ſeven years, being at the time of his death [v] ſeventy years old. There are different accounts of the manner of his death. [w] *Herodotus*, [x] *Diodorus Siculus*, and [y] *Juſtin* tell us, that having invaded the *Scythians* he was there cut off with all his army, conſiſting of two hundred thouſand men. But [z] *Xenophon* makes him die in his bed as fortunately as he lived, amidſt his friends, and in his own countrey, and this is by much the more probable account of the two. For it is by no means likely, that ſo wiſe a man as *Cyrus* was, and ſo advanced in years as he then was, ſhould engage in ſo raſh an undertaking, as that *Scythian* expedition is deſcribed to be by thoſe who tell us of it. Neither can it be conceived, how after ſuch a blow his new erected empire could have been upheld, eſpecially in the hands of ſuch a ſucceſſor as *Cambyſes* was, or how it could be poſſible, that he ſhould ſo ſoon after it be in a condition to wage ſuch a war, as he did with the *Egyptians*, and make ſuch an abſolute conqueſt of that countrey, as he did. That ſuch a wild-headed man could ſettle himſelf ſo eaſily in his father's new erected empire, and hold it in ſuch quiet at home, and ſo ſoon after his coming to it, enlarge it with ſuch conqueſts abroad, could certainly be owing to nothing elſe, but that it was founded in the higheſt wiſdom, and left to him in the higheſt tranquillity. Beſides all authors agree, that *Cyrus* [a] was buried at *Paſargada* in *Perſia*, in which countrey *Xenophon* ſaith he died, and his monument there continued to the time of *Alexander*. But if he had been ſlain in *Scythia*, and his body there mangled, by way of indignity to it, in ſuch a manner as *Herodotus* and *Juſtin* do relate, how can we ſuppoſe it could ever have been brought thence out of the hands of thoſe enraged Barbarians to be buried at *Paſargada*.

THIS *Cambyſes*, who ſucceeded his father *Cyrus*, is [b] in Scripture called *Ahaſuerus*. As ſoon as he was ſettled in the throne, the enemies of the *Jews* knowing him to be of a temper fit to be worked upon for the doing of miſchief, inſtead of oppoſing the *Jews* in their building of the temple by ſecret machinations, and underhand dealings with the miniſters of the court, and other ſubordinate officers, as they had hitherto done, they now openly addreſſed to the King himſelf to put a ſtop to the work. But it ſeems he had ſo much reſpect for the memory of his father that he could not be induced publickly to revoke his decree, however he otherwiſe defeated in a great meaſure the deſign of it by ſeveral diſcouragements which he put upon it, ſo that the work went but heavily on all his reign. *An.* 529. Cambyſes 1.

CAMBYSES had not long been King, ere [c] he reſolved upon a war with the *Egyptians*, by reaſon of ſome offence taken againſt *Amaſis* their King. *Herodotus* tells us, it was becauſe *Amaſis*, when he deſired of him one of his daughters to wife, ſent him a daughter of *Apries* inſtead of one of his own. But this could not be true, becauſe *Apries* having been dead above forty years before, no daughter of his could be young enough at that time to be acceptable to *Cambyſes*. They ſpeak with more probability, [d] who *An.* 528. Cambyſes 2.

[v] Cyropædia, lib. 8.
[z] Cyropæd. lib. 8. Arrianus, Aliique.
[w] Lib. 1.
[x] Lib. 2. p. 90.
[y] Lib. 1. c. viii.
[a] Strabo, lib. 15. p. 730. Plutarchus in vitâ Alexandri, Q. Curtius, Athenæus, lib. 13. p. 560.
[b] Ezra iv. 6.
[c] Herodotus, lib. 2. Juſtin, lib. 1. c. 9. Athenæus, ibid. in initio.
[d] Polyænus Stratagem. lib. 8. Et Ægyptii apud Herodotum, lib. 3.

ſay, it was *Cyrus*, and not *Cambyſes*, to whom this daughter of *Apries* was ſent. Her name they ſay was *Nitetis*, and for ſome time ſhe concealed her true parentage, and was content to go for the daughter of *Amaſis*. But at length, having had ſeveral children by *Cyrus*, and fully ſecured her ſelf in his favour and affection, ſhe diſcovered to him the whole truth of the matter, and excited him all ſhe could, to revenge upon *Amaſis* her father's wrong; which he intended to have done, as ſoon as his other affairs would have permitted, but dying before he could execute his intentions, *Cambyſes* (who they ſay was her ſon) undertook the quarrel on her account, and made this war upon *Egypt* for no other reaſon, than to revenge upon *Amaſis* the caſe of *Apries*. But it is moſt likely, that whereas *Amaſis* had ſubjected himſelf to *Cyrus*, and become his tributary, he did on his death withdraw his obedience from his ſucceſſor, and that this was the true cauſe of the war. For [d] the carrying on whereof *Cambyſes* made great preparations both by ſea and land. For the ſea ſervice he engaged the *Cypriots* and the *Phœnicians* to help him with their fleets. And for the war by land, beſides his other forces, he had a great number of *Greeks*, *Ionians*, and *Æolians*, in his army, who were the main ſtrength of it. But the greateſt help he had in this war was from *Phanes*, an *Halicarnaſſean*, who being a commander of ſome of the *Grecian* auxiliaries, that were in the ſervice of *Amaſis*, on ſome diſguſt given him revolted to *Cambyſes*, and made thoſe diſcoveries to him, of the nature of the countrey, the ſtrength of the enemy, and the then ſtate of their affairs, as chiefly conduced to the making of that expedition ſucceſsful. And it was by his advice, that *Cambyſes* contracted with the *Arabian* King, that lay next the borders of *Paleſtine* and *Egypt*, to ſupply him with water, while he paſſed the deſerts that lay between theſe two countries, where accordingly it was brought him on camel's backs, without which he could never have marched his army that way. Being therefore thus prepared, he invaded *Egypt* in the fourth year of his reign. On his arrival on the borders he found *Amaſis* was newly dead, and that *Pſammenitus* his ſon, being made King in his ſtead, was drawing together a great army to oppoſe him. To make his paſſage open into the countrey, it was neceſſary for him to take *Peluſium*, which was as the key of *Egypt* on that ſide. But that being a ſtrong place it was like to give him much trouble. For the preventing hereof, by the counſel it's ſuppoſed of *Phanes*, he had recourſe to this ſtratagem. [f] Finding that the garriſon were all *Egyptians*, in an aſſault which he made upon the city, he placed a great number of cats, dogs, ſheep, and other of thoſe animals, which the *Egyptians* reckon'd ſacred, in the front of the army; and therefore the ſoldiers not daring to throw a dart, or ſhoot an arrow that way, for fear of killing ſome of thoſe animals, *Cambyſes* made himſelf maſter of the place without any oppoſition. For theſe being the gods which the *Egyptians* then adored, [g] it was reckoned the higheſt impiety to kill any of them; and when they died of themſelves, they buried them with the greateſt ſolemnity. By the time that *Cambyſes* had taken this place, [h] *Pſammenitus* came up with his army to oppoſe his farther progreſs, whereon enſued a bloody battel between them. At the beginning

An. 526. Cambyſes 4.

[d] Herodotus, lib. 3. [f] Polyænus, lib. 7. [g] Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. p. 52. [h] Herodotus, lib. 3.

of

of it the *Greeks*, that were in *Pſammenitus*'s army, to be revenged on *Phanes* for his revolt to the enemy, brought forth his children, (whom he was forced to leave behind him on his flight) and ſlew them in the front of the battel in the ſight of both armies, and drunk their blood. But this ſerved them not in any ſtead for the victory. For the *Perſians* being exaſperated by a ſpectacle of ſo horrid a nature, fell on with ſuch fury and rage to revenge it, that they ſoon vanquiſhed and overthrew the whole *Egyptian* army, and cut the greateſt part of them in pieces. The remainder fled to *Memphis*, where *Cambyſes* purſuing them, on his arrival thither ſent into the city by the *Nile*, on which it ſtood, a ſhip of *Mitylene*, with an herald to ſummon them to a ſurrender, but the people riſing on him, in their rage ſlew the herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. But *Cambyſes*, after a ſhort ſiege, having taken the place, ſufficiently revenged their death, cauſing ten *Egyptians* of the firſt rank to be publickly executed for every one of thoſe that were thus ſlain, and the eldeſt ſon of *Pſammenitus* was one of the number. As to *Pſammenitus* himſelf, *Cambyſes* was inclined to have dealt kindly with him. For at firſt he gave him his life, and allowed him wherewith honourably to live, but he not being contented herewith endeavoured to raiſe new troubles for the recovery of his crown, whereon he was forced to drink bulls blood, and ſo ended his life. His reign was only ſix months. For ſo much time only intervened from the death of his father to the taking of *Memphis*, when he fell into the hands of the enemy, and all his power ceaſed. For hereon all *Egypt* ſubmitted to *Cambyſes*. This hapned in the fifth year of his reign, and he reigned three years after. The *Libyans*, *Cyrenians*, and *Barceans*, hearing of this ſucceſs ſent embaſſadors with preſents to make their ſubmiſſion to him. From *Memphis* he went to *Sais*, where the *Egyptian* Kings for ſeveral deſcents paſt had kept their uſual reſidence, and there entering into the palace, cauſed the body of *Amaſis* to be dug up out of his grave, and after all manner of indignities had been offered thereto in his preſence, he ordered it to be caſt into the fire and burnt. Which rage againſt the carkaſe, ſheweth the anger which he had againſt the man, and whatſoever it was that provoked it, this ſeems to be the cauſe that brought him into *Egypt*.

An. 525. Cambyſes 5.

The next year, which was the ſixth of his reign, he deſigned three expeditions, the firſt againſt the *Carthaginians*, the ſecond againſt the *Hammonians*, and the third againſt the *Ethiopians*. But the *Phœnicians* refuſing to aſſiſt him againſt the *Carthaginians*, who were deſcended from them, (they being a colony of the *Tyrians*) and not being able to carry on that war without them, he was forced to drop this project. But his heart being intent upon the other two, he ſent embaſſadors into *Ethiopia*, who under that name were to ſerve him as ſpies, to learn and bring him an account of the ſtate and ſtrength of the countrey. But the *Ethiopians* being fully appriſed of the end of their coming, treated them with great contempt. And the *Ethiopian* King, in return for the preſent they brought him from *Cambyſes*, ſent him back only his bow; adviſing him, then to make war upon the *Ethiopians*, when the *Perſians* could as eaſily draw that bow as they could; and in the mean time to thank the gods, that they never inſpired the *Ethiopians* with a deſire of extending their dominions beyond the limits of their own countrey. With which anſwer *Cambyſes* being exceedingly exaſperated, immediately on the receipt of it,

An. 524. Cambyſes 6.

in

in a mad irrational humour, commanded his army forthwith to march, (without conſidering, that they were furniſhed neither with proviſions, nor any other neceſſaries for ſuch an expedition) leaving only the *Grecian* auxiliaries behind to keep the countrey in awe during his abſence. On his coming to *Thebes* in the upper *Egypt*, he detach'd from his army fifty thouſand men to go againſt the *Hammonians*, with orders to deſtroy their countrey, and burn the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, that ſtood in it. But after ſeveral days march over the deſerts, a ſtrong and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the ſouth at the time of their dinner, raiſed the ſands to ſuch a degree, and brought them in ſuch a torrent upon them, that the whole army was overwhelmed thereby, and periſhed. In the interim *Cambyſes* madly marched on with the reſt of the army againſt the *Ethiopians*, tho' he wanted all manner of proviſions for their ſubſiſtence, till at length, they having eaten up all their beaſts of burden, they came to feed upon each other, ſetting out every tenth man by lot for this purpoſe. By this *Cambyſes* being convinced, that it was time for him to return, marched back his army to *Thebes*, after having loſt a great part of it in this wild expedition, and from thence returned to *Memphis*; when he came thither he diſmiſſed all the *Greeks* to their reſpective homes, but on his entry into the city, finding it all in mirth and jollity, becauſe their god *Apis* had then appeared among them, he fell into a great rage, ſuppoſing all this rejoycing to have been for the ill ſucceſs of his affairs. And when he called the magiſtrates, and they gave him a true account of the matter, he would not believe them, but cauſed them to be put to death, as impoſing a lye upon him. And then he ſent for the prieſts, who made him the ſame anſwer, telling him, that their god having manifeſted himſelf unto them, (which ſeldom hapned) it was always their cuſtom to celebrate his appearance with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy that they could expreſs. To this he replied, that if their god was ſo kind and familiar, as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded them forthwith to bring him unto him.

THE chief god of the *Egyptians* was [i] *Oſiris*, him they worſhipped in the ſhape of a *Bull*, and that not only in imagery, but alſo in reality. For they kept a bull in the temple of *Oſiris*, which they worſhipped in his ſtead. At *Heliopolis* he was called *Mnevis*, at *Memphis Apis*. The Marks of *Apis* [k] were theſe. His body was to be all black, excepting a ſquare ſpot of white on his forehead. He was alſo to have the figure of an eagle, ſay ſome, of an half moon, ſay others, on his back, a double liſt of hair on his tail, and a ſcarabæus, or knot under his tongue. When they had found ſuch an one, they brought him with great rejoycing to the temple of *Oſiris*, and there kept him, and worſhipped him for that god as long as he lived, and when he was dead, they buried him with great ſolemnity, and then ſought for another with the ſame marks, which ſometimes it was many years ere they could find; and ſuch an one they having found on *Cambyſes*'s return to *Memphis* from his *Ethiopic* expedition, this was the reaſon of their great rejoycing at that time. And in imitation of this idolatry was it, that *Aaron* made the golden calf in the wilderneſs, and *Jeroboam* thoſe in *Dan* and *Bethel*, and did ſet them up there to be worſhipped

[i] Herod. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 1.

[k] Herod. lib. 3. Plin. lib. 8. c. 46. Solinus, cap. 35. Ammianus Marcellinus, c. 22.

by

by the children of *Israel*, as the gods that had brought them out of the land of *Egypt*.

THIS *Apis* being brought to *Cambyſes*, he fell into a rage, as well he might, at the ſight of ſuch a god, and drawing out his dagger run it into the thigh of the beaſt, and then reproaching the prieſts for their ſtupidity and wretchedneſs, in worſhipping a brute for a God, ordered them ſeverely to be whipp'd, and all the *Egyptians* in *Memphis* to be ſlain, that ſhould be found any more rejoicing there on this occaſion. The *Apis* being carried back to the temple, there languiſhed of his wound, and died.

THE *Egyptians* ſay, that after this act (which they reckon to have been the higheſt inſtance of impiety that was ever found among them) *Cambyſes* was ſtricken with madneſs. But his actions ſhewed him to have been mad long before, of which he continued to give divers inſtances. They tell us of theſe following.

HE had a brother, the only ſon of *Cyrus* beſides himſelf, and born of the ſame mother, his name according to *Xenophon* was *Tanaoxares*, but *Herodotus* calls him *Smerdis*, and *Juſtin*, *Mergis*. He accompanyed *Cambyſes* in his *Egyptian* expedition, but being the only perſon among all the *Perſians* that could draw the bow, which *Cambyſes*'s embaſſadors brought him back from the *Ethiopian* King, *Cambyſes* from hence contracted ſuch an envy againſt him, that he could no longer bear him in the army, but ſent him back into *Perſia*. And not long after, dreaming that one came and told him that *Smerdis* ſat on the throne, he thereon ſuſpecting of his brother, what was afterwards fulfilled by another of his name, ſent after him into *Perſia*, *Prexaſpes*, one of his chiefeſt confidents, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed. And when one of his ſiſters, who was with him in the camp, on the hearing of it lamented his death, he gave her ſuch a blow with his foot in the belly, that ſhe died of it. She was the youngeſt of his ſiſters, and being a very beautiful woman, he fell violently in love with her, ſo that nothing could ſatisfie him but that he muſt have her to wife; whereon he called together all the royal judges of the *Perſian* nation, to whom the interpretation of their Laws did belong, to know of them whether they had any Law that would allow it. They being unwilling to authorize ſuch an inceſtuous marriage, and at the ſame time fearing his violent temper, ſhould they contradict him herein, they gave him this crafty anſwer: That they had no law indeed that permitted a brother to marry his ſiſter, but they had a law which allowed the King of *Perſia* to do what he pleaſed. Which ſerving this purpoſe as well as a direct approbation of the thing, he ſolemnly married her, and hereby gave the firſt example to that inceſt which was afterwards practiſed by moſt of his ſucceſſors, and by ſome of them carried ſo far as to marry their own daughters. This lady he carried with him in all his expeditions, and her name being *Meroe*, he from her gave [1] that name to the iſland in the *Nile*, between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, on the conquering of it, which in all our maps of the old geography it ſtill bears, (for ſo far he advanced in his wild march againſt the *Ethiopians*!) And ſhe being with child by him when he ſtruck her, the blow cauſed an abortion, and of this ſhe died. And ſo vile a marriage deſerved no better an end. He cauſed alſo ſeveral of the principal of his followers to be buried alive, without a-

[1] Strabo, lib. 17. p. 790. Joſephus Antiq. lib. 2. c. 10.

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ny cauſe deſerving of it, and daily ſacrificed ſome or other of them to his wild fury. And when *Cræſus* adviſed him againſt theſe proceedings, and laid before him the ill conſequences which they would lead to, he ordered him to be put to death. And when thoſe who received his orders, knowing he would repent of it the next day, did therefore defer the execution, he cauſed them all to be executed for it, becauſe they had not obeyed his commands, altho' at the ſame time he expreſſed great joy that *Cræſus* was alive. And out of a mere humour, only to ſhew his skill in archery, he ſhot to death a ſon of *Prexaſpes*, who was the chief of his favourites, and in ſuch wild actions he wore out the ſeventh year of his reign.

An. 522. Camby-ſes 8. In the beginning of the eighth year he left *Egypt*, and returned towards *Perſia*. On his coming into *Syria* he there met with an herald, who being ſent from *Shuſhan* came into the army, and there proclaimed *Smerdis* the ſon of *Cyrus* King, and commanded all men to obey him. The meaning of this was, *Cambyſes*, when he departed from *Shuſhan* on the *Egyptian* expedition, placed there in the ſupreme government of his affairs, during his abſence, *Patizithes*, one of the chief of the Magians. This *Patizithes* had a brother who did very much reſemble *Smerdis* the ſon of *Cyrus*, and was (for that reaſon perchance) called by the ſame name. As ſoon as he had been fully informed of the death of that prince, (which had been concealed from moſt others) and found that the extravagancies of *Cambyſes* were grown to an height no longer to be born, he placed this brother of his on the throne, giving out that he was the true *Smerdis*, the ſon of *Cyrus*, and forthwith ſent out heralds into all parts of the empire to give notice hereof, and commanded obedience to be paid unto him. *Cambyſes* having ſeized him that came with this meſſage to the army, on the examining of him, and on the examining of *Prexaſpes*, whom he had ſent to kill his brother, found that the true *Smerdis* was certainly dead, and that this was none other than *Smerdis* the Magian who had invaded the throne, whereon much lamenting that he had been led by the identity of the name to murder his brother, he gave orders for his army forthwith to ſet forward to ſuppreſs the uſurper, but as he mounted his horſe for the march, his ſword falling out of the ſcabbard gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died a few days after. The *Egyptians* remarking that it was in the ſame part of the body where he had afore wounded the *Apis*, reckoned it as an eſpecial judgment from heaven upon him for that fact, and perchance they were not much out in it. For it ſeldom hapning in an affront given to any particular mode of worſhip, how erroneous ſoever it may be, but that religion is in general wounded hereby, there are many inſtances in hiſtory, wherein God hath very ſignally puniſhed the prophanations of religion in the worſt of times, and under the worſt modes of heathen idolatry. While he was in *Egypt*, having conſulted the oracle of *Butus* in that countrey, he was told that he ſhould die at *Ecbatana*, which underſtanding of *Ecbatana* in *Media*, he reſolved to preſerve his life by never going thither, but what he thought to avoid in *Media* he found in *Syria*. For the town where he lay ſick of this wound was of the ſame name, being alſo called *Ecbatana*, " of which when he was informed, taking

" *There are many inſtances of ſuch, who on their over-curious enquiry into their future fate have been in the ſame manner deceived. Thus* Henry *the* IV^th^ *of* England *being foretold that he ſhould die at* Jeruſalem,

king it for certain that he muſt there die, he called for all the chief of the *Perſians* together, and acquainting them with the true ſtate of the caſe, that his brother was certainly dead, and that it was *Smerdis* the Magian that then reigned, earneſtly exhorted them not to ſubmit to the cheat, and thereby permit the ſovereignty to paſs from the *Perſians* again to the *Medes*, of which nation the Magian was, but to take care to ſet up a King over them of their own people. But the *Perſians*, thinking all this was ſaid by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it, but on his death quietly ſubmitted to him whom they found on the throne, ſuppoſing him to be the true *Smerdis*. And it being the uſage of the eaſtern Kings in thoſe times to live retired in their palaces, and there tranſact all their affairs by the intercourſe of their eunuchs, without admitting any elſe, unleſs thoſe of their higheſt confidence, to have acceſs to them, the Magian exactly obſerved this conduct, and therefore being never ſeen in publick, this made it the harder for them to diſcover the cheat.

CAMBYSES reigned [n] ſeven years and five months, the remaining ſeven months of the eighth year was the reign of the Magian. *Herodotus* calls him *Smerdis*, (as hath been already ſaid) *Æſchylus Mardus*, *Cteſias Spendadates*, and *Juſtin Orapaſtes*, but in the Scripture he is called [o] *Artaxerxes*. As ſoon as he was ſettled in the kingdom, after the death of *Cambyſes*, the *Samaritans* [*] wrote a letter to him, ſetting forth that the *Jews* were rebuilding their city and temple at *Jeruſalem*, that they having been always a rebellious people, there was reaſon to ſuſpect, that as ſoon as they ſhould have finiſhed that work they would withdraw their obedience from the King, and pay no more toll nor tribute, which might give an occaſion for all *Syria* and *Paleſtine* to revolt alſo, and the King be excluded from having any more portion on that ſide the river *Euphrates*. And for the truth of what they had informed him of, as to the rebellious temper of that people, they referred him to the records of his predeceſſors, wherein they deſired ſearch might be made concerning this matter. On the receipt of this letter, examination being made according to the purport of it into the records of former times, concerning the behaviour of the *Jews* under the *Aſſyrian* and *Babyloniſh* empires, and it being found in them with what valour they had long defended themſelves, and with what difficulty they were at length reduced by *Nebuchadnezzar*, an order was iſſued forth to prohibit them from proceeding any farther, and ſent to the *Samaritans* to ſee it put in execution, who immediately on the receipt hereof went up to *Jeruſalem*, and having exhibited their order to the *Jews* made them deſiſt by force and power from going on any farther with the work of the houſe; ſo it wholly ceaſed till the ſecond year of *Darius* King of *Perſia*, for about the ſpace of two years. The King that now reigned having been a chief leader of the ſect of the Magians, againſt whom the *Jews* were in the utmoſt oppoſition in point of religion, the averſion he had to them on this account no doubt furthered this decree againſt them.

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ruſalem, *was ſuddenly taken ſick in the abbot of* Weſtminſter's *houſe, and died there in the* Jeruſalem *chamber. And ſo* Ferdinand *the* Catholic, *King of* Spain, *being foretold that he ſhould die at* Madrigal, *carefully avoided going thither; but while he was thus, as he thought, avoiding his death, he found it at* Madrigalejo, *or little* Madrigal, *a poor little village he had never before heard of. For as he was accidentally paſſing through it he was ſuddenly taken ill, and being carried into a poor cottage, the beſt reception the place could afford him, he died there in an hole ſcarce large enough to receive his bed.*

[n] Herodotus, lib. 3. [o] Ezra iv. 7. [*] Ezra iv. 7---24.

THAT *Cambyſes* was the *Ahaſuerus*, and *Smerdis* the *Artaxerxes*, that obſtructed the work of the temple, is plain from hence, that they are ſaid † in Scripture to be the Kings of *Perſia*, that reigned between the time of *Cyrus*, and the time of that *Darius* by whoſe decree the temple was finiſhed; but that *Darius* being *Darius Hyſtaſpis* (as will be unanſwerably demonſtrated in its proper place) and none reigning between *Cyrus* and that *Darius* in *Perſia*, but *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*, it muſt follow from hence, that none but *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis* could be the *Ahaſuerus* and *Artaxerxes*, who are ſaid in *Ezra* to have put a ſtop to this work.

BUT tho' *Smerdis* was thus unkind to the *Jews*, ? he ſtudied to ſhew grace and favour to all others, that ſo gaining their affections, he might the better ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the throne which he had uſurped. And therefore as ſoon as he had taken on him the ſovereignty, he granted to all his ſubjects a freedom from taxes, and an immunity from all military ſervices, for three years, and alſo did ſo many other things for their benefit, as made his death to be very much lamented by a great many of them on the change that after followed. And farther to ſecure himſelf he took to wife *Atoſſa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, aiming thereby to hold the empire by her title, if in caſe of a diſcovery he could not be allowed to have any of his own. She had before been the wife of *Cambyſes*. For after he had, upon the deciſion above-mentioned, married one of his ſiſters, he took this other to wife alſo. And the Magian, while he pretended to be her brother, married her on the ſame foot.

BUT theſe ſteps which he took for his ſecurity, made it the more ſuſpected that he was not the true *Smerdis*, for if he were, there would have been no need (it was ſaid) of uſing all theſe arts and precautions for his eſtabliſhment in the empire; and the care which he took never to be ſeen in publick augmented the ſuſpicion. To be fully ſatisfyed in this matter, *Otanes* a noble *Perſian*, brother of *Caſſandana*, (who is ſaid by *Herodotus* to have been mother to *Cambyſes*, and the true *Smerdis* his brother) having a daughter named *Phedyma*, that had been one of *Cambyſes*'s wives, and was now kept by the Magian in the ſame quality, ſent to her to know whether it were *Smerdis* the ſon of *Cyrus* that ſhe lay with, or elſe ſome other man. The anſwer which ſhe returned, was, That ſhe having never ſeen *Smerdis* the ſon of *Cyrus*, ſhe could not tell. He then, by a ſecond meſſage, bid her enquire of *Atoſſa* (who could not but know her own brother) whether this were he or no. Whereon ſhe having informed him, that the preſent King kept all his wives apart, ſo that they never converſed with each other, and that therefore ſhe could not come at *Atoſſa* to ask this queſtion of her, he ſent her a third meſſage, whereby he directed her, that when he ſhould next lie with her, ſhe ſhould take the opportunity, while he ſlept, to feel whether he had any ears or no. For *Cyrus* having cauſed the ears of *Smerdis the Magian* to be cut off for ſome crime that deſerved it, he told her that if the perſon ſhe lay with had ears, ſhe might ſatisfy her ſelf that he was *Smerdis* the ſon of *Cyrus*, but that if ſhe found it was otherwiſe, he was certainly *Smerdis the Magian*, and therefore unworthy of poſſeſſing either the crown or her. *Phedyma* having received theſe inſtructions took the next opportunity of making the tryal ſhe was directed to, and finding hereon that the perſon ſhe lay with had no ears,

† Ezra iv. 5, 6, 7. ? Herodotus, lib. 3.

ſhe ſent word to her father of it, and hereby the whole fraud became detected. Whereon *Otanes*, taking to him ſix other of the nobility of the *Perſians*, entered into the palace, and there falling on the uſurper and his brother *Patizithes*, who had been the contriver of the whole plot, ſlew them both, and then bringing out their heads to the people declared unto them the whole impoſture. Which did ſet them into ſuch a rage, that they fell on the whole ſect which the impoſtor was of, and ſlew all of them that they met with that day. For which reaſon the ſaid day on which this was done, thenceforth became an annual feſtival among them, and for a long while after it was celebrated every year by the *Perſians* in commemoration of the diſcovery of this impoſture, and their deliverance from it. And by reaſon of the great ſlaughter of the Magians then made, it was called *Magophonia*, or the ſlaughter day of the Magians. And it was from this time that they firſt had the name of *Magians*; which ſignifying the cropt-ear'd it was then given unto them by way of nick-name and contempt, becauſe of this impoſtor, who was thus cropp'd. For *Mige-Guſh* ſignifyed in the language of the countrey then in uſe, one that had his ears cropp'd, and [q] from a ring-leader of that ſect who was thus cropp'd, the author of the famous *Arabic* Lexicon called *Camus*, tells us, they had all this name given unto them. And what *Herodotus*, and *Juſtin*, and other authors write of this *Smerdis*, plainly ſhews that he was the man. After this the whole ſect of the Magians grew into that contempt, that they would ſoon have ſunk into an utter extinction, but that a few years after it was under the name of a reformation again revived by *Zoroaſtres*, of which an account will be hereafter given in its proper place.

IN the interim it may be proper to acquaint the reader, that at this time all the idolatry of the world was divided between two ſects, [r] that is, the worſhippers of images, who were called the *Sabians*, and the worſhippers of fire, who were called the *Magians*. The true religion, which *Noah* taught his poſterity, was that which *Abraham* practis'd, the worſhipping of one God, the ſupreme governor and creator of all things, with hopes in his mercy through a mediator. For the neceſſity of a mediator between God and man was a general notion, which obtained among all mankind from the beginning. For being conſcious of their own meanneſs, vileneſs and impurity, they could not conceive, how it was poſſible for them of themſelves alone to have any acceſs to the all holy, all glorious, and ſupreme governor of all things. They conſidered him as too high, and too pure; and themſelves too low and polluted for ſuch a converſe. And therefore concluded that there muſt be a mediator, by whoſe means only they could make any addreſs unto him, and by whoſe interceſſion alone any of their petitions could be accepted of. But no clear revelation being then made of the mediator, whom God had appointed, becauſe as yet he had not been manifeſted unto the world, they took upon them to addreſs unto him by mediators of their own chuſing. And their notion of the ſun, moon, and ſtars, being, that they were the tabernacles, or habitations of intelligences, which animated thoſe orbs, in the ſame manner as the ſoul of man

[q] Pocockii ſpecimen Hiſtoriæ Arabicæ, p. 146. [r] Vide Pocockii ſpecimen Hiſtoriæ Arabicæ, p. 138. Golii notas ad Alfraganum, p. 251. Maimonidem in Moreh Nevochim. Hottingeri Hiſtoriam Orientalem, lib. 4. c. 8. Hiſtoriam Religionis veterum Perſarum per Thomam Hyde.

animates his body, and were the cauſes of all their motions; and that theſe intelligences were of a middle nature between God and them, they thought theſe the propereſt beings to become the mediators between God and them. And therefore the planets being the neareſt to them of all theſe heavenly bodies, and generally looked on to have the greateſt influence on this world, they made choice of them in the firſt place for their Gods-mediators, who were to mediate for them with the ſupreme God, and procure from him the mercies and favours which they prayed for, and accordingly they directed divine worſhip unto them as ſuch. And here began all the idolatry that hath been practis'd in the world. They firſt worſhipped them *per Sacella*, that is, by *their tabernacles*, and afterwards by images alſo. By theſe *Sacella*, or *tabernacles*, they meant the orbs themſelves, which they looked on only as the *Sacella*, or *ſacred tabernacles*, in which the intelligences had their habitations. And therefore when they paid their devotions to any one of them, they directed their worſhip towards the planet, in which they ſuppoſed he dwelt. But theſe orbs by their riſing and ſetting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loſs how to addreſs to them in their abſence. To remedy this, they had recourſe to the invention of images, in which, after their conſecration, they thought theſe intelligences, or inferior deities, to be as much preſent by their influence as in the planets themſelves, and that all addreſſes to them were made as effectually before the one, as before the other. And this was the beginning of image worſhip among them. To theſe images were given the names of the planets they repreſented, which were the ſame they are ſtill called by. And hence it is, that we find *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Venus* and *Diana*, to be firſt ranked in the polytheiſm of the ancients. For they were their firſt gods. After this a notion obtaining, that good men departed had a power with God alſo to mediate and intercede for them, they deified many of thoſe whom they thought to be ſuch, and hence the number of their gods encreaſed in the idolatrous times of the world. This religion firſt began among the *Chaldeans*, which their knowledge in aſtronomy helped to lead them to. And from this it was, that *Abraham* ſeparated himſelf when he came out of *Chaldea*. From the *Chaldeans* it ſpread it ſelf over all the eaſt, where the profeſſors of it had the name of *Sabians*. From them it paſſed into *Egypt*, and from thence to the *Grecians*, who propagated it to all the weſtern nations of the world. And therefore thoſe who miſlike the notion advanced by *Maimonides*, [f] that many of the *Jewiſh* laws were made in oppoſition to the idolatrous rites of the *Sabians*, are much miſtaken, when they object againſt it, that the *Sabians* were an inconſiderable ſect, and therefore not likely to have been ſo far regarded in that matter. They are now indeed ſince the growth of chriſtianity and mahometiſm in the world, reduced to an inconſiderable ſect; but anciently they were all the nations of the world, that worſhipped God by images. And that *Maimonides* underſtood the name in this latitude, is plain from hence, that he tells us: The *Sabians* whom he ſpoke of, were a ſect [t] whoſe hereſy had overſpread almoſt all mankind. The remainder of this ſect ſtill ſubſiſts in the eaſt under the ſame name of *Sabians*, which they pretend to have received from *Sabius* a ſon of *Seth's*. And among the books, wherein the doctrines of their ſect are contained,

[f] In Moreh Nevochim. [t] Moreh Nevochim, Part 1. c. 63.

they

they have one, which they call the book of *Seth*, and ſay, that it was written by that patriarch. That which hath given them the greateſt credit among the people of the eaſt is, that the beſt of their aſtronomers have been of this ſect, as *Thebet Ebn Korrah*, *Albattani*, and others. For the ſtars being the gods they worſhipped, they made them the chief ſubject of their ſtudies. Theſe *Sabians* in the conſecrating of their images uſed many incantations to draw down into them from the ſtars thoſe intelligences, for whom they erected them, whoſe power and influence, they held, did afterward dwell in them. And from hence the whole foolery of *Teleſms*, which ſome make ſo much ado about, had its original.

Directly oppoſite to theſe were the *Magians*, another ſect, who had their original in the ſame eaſtern countries. For [t] they abominating all images worſhipped God only by fire. They began firſt in *Perſia*, and there and in *India*, were the only places where this ſect was propagated, and there they remain even to this day. Their chief doctrine was, that there [u] were two principles, one which was the cauſe of all good, and the other the cauſe of all evil, that is to ſay, God and the Devil: That the former is repreſented by light, and the other by darkneſs, as their trueſt ſymbols; and that of the compoſition of theſe two all things in the world are made. The good God they name *Yazdan*, and alſo *Ormuzd*, and the evil god *Abraman*. The former is by the *Greeks* called *Oramaſdes*, and the latter *Arimanius*. And therefore when *Xerxes* prayed for that evil upon his enemies, that it might be put into the minds of all of them to drive their beſt and braveſt men from them, as the *Athenians* had *Themiſtocles*, [*] he addreſſed his prayer to *Arimanius* the evil god of the *Perſians*, and not to *Oramaſdes* their good God. And concerning theſe two Gods there was this difference of opinion among them, that whereas ſome held both of them to have been from all eternity, there were others that contended, that the good God only was eternal, and that the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual oppoſition between theſe two till the end of the world: That then the good God ſhall overcome the evil god, and that from thenceforward each of them ſhall have his world to himſelf, that is, the good God his world with all good men with him, and the evil god his world with all evil men with him: That darkneſs is the trueſt ſymbol of the evil god, and light the trueſt ſymbol of the good God. And therefore they always worſhipped him before fire, as being the cauſe of light, and eſpecially before the ſun, as being, in their opinion, the perfecteſt fire, and cauſing the perfecteſt light. And for this reaſon, in all their temples they had fire continually burning on altars, erected in them for that purpoſe. And before theſe ſacred fires they offered up all their publick devotions, as likewiſe they did all their private devotions before their private fires in their own houſes. Thus did they pay the higheſt honour to light, as being in their opinion the trueſt repreſentative of the good God, but always hated darkneſs, as being what they thought the trueſt repreſentative of the evil god, whom they ever had in the utmoſt deteſtation, as we now have the devil; and for an inſtance here-

[t] Vide Pocockii ſpecimen Hiſtoriæ Arabicæ, p. 146, 147, &c. & Hiſtoriam Religionis veterum Perſarum per Th. Hyde.

[u] *This Opinion* Manes *the Heretick received from them, and would have introduced it into the Chriſtian Religion, it being the principal point, which thoſe of his Hereſy called from him* Manichees, *endeavoured to impoſe upon the world.*

[*] Plutarchus in Themiſtocle.

of,

of, whenever they had an occaſion in any of their writings to mention his name, they always wrote it backward, and inverſed, as thus, ·*uvuvɔɹɐʎ* And theſe were the tenets of this ſect, when on the death of *Cambyſes*, *Smerdis* and *Patizithes*, the two chiefeſt ringleaders of it, made that attempt for the uſurping of the ſovereignty, which I have mentioned.

An. 521. Darius 1. THE [w] ſeven princes who had ſlain theſe uſurpers, entering into conſultation among themſelves about the ſetling of the government, on the ſixth day after came to this agreement. That the monarchy ſhould be continued in the ſame manner, as it had been eſtabliſhed by *Cyrus*, and that for the determining which of them ſhould be the monarch, they ſhould meet on horſeback the next morning againſt the riſing of the ſun, at a place in the ſuburbs of the city, which they had appointed for it, and that he whoſe horſe ſhould firſt neigh ſhould be the King. For the ſun being then the great deity of the *Perſians*, and equally adored by them all, whether of the *Sabian* or *Magian* ſect, by this method they ſeemed to refer the election to it. But the groom of *Darius*, one of the ſeven princes, being informed of what was agreed on, made uſe of a device which ſecured the crown to his maſter. For the night before having tyed a mare to the place where they were the next morning to meet, he brought *Darius*'s horſe thither, and put him to cover the mare. And therefore as ſoon as the princes came thither at the time appointed, *Darius*'s horſe, at the ſight of the place remembring the mare, ran thither and neighed, whereon he was forthwith ſaluted King by the reſt, and accordingly placed on the throne. He was the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, a noble *Perſian* of the royal family of *Achæmenes*, who had followed *Cyrus* in all his wars. He was at that time governor of the Province of *Perſia*, and ſo continued for many years after his ſon's advancement to the throne. This *Darius* in the writings of the later *Perſians* is called *Guſhtaſph*, and his father *Loraſph*, and under theſe names they are much ſpoken of in that countrey even to this day.

THE empire of *Perſia* being thus reſtored, and ſettled by the wiſdom and valour of theſe ſeven princes, they were afterwards admitted to extraordinary honours and privileges under the new King. For they were to have acceſs to his preſence at all times, whenever they ſhould deſire, unleſs only when he was accompanying with any of his wives, and their advice was to be firſt had in the management of all the publick affairs of the empire. And whereas the King only wore his turbant directly upright, and all others till then with its top reverſed, or turned backward, theſe had it by way of ſpecial privilege granted unto them from thenceforth to wear their turbants with the top turned forward. For they having, when they went in to fall upon the *Magians*, turned the back part of their turbants forward, that they might by that ſignal be the better known to each other in the ſcuffle, in memory of this, as an eſpecial mark of honour, they were permitted to wear their turbants in that manner ever afterward. And from this time the *Perſian* Kings of this race had always ſeven chief counſellors in the ſame manner privileged, who were their prime aſſiſtants in the government, and by whoſe advice all the publick affairs of the empire were tranſacted, and under this character we find them both in [x] the book of *Ezra* and in [y] the book of *Eſther* made mention of.

[w] Herodot. lib. 3. Juſtin. lib. 1. c. 10. [x] *Chap.* vii. 14. [y] *Chap.* i. 14.

As

As ſoon as *Darius* was ſettled in the throne, to eſtabliſh him the firmer in it, he took to wife *Atoſſa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, and alſo another daughter of his called *Artiſtona*. The former had been before wife to *Cambyſes* her brother, and afterwards to *Smerdis the Magian*, while he uſurped the throne. But *Artiſtona* was a virgin when he married her, and was the moſt belov'd by him of all his wives. Beſides theſe, he took alſo to wife *Parmys*, the daughter of the true *Smerdis*, brother of *Cambyſes*, and *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*, by whoſe means the impoſture of the Magian was diſcovered, and by theſe had a great many children, both ſons and daughters.

ALTHOUGH by the death of the uſurper, his edict, which prohibited the building of the temple was now at an end, yet the *Jews* neglecting to reſume the work God did for this reaſon ſmite the land with barrenneſs, ſo that both the vintage and the harveſt fail'd them. But in the ſecond year of *Darius*, they being by the prophet *Haggai* informed of the cauſe of this judgment upon them, and exhorted to the doing of their duty for the averting of it, they betook themſelves again to prepare for the carrying on of the work. It was on [a] the firſt day of the ſixth month (which anſwers to about the middle of our *Auguſt*) that the word of the Lord by *Haggai* the prophet came to *Zerubbabel* the ſon of *Salathiel*, governor of *Judea*, and to *Jeſhua* the ſon of *Jozadack* the high-prieſt, concerning this matter. And [b] on the twenty fourth day of the ſame month they being excited hereby aroſe with all the remnant of the people, and obeyed the voice of the Lord, and again applied themſelves with all diligence to provide ſtone and timber, and all other materials, that were neceſſary for the again carrying on of the work. And to encourage them to go on vigorouſly herewith, on the twenty firſt day of the ſeventh month (*i. e.* about the beginning of our *October*) [c] another meſſage from God came to them by the ſame prophet, which not only aſſured them of his preſence with them herein, to make it proſper in their hands, but alſo promiſed them that [d] the glory of the later houſe, when built, ſhould be greater than the glory of the former houſe; which was accordingly accompliſhed, when *Chriſt* our Lord came to this his temple, and honoured it with his preſence. In all other reſpects this later temple, the [e] ſame prophet tells us, at its firſt building was as nothing in compariſon of the former. *An.* 520. Darius 2.

IN the [f] eighth month of the ſame year (which anſwers to part of our *October* and part of *November*) the word of the Lord came by *Zechariah* the prophet to the people of the *Jews*, exhorting them to repentance, and promiſing them mercy and favour on their obedience hereto.

ON the [h] twenty fourth day of the ninth month (which fell about the beginning of our *December*) the *Jews*, after they had been employ'd from the twenty fourth day of the ſixth month, in preparing materials for the temple, went on again with the building of it; [i] whereon the prophet *Haggai* promiſed them from God a deliverance from that barrenneſs of their land, with which it had been ſmitten, and plentiful encreaſe of all its fruits for the future. And alſo [k] delivered unto *Zerubbabel* a meſſage from God, of mercy and favour unto him.

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[a] Herodotus, lib. 3. [a] Haggai i. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11. ii. 17, 19. [b] Haggai i. 1.
[c] Haggai i. 15. [d] Haggai ii. 1. [e] Haggai i. 9. [f] Haggai ii. 3.
[g] Zech. i. 1. [h] Haggai ii. 18. [i] Haggai ii. 10---19. [k] Haggai ii. 20---23.

IN

An. 519. Darius 3. IN the beginning of the next year, (which was the third year of *Darius* according to the [1] *Babylonian* and *Perſian* account, but the ſecond according to the *Jewiſh*) the *Samaritans* underſtanding that the building of the temple went on again, notwithſtanding the ſtop which they had procured to be put to it in the laſt reign, they [m] betook themſelves again to their old malicious practices for the obſtructing of the work, and therefore applied themſelves to *Tatnai*, whom *Darius* had made chief governor or prefect of all the provinces of *Syria* and *Paleſtine* (which was [n] one of the twenty prefectures into which he had lately divided his whole empire) and made complaint to him againſt the *Jews* as to this matter, ſuggeſting that they proceeded herein without authority, and that it would tend to the prejudice of the King. Whereon *Tatnai* being accompanied by *Setharboznai* (who ſeems to have been then governor of *Samaria*) came to *Jeruſalem*, to take an account of what was there a doing. But *Tatnai* being a man of temper and juſtice, after he had made a view of the building, did not proceed roughly and raſhly to put a ſtop to it, but firſt enquired of the elders of the *Jews* by what authority they had gone on with it. And they having produced to him *Cyrus*'s decree, he would not take upon him to contradict the ſame, or order any thing contrary to it upon his own authority, but firſt wrote letters to the King, to know his pleaſure concerning it, wherein he fairly ſtated the caſe, ſetting forth the matter of fact, and alſo the *Jews* plea of *Cyrus*'s decree for the juſtifying of themſelves herein, and thereon requeſted, that ſearch might be made among the records of the kingdom, whether there were any ſuch decree granted by *Cyrus* or no, and that thereon the King would be pleaſed to ſignify unto him what he would have done herein. Whereon [o] ſearch being made, and the decree being found among the rolls in the royal palace at *Ecbatana* in *Media*, where *Cyrus* was when he granted it, the King reſolved to confirm the ſame. For having lately married two of the daughters of *Cyrus*, the better to fortify his title to the crown thereby, he thought it concerned him to do every thing that might tend to ſupport the h onour and veneration which was due to the memory of that great prince, and therefore would ſuffer nothing to be infringed of that which he had ſo ſolemnly granted, but ordered his royal decree to be drawn, wherein recitement being made of the decree of *Cyrus*, he commanded it in every particular to be obſerved, and ſent it to *Tatnai*, and *Setharboznai*, to ſee it fully and effectually put in execution, decreeing that whoſoever ſhould alter the ſame, or put any obſtruction to it, ſhould have his houſe pulled down, and that a gallows being made of the timber of it, he ſhould be hanged thereon.

ON [p] the twenty fourth day of the eleventh month (that is, about the beginning of our *February*) the prophet *Zechariah* had in a viſion that revelation made unto him, which is contained in the book of his propheſies, from the 7th verſe of the 1ſt chapter to the 9th verſe of the vith chapter. The

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[1] *For the* Babylonians *and* Perſians *at this time began their year from the beginning of* January; *but the* Jews *from* Niſan, *about ten or eleven weeks after. And therefore ſeeing the eighth month (which anſwers in part to our* October) *was according to* Zechariah (*ch.* i. *v.* 1.) *in the ſecond year of* Darius, *whatſoever was acted from the beginning of* January, *within a year after muſt be in the third year of* Darius, *according to the* Babyloniſh *account, and alſo according to the exact truth of the matter. For* Darius *began his reign with the beginning of the* Babyloniſh *year.*

[m] Ezra v. 3---17. [n] Herodotus, lib. 3. [o] Ezra vi. [p] Zechariah i. 7.

ſubſtance

ſubſtance of which is to expreſs the mercy that God would ſhew unto his people in the reſtoration and redemption of *Sion*, and the vengeance which he would execute upon thoſe that had oppreſſed them.

ABOUT the beginning of the fourth year of *Darius*, his decree which confirmed that of *Cyrus* in favour of the *Jews* was brought to *Jeruſalem*. It was about the beginning of the former year, that *Tatnai* ſent to the King about it, and leſs than a year's time cannot be well allowed for the diſpatch of ſuch an affair. For the King then reſiding at *Shuſhan* in *Perſia*, was at ſuch a diſtance from *Judea*, that the journey of the meſſenger thither to him could not take up leſs than three months time, (for [q] *Ezra* was four months in coming to *Judea* from *Babylon*, which was at leaſt one quarter of the way nearer) and on his arrival it cannot be ſuppoſed, that in a court where the government of ſo great an empire was managed, he could immediately come at a diſpatch. The multiplicity of other affairs there agitated muſt neceſſarily detain him ſome time, before it could come to his turn to be heard for the delivery of his meſſage, and when he had obtained an order to ſearch among the records of the empire for the decree of *Cyrus*, (which we cannot imagine to have been without a farther time of attendance) he or ſome other meſſenger firſt went to *Babylon* to make the ſearch there, and on his failing of finding it in that place, he went from thence to [r] *Ecbatana* the capital of *Media*, where having found the enrolment of it (for it ſeems *Cyrus* was there when he granted it) he returned with it from thence to *Shuſhan*. In which three journeys and two ſearches, conſidering the diſtance of the ſaid three places from each other, and the vaſt number of records which in the regiſtries of ſo large an empire muſt be turned over for the finding of that which was ſearched for, leſs than five months could not have been expended. And when the record of *Cyrus*'s decree was brought from *Ecbatana* to *Shuſhan*, a month is the leaſt time that can be ſuppoſed for the diſpatch of the new decree which *Darius* made in confirmation of it; and then three months more muſt be allowed for the carrying of it to *Tatnai*, and from him to *Judea*. All which put together make a full year, from the time of *Tatnai*'s writing his letter, to the time of the arrival of *Darius*'s decree in anſwer to it. When *Tatnai* and *Setharboznai*, on the peruſal of it, found how ſtrictly the King required obedience to be given thereto, they durſt not but act in conformity to it, [s] and therefore they did immediately let the *Jews* know hereof, and forthwith took care to have it fully and effectually put in execution. And from that time the building of the houſe went on ſo ſucceſsfully, that it was fully finiſhed within three years after. For by virtue of this decree the *Jews* were not only fully authorized to go on with the building, but were alſo furniſhed with the expences of it out of the taxes of the province. This had been granted by *Cyrus* in the former decree, but by the underhand dealings of the *Samaritans*, and other enemies, in corrupting thoſe, thro' whoſe hands the adminiſtration of the publick affairs and publick revenues paſſed, this part of *Cyrus*'s decree was rendred ineffectual during a great part of his reign, and thro' the whole reign of *Cambyſes*. And therefore during all that time the *Jews* being left to carry on the work at their own charges only, and they being then very poor, as being newly returned

An. 518. Darius 4.

[q] Ezra vii. 9. [r] *This is the ſame that is now called* Tauris. [s] Ezra vi. 13. *and* Joſephus Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 4.

from their captivity, it went very ſlowly on. But being now helped again by the King's bounty, they followed it with that diligence, that they ſoon brought it to a concluſion.

THE publiſhing of this decree at *Jeruſalem* may be reckoned the thorough reſtoration of the *Jewiſh* ſtate. And from the thorough deſtruction of it in the burning of the city and temple of *Jeruſalem* by the *Chaldeans* to this time is juſt ſeventy years. The time falling ſo exactly, and the prophet *Zechariah* confirming it by expreſſing under [t] the fourth year of *Darius*, that the mourning and faſting of the *Jews* for the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the utter driving of them out of the land on the death of *Gedaliah* was then [u] juſt ſeventy years; this hath given a plauſible handle to ſome for the placing of the beginning of the ſeventy years of the *Babyloniſh* captivity, ſpoken of by *Jeremiah*, at the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the end of them at the publication of this decree of *Darius*. But the Scripture plainly tells us, that theſe ſeventy years as propheſied of by the prophet *Jeremiah*, began [w] from the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, and expired [x] on the firſt of *Cyrus*, on his then granting his deceee for the rebuilding of the temple, and the return of the *Jews* again into their own land. But this matter will admit of a very eaſy reconciliation, for both computations may very well ſtand together. For though the *Babyloniſh* captivity did begin from the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, when *Nebuchadnezzar* firſt ſubjugated the land, and carried away to *Babylon* the firſt captives, yet it was not completed till he had abſolutely deſtroyed it in the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, which was juſt eighteen years after. And ſo likewiſe, tho' the deliverance from this captivity, and the reſtoration of the *Jewiſh* ſtate thereon, was begun by the decree of *Cyrus* in the firſt year of his reign, yet it was not completed till that decree was put in full vigour of execution by the decree which *Darius* granted in the fourth year of his reign for the confirmation of it, which was alſo juſt eighteen years after. And therefore if we reckon from the beginning of the captivity to the beginning of the reſtoration, we muſt reckon from the fourth year of *Jehoiakim* to the firſt of *Cyrus*, which was juſt ſeventy years; and if we reckon from the completion of the captivity to the completion of the reſtoration, we muſt reckon from the eleventh year of *Zedekiah* to the fourth of *Darius*, which was alſo juſt ſeventy years. So that whether we reckon from the beginning of the captivity to the beginning of the reſtoration, or from the completing of the captivity to the completing of the reſtoration, *Jeremiah*'s propheſy of the ſeventy years captivity will be both ways equally accompliſhed, and therefore I doubt not but that both ways were equally intended therein, tho' the words of the propheſy ſeem chiefly to refer to the former.

ON the publication of this decree of *Darius*, and the care that was taken to have it fully put in execution, without ſuffering any of thoſe devices to obſtruct it, which had rendred the former decree ineffectual, the work of the temple went on very ſucceſsfully, and the ſtate of the *Jews* in *Judea* and *Jeruſalem* ſeemed ſo thoroughly reſtored, that the *Jews* who were in *Babylon*, on their having had an account hereof, thought it might not be any longer proper to keep thoſe faſts, which hitherto they had obſerved

[t] Zech. vii. 1. [u] Zech. vii. 5. [w] Jer. xxv. [x] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20---23.

for

for ſeventy years paſt, for the deſtruction which *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* had ſuffered from the *Chaldeans* in the time of *Zedekiah*, as looking on them now to have obtained a thorough reſtoration from it. And therefore [y] ſent meſſengers to *Jeruſalem*, *Sherezer* and *Regem-melech*, to ask advice of the prieſts and prophets that were there, concerning this matter. For from the time of the deſtruction of the city and temple of *Jeruſalem*, the *Jews* of the captivity had kept four faſts in commemoration of the calamities which then hapned to their nation; the [z] firſt on the tenth day of the tenth month, becauſe then *Nebuchadnezzar* firſt laid ſiege to *Jeruſalem* in the ninth year of *Zedekiah*; the [a] ſecond on the ninth day of the fourth month, becauſe on that day the city was taken; the third [b] on the tenth day of the fifth month, becauſe then the city and temple were burnt by *Nebuzaradan*; and the fourth [c] on the third day of the ſeventh month, becauſe on that day *Gedaliah* was ſlain, and the remainder of the people were thereon diſperſed and driven out of the land, which completed the deſolation of it. Concerning all which faſts, and the queſtion of the *Babyloniſh Jews* propoſed concerning them, God gave them by the prophet *Zachariah* that anſwer, which we have in the ſeventh and eighth chapters of his propheſies. Therein [d] the faſts of the fifth and ſeventh month are ſaid to have been obſerved for ſeventy years paſt. And from the nineteenth year of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Jewiſh* account, (which was the ſeventeenth according to the *Babyloniſh* account) [e] when *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed to the fourth year of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, when the *Jewiſh* ſtate was again thoroughly reſtored, were juſt ſeventy years according to the canon of *Ptolomy*. So the ſacred and prophane chronology do both exactly agree in this matter. The *Jews* ſtill obſerve theſe four faſts even to this day, tho' not exactly on the ſame days in their * preſent calendar, as in the former.

IN the beginning of the fifth year of *Darius* hapned [f] the revolt of the *Babylonians*, which coſt him the trouble of a tedious ſiege again to reduce them. For it laſted twenty months. This city having for many years during the *Babyloniſh* empire been the miſtreſs of the eaſt, and domineer'd over all the countries round about them, could not bear the ſubjection which they were fallen under to the *Perſians*, eſpecially after they had removed the imperial ſeat of the empire from *Babylon* to *Shuſhan*. For that much diminiſhed the grandeur, pride and wealth of the place, which they thought they could no other way again retrieve, but by ſetting up for themſelves againſt the *Perſians*, under a King of their own, in the ſame manner as they had formerly done under *Nabopollaſar* againſt the *Aſſyrians*. And therefore taking the advantage of the revolution which hapned in the *Perſian* empire, firſt on the death of *Cambyſes*, and after on the ſlaying of the Magians, they began to lay in all manner of proviſions for the war; and after they had covertly done this for four years together, till

An. 517. Darius 5.

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[y] Zech. vii. [z] 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. lii. 4. Zech. viii. 19. [a] 2 Kings xxv. 3. Jer. xxix. 2. Zech. viii. 19. [b] Jer. lii. 12. Zech. vii. 3. 5. *and* viii. 19. [c] Jer. xli. 1. Zech. vii. 5. *and* viii. 19. [d] Zech. vii. 1. [e] 2 Kings xxv. 8. Jer. lii. 12.

* *Their preſent Calendar was made by* R. Hillel, *about the year of our Lord* 360. *Their former year was a lunar year reconciled to a ſolar by intercalations, but in what form is uncertain, only it was always to have its beginning about the time of the vernal æquinox, to which ſeaſon the products of their flocks and their fields, which were required to be uſed at their feaſts of the paſſover, and the pentecoſt, neceſſarily fixed it.*

[f] Herod. lib. 3. Juſtin. lib. 1. c. 10. Polyænus, lib. 7.

they had fully ſtored the city for many years to come, in the fifth year they broke out into an open revolt, which drew *Darius* upon them with all his forces to beſiege the city. In the beginning of the third year of *Darius*, we learn from the prophet *Zachariah*, that [g] the whole empire was then in peace; and therefore the revolt could not then have hapned; and the meſſage of *Sherezer* and *Regem-melech* from *Babylon*, [h] in the fourth year of his reign proves the ſame for that year alſo. And therefore it could not be till the fifth year that this war broke out. As ſoon as [i] the *Babylonians* ſaw themſelves begirt by ſuch an army as they could not cope with in the field, they turned their thoughts wholly to the ſupporting of themſelves in the ſiege; in order whereto they took a reſolution, the moſt deſperate and barbarous that ever any nation practiſed. For to make their proviſions laſt the longer, they agreed to cut off all unneceſſary mouths among them; and therefore drawing together all the women and children, they ſtrangled them all, whether wives, ſiſters, daughters, or young children uſeleſs for the wars, excepting only that every man was allowed to ſave one of his wives, which he beſt loved, and a maid-ſervant to do the work of the houſe. And hereby was very ſignally fulfilled the prophefy of *Iſaiah* againſt them, in which he foretold, *That* [k] *two things ſhould come to them in a moment, in one day, the loſs of children and widowhood, and that theſe ſhould come upon them in their perfection for the multitude of their ſorceries, and the great abundance of their inchantments.* And in what greater perfection could theſe calamities come upon them, than when they themſelves thus upon themſelves became the executioners of them? And in many other particulars did God then execute his vengeance upon this wicked and abominable city, which was foretold by ſeveral of the prophets; and the *Jews* were as often [l] warned to come out of the place before the time of its approach, that they might not be involved in it. And eſpecially [m] the prophet *Zachariah* about two years before ſent them a call from God, that is, *to* Zion, *that dwelt with the daughter of* Babylon, *to flee and come forth from that land*, that they might be delivered from the plague which God was going to inflict upon it. And when *Sherezer* and *Regem-melech* returned to *Babylon*, no doubt they carried back with them from this prophet a repetition of the ſame call; and altho' it be no where ſaid, that they paid obedience to it, and ſo ſaved themſelves; yet we may take it for certain, that they did, and by ſeaſonably removing from *Babylon* before the ſiege begun, avoided partaking of the calamities of it. For almoſt all the propheſies concerning this heavy judgment upon *Babylon* ſpeaking of it, as the vengeance of God upon them for their cruel dealings with his people, when they were delivered into their hands; and they all at the ſame time promiſing peace, mercy and favour to all that were of his people; and particularly ſuch a promiſe having been ſent them but the year before [n] by *Sherezer* and *Regem-melech*, it is utterly inconſiſtent with the whole tenour of theſe ſacred predictions, that any of the *Jewiſh* nation ſhould be ſufferers with the *Babylonians* in this war, and therefore we may aſſuredly infer, that they were all gone out of this place before this war begun.

An. 516. Darius 6. *DARIUS* having lain before *Babylon* a year and eight months,

[g] Zech. i. 11--15. [h] Zech. vii. 1--3. [i] Herod. lib. 3. [k] Iſai. xlvii. 9.
[l] Iſai. xlviii. 20. Jer. l. 8, & li. 6, 9, 45. [m] Zech. ii. 6--9. [n] Zech. viii.

at

[o]at length toward the end of the ſixth year of his reign he took it by the ſtratagem of *Zopyrus*, one of his chief commanders. For he having cut off his noſe and ears, and mangled his body all over with ſtripes, fled in this condition to the beſieged, where feigning to have ſuffered all this by the cruel uſage of *Darius*, he grew thereby ſo far into their confidence, as at length to be made the chief commander of their forces, which truſt he made uſe of to deliver the city to his maſter, which could ſcarce have been any other way taken. For the walls by reaſon of their height and ſtrength made the place impregnable againſt all ſtorms, batteries and aſſaults; and it being furniſhed with proviſions for a great many years, and having alſo [p]large quantities of void ground within the city, from the cultivation of which it might annually be ſupplied with much more, it could never have been ſtarved into a ſurrender; and therefore at length it muſt have wearied and worn out *Darius* and all his army, had it not been thus delivered into his hands by this ſtratagem of *Zopyrus*, for which he deſervedly rewarded him with the higheſt honours he could heap on him all his life after. As ſoon as *Darius* was maſter of the place, he took away [q]all their hundred gates, and beat down [r]their walls from two hundred cubits (which was their former height) to fifty cubits, and of theſe walls only [s]*Strabo*, and other after-writers are to be underſtood, when they deſcribe the walls of *Babylon* to be no more than fifty cubits high. And as to the inhabitants, after having given them for a ſpoil to his *Perſians*, who had been before their ſervants, according to the propheſy of *Zachariah*, (c. ii. 9.) and impaled three thouſand of the moſt guilty and active of them in the revolt, he pardoned all the reſt. But by reaſon of the deſtruction they had made of their women in the beginning of the ſiege, he was forced to ſend for fifty thouſand of that ſex out of the other provinces of the empire to ſupply them with wives, without which the place muſt ſoon have become depopulated for want of propagation.

AND here it is to be obſerved, that the puniſhment of *Babylon* kept pace with the reſtoration of *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, according to the propheſy of the prophet *Jeremiah* (ch. xxv. 12, 13.) whereby he foretold, That *when the ſeventy years of* Judah's *captivity ſhould be accompliſhed, God would puniſh the King of* Babylon, *and that nation for their iniquity, and the land of the* Chaldeans, *and would make it a perpetual deſolation, and would bring upon that land all the words which he had pronounced againſt it.* For accordingly, when the reſtoration of *Judah* began in the firſt of *Cyrus*, after the expiration of the firſt ſeventy years, that is, from the fourth of *Jehoiakim* to the firſt of *Cyrus*, then began *Babylon*'s puniſhment in being conquered and ſubjected to the *Perſians*, in the ſame manner as they had conquered and ſubjected the *Jews* to them, in the beginning of the ſaid ſeventy years. And after the expiration of the ſecond ſeventy years, that is, from the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* were thoroughly deſolated, to the fourth of *Darius*, when the reſtoration of both was completed, then the deſolation of *Babylon* was alſo in a great meaſure completed in the devaſtation, which was then brought

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[o] Herod. lib. 3. Juſtin. lib. 1. c. 10. Polyænus, lib. 7. [p] Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Per 90 Stadia habitatur, cætera ſerunt coluntque, ut ſi externa vis ingruat, obſceſſis alimenta ex ipſius urbis ſolo ſubminiſtrentur. [q] Jer. li. 58. Herod. ibid. [r] Jer. l. 15. *and* li. 44, 58. Herod. ibid. [s] Strabo, lib. 16.

upon

upon it by *Darius*. In the firſt part of their puniſhment their King was ſlain, and their city taken, and thenceforth, from being [t] *the lady of kingdoms*, and miſtreſs of all the eaſt, it became ſubject to the *Perſians*. And whereas before it had been the metropolis of a great empire, this honour was now taken from it, and the imperial ſeat removed from thence to *Shuſhan* or *Suſa*, (for this ſeems to have been done in the firſt year of *Cyrus*'s reign over the whole empire) and *Babylon* thenceforth inſtead of having a King, had only a deputy reſiding there, who govern'd it as a province of the *Perſian* empire. And at the ſame time that the city was thus brought under, the countrey was deſolated and deſtroyed by the inundation, that was cauſed by turning of the river on the taking of the city, which hath been already ſpoken of, and thereon it became *a poſſeſſion for the bittern, and pools of water*, as the Prophet *Iſaiah* foretold, (ch. xiv. 23.) *and the ſea came up upon* Babylon, *and ſhe was covered with the multitude of the waves thereof*, according as *Jeremiah* propheſied hereof (ch. li. 42.) And in the ſecond part of their puniſhment on *Darius*'s taking the place, all that calamity and devaſtation was brought upon it, which hath been already ſpoken of, and from that it did never any more recover it ſelf, but languiſhed a while, and at length ended, according to the words of *Jeremiah, in a perpetual deſolation*.

An. 515. Darius 7. IN the ſixth year of *Darius*, according to the *Jewiſh* account, and on the third day of the twelfth month, called the month of *Adar*, (which anſwered to part of the third, and part of the fourth month of the *Babyloniſh* year, and conſequently was in the ſeventh year of *Darius*, according to the *Babyloniſh* account) [u] the building of the temple at *Jeruſalem* was finiſhed, and the dedication of it was celebrated by the prieſts and *Levites*, and all the reſt of the congregation of *Iſrael*, with great joy and ſolemnity. And among other ſacrifices then offered, there was a ſin-offering for all *Iſrael* of twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of *Iſrael*, which is a farther addition of proof to what hath been above-ſaid, that on the return of *Judah* and *Benjamin* from the *Babyloniſh* captivity, ſome alſo of each of the other tribes of *Iſrael* returned with them out of *Aſſyria*, *Babylon*, and *Media*, whither they had been before carried, and joining with them in the rebuilding of the temple, (to which they had originally an equal right) partaked alſo in the ſolemnity of this dedication, otherwiſe there is no reaſon why any ſuch offering ſhould have been then made in their behalf. But the moſt of them that returned being of the tribe of *Judah*, that ſwallowed up the names of all the reſt, for from this time the whole people of *Iſrael*, of what tribe ſoever they were, [v] began to be called *Jews*, and by that name they have all of them been ever ſince known all the world over.

THIS work was twenty years in finiſhing. For ſo many years were elapſed from the ſecond of *Cyrus* when it was firſt begun, to the ſeventh of *Darius* when it was fully finiſhed. During the latter part of the reign of *Cyrus*, and thro' the whole reign of *Cambyſes*, it met with ſuch diſcouragements thro' the fraudulent devices of the *Samaritans*, that it went but ſlowly on for all that time. And during the uſurpation of the *Magians*,

[t] Iſaiah xlvii. 5. [u] Ezra vi. 15---18. [v] Joſephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5. Euſeb. Demonſt. Evang. lib. 8.

and

and for almoſt [w] two years after, it was wholly ſuppreſſed, that is, till towards the latter end of the ſecond year of the reign of *Darius*. But then it being again reſumed on the preaching of the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, and afterwards encouraged and helped forward by the decree of *Darius*, it was thenceforth carried on with that vigour, eſpecially thro' the exhortations and propheſies of the two prophets I have mentioned, that in the beginning of the ſeventh year of *Darius* it was fully finiſhed, and dedicated anew to the ſervice of God, in the manner as hath been ſaid. In this dedication the cxlvi^th^, cxlvii^th^, and the cxlviii^th^ *Pſalms* ſeem to have been ſung. For in the *Septuagint* verſion they are ſtyled the *Pſalms* of *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, as if they had been compoſed by them for this occaſion. And this, no doubt, was from ſome ancient tradition, but in the original *Hebrew* theſe *Pſalms* have no ſuch title prefix'd to them, neither have they any other to contradict it.

THE decree whereby this temple was finiſhed, having been granted by *Darius* at his palace in *Shuſhan*, (or *Suſa*, as the *Greeks* call the place) in remembrance hereof [x] the eaſtern gate in the outer wall of the temple was from this time called the gate of *Shuſhan*, and a picture and draught of that city was portrayed in ſculpture over it, and there continued till the laſt deſtruction of that temple by the *Romans*.

IN the next month after the dedication, which was the Month *Niſan*, the firſt of the *Jewiſh* year, the temple being now made fit for all parts of the divine ſervice, [y] the paſſover was obſerved in it on the fourteenth day of that month, according to the law of God, and ſolemnized by all the children of *Iſrael* that were then returned from the captivity, with great joy and gladneſs of heart, becauſe, ſaith the book of *Ezra*, [z] *The Lord hath made them joyful, and turned the heart of the king of* Aſſyria *unto them, to ſtrengthen their hands in the work of the houſe of God, the God of* Iſrael; from whence [a] archbiſhop *Uſher* infers, that *Babylon* muſt neceſſarily have been reduced by *Darius* before this time. For otherwiſe he thinks he could not have been here ſtyled King of *Aſſyria*, *Babylon* being then the metropolis of that Kingdom.

AND if we will add one ſtage more to the two above-mentioned, of the captivity and reſtoration of *Judah*, and place the full completion of the captivity in the twenty third of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Jewiſh* account, (which was the twenty firſt according to the *Babyloniſh*) [b] when *Nebuzaradan* carried away the laſt remainder of the land: And the full completion of the reſtoration at the finiſhing of the temple, and the reſtoration of the divine worſhip therein, this ſtage will have the like diſtance of ſeventy years. For the dedication of this temple, and the ſolemnizing of the firſt paſſover in it, being in the ſeventh year of *Darius*, it will fall in the ſeventieth year from the [c] ſaid twenty third of *Nebuchadnezzar*, according to *Ptolemy*'s canon. So that taking it which way you will, and at what ſtage you pleaſe, the propheſy of *Jeremiah* will be fully and exactly accompliſhed concerning this matter. And here ending the rebuiling of the ſecond temple, I ſhall herewith end this book.

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[w] *In the firſt of* Eſdras, Ver. 73. *it's ſaid, That the time of the ſtop, which was put to the building, was two years.* [x] *See* Lightfoot *of the Temple*, c. 3. [y] Ezra vi. 19---22. [z] Ezra vi. 22.
[a] Annales veteris Teſtamenti ſub A. M. 3489. Jer. lii. 30. [c] *That is, reckoning the twenty third year of* Nebuchadnezzar *according to the* Jewiſh *account, to be the twenty firſt according to the* Babyloniſh *account, which* Ptolomy *went by.*

THE

THE *Old* and *New* TESTAMENT

Connected in the

HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS and Neighbouring Nations,

FROM THE

Declenſion of the Kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah* to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK IV.

An. 514. Darius 8.

THE *Samaritans* ſtill carrying on their former ſpite and rancor againſt the *Jews*, gave them new trouble on this occaſion. The tribute of *Samaria* had been aſſigned firſt [a] by *Cyrus*, and afterwards [b] by *Darius*, for the reparation of the temple at *Jeruſalem*, and the furniſhing of the *Jews* with ſacrifices, that [c] oblations and prayers might there daily be offered up for the King and the royal family, and for the welfare and proſperity of the *Perſian* empire. This was a matter of great regret and heart-burning to the *Samaritans*, and was in truth the ſource and the true

[a] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 1. [b] Joſeph. lib. 11. c. 4. [c] Ezra vi. 8, 9, 10.

original

original reaſon of all the oppoſitions which they made againſt them. For they thought it an indignity upon them to be forced to pay their tribute to the *Jews*, and therefore they did [d] by bribes, and other underhand dealings, prevail with the miniſters, and other officers to whoſe charge this matter belonged, during the latter part of the reign of *Cyrus*, and all the time of *Cambyſes*, to put a ſtop to this aſſignment, and did all elſe that they could wholly to quaſh it. But the grant being again [e] renewed by *Darius*, and the execution of it ſo ſtrictly enjoyned in the manner as hath been before related, the tribute was thenceforth annually paid to the end for which it was aſſigned, without any more gainſaying till this year. But now, on pretence that the temple was finiſhed, (though the out-buildings ſtill remained unrepaired, and were not finiſhed till many years after) they [f] refuſed to let the *Jews* any longer have the tribute, alledging, that it being aſſigned them for the repairing of their temple, now the temple was repaired the end of that aſſignment was ceaſed, and that conſequently the payment of the ſaid tribute was to ceaſe with it, and for this reaſon would pay it no longer to them. Whereon the *Jews*, to right themſelves in this matter, ſent *Zerubbabel* the governor, with *Mordecai* and *Ananias*, two other principal men among them, with a complaint to *Darius* of the wrong that was done to them, in the detaining of his royal bounty from them, contrary to the purport of the edict which he had in that behalf made. The King, on the hearing of the complaint, and the informing of himſelf about it, iſſued out his royal order to his officers at *Samaria*, ſtrictly requiring and commanding them to take effectual care, that the *Samaritans* obſerve his edict in paying their tribute to the temple of *Jeruſalem* as formerly, and no more, on any pretence whatſoever, give the *Jews* any cauſe for the future to complain of their failure herein. And after this we hear no more of any oppoſition or conteſt concerning this matter, till the time of *Sanballat*, which was many years after.

FROM the time of the reduction of *Babylon*, [g] *Darius* had ſet himſelf to make great preparations for a war againſt the *Scythians*, that inhabited thoſe countries which lye between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*; his pretence for it was to be revenged on them for their having invaded *Aſia*, and held it in ſubjection to them eight and twenty years, as hath been afore related. This was in the time of *Cyaxares*, the firſt of that name King of *Media*, about an hundred and twenty years before. But for want of a better colour for that, which his ambition and thirſt for conqueſt only led him to, this was given out for the reaſon of the war. In order whereto, having drawn together an army of ſeven hundred thouſand men, he marched with them to the *Thracian Boſphorus*, and having there paſſed over it on a bridge of boats he brought all *Thrace* in ſubjection to him, and then marched to the *Iſter*, or *Danube*, where he appointed his fleet to come to him, (which conſiſted moſtly of *Ionians*, and other *Grecian* nations, dwelling in the maritime parts of *Aſia*, and on the *Helleſpont*) he there paſſed over another bridge of boats into the countrey of the *Scythians*, and having there for three months time purſued them through ſeveral deſert and uncultivated countries, where they drew him, by their flight, of

An. 513. Darius 9.

[d] Ezra iv. 5. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 2. [e] Ezra vi. [f] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 4.
[g] Herod. lib. 4. Juſtin. lib. 2. c. 5. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

purpoſe to haraſs and deſtroy his army, he was glad at laſt to return with one half of them, having loſt the other half in this unfortunate and ill projected expedition. And had not the *Ionians* by the perſuaſion of *Heſtiæus* prince of *Miletus*, (or tyrant, as the *Grecians* call him) contrary to the opinion of others among them, ſtayed with the fleet to afford him a paſſage back, he and all the reſt muſt have periſhed alſo. *Miltiades*, prince of the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, which lyes at the mouth of the *Helleſpont*, being one of thoſe who attended *Darius* with his ſhips, was earneſt for their departure, and the firſt that moved it, telling them, that by their going away, and leaving *Darius* and his army to periſh on the other ſide of the *Danube*, they had a fair opportunity of breaking the power of the *Perſians*, and delivering themſelves from the yoke of that tyranny, which would be to the advantage of every one of their reſpective countries. This was urged by him in a council of the chief commanders, and would certainly have taken place, but that *Heſtiæus* in anſwer hereto ſoon made them ſenſible what a dangerous risk they were going to run. For he convinced them, that if this were done, the people of each of their cities, being freed from the fear of the *Perſians*, would immediately riſe upon them to recover their liberties, and this would end in the ruine of every one of them, who now with ſovereign authority under the protection of *Darius* ſecurely reigned over them. Which being the true ſtate of their caſe, this argument prevailed with them, ſo that they all reſolved to ſtay, and this gave *Darius* the means of again repaſſing the river into *Thrace*, where having left *Megabyzus* one of his chief commanders with part of his army to finiſh his conqueſts in thoſe parts, and thoroughly ſettle the countrey in his obedience, he repaſſed the *Boſphorus* with the reſt, and retired to *Sardis*, where he ſtayed all the winter, and the moſt part of the enſuing year, to refreſh his broken forces, and re-ſettle his affairs in thoſe parts of his empire, after the ſhock that had been given them by the baffle and loſs which he had ſuſtained in this ill-adviſed expedition.

An. 512. Darius 10. *MEGABYZUS* having reduced moſt of the nations of *Thrace* under the *Perſian* yoke, returned to *Sardis* to *Darius*, [h] and from thence accompanied him to *Suſa*, whither he marched back about the end of the year, after having appointed *Artaphernes*, one of his brothers, governor of *Sardis*, and *Otanes* chief commander of *Thrace*, and the maritime parts adjoining, in the place of *Megabyzus*. This *Otanes* was the ſon of *Siſamnes*, one of the royal judges of *Perſia*, who having been convicted of bribery and corruption by *Cambyſes*, there is related this remarkable inſtance of that King's juſtice towards him, [i] that he cauſed him to be flay'd alive, and making with his skin a covering for the ſeat of the tribunal, made this his ſon, whom he appointed to ſucceed him in his office, to ſit thereon, that being thus put in mind of his father's puniſhment, he might thereby be admoniſh'd to avoid his crime.

An. 510. Darius 12. THE *Scythians*, to be revenged on *Darius* for his invading their countrey, [j] paſs'd over the *Danube*, and ravaged all thoſe parts of *Thrace* that had ſubmitted to the *Perſians* as far as the *Helleſpont*, whereon *Miltiades* to avoid their rage fled from the *Cherſoneſus*, but on the retreat of the e-

[h] Herodotus, lib. 5. Marcellinus, lib. 24.
[i] Herodotus, lib. 5. Valerius Maximus, lib. 6. c. 3. Ammianus
[j] Herodotus, lib. 6.

nemy he returned, and was again reinſtated in his former power by the inhabitants of the countrey.

ABOUT this time *Darius*, being deſirous to enlarge his dominions eaſtward, in order to the conquering of thoſe countries, laid a deſign of firſt making a diſcovery of them, [k] for which purpoſe having built a fleet of ſhips at *Caſpatyrus*, a city on the river *Indus*, and as far up upon it as the borders of *Scythia*, he gave the command of it to *Scylax* a *Grecian* of *Caryandia*, a city in *Caria*, and one well skill'd in maritime affairs, and ſent him down the river to make the beſt diſcoveries he could of all the parts which lay on the banks of it on either ſide, ordering him for this end to ſail down the current till he ſhould arrive at the mouth of the river, and that then paſſing through it into the ſouthern ocean he ſhould ſhape his courſe weſtward, and that way return home. Which orders he having exactly executed, he returned by the ſtreights of *Babelmandel* and the red ſea, and on the thirtieth month after his firſt ſetting out from *Caſpatyrus* landed in *Egypt*, at the ſame place, from whence *Necho* King of *Egypt* formerly ſent out his *Phœnicians* to ſail round the coaſts of *Africa*, which it's moſt likely was the port where now the town of *Sues* ſtands, at the hither end of the ſaid red ſea. And from thence he went to *Suſa*, and there gave *Darius* an account of all the diſcoveries which he had made. After this *Darius* entred *India* with an army, and brought all that large countrey under him, and [l] made it the twentieth prefecture of his empire, from whence he annually received a tribute of three hundred and ſixty talents of gold, according to the number of the days of the then *Perſian* year, appointing a talent to be paid him for every day in it. This payment was made him according to the ſtandard of the *Euboic* talent, which was near the ſame with the *Attic*, and therefore according to the loweſt computation it [m] amounted to the value of one million and ninety five thouſand pound of our money. *An.* 509. Darius 13.

A [n] ſedition happening in *Naxus*, the chief iſland of the *Cyclades* in the *Egean* ſea, now called the *Archipelago*, and the better ſort being therein overpowered by the greater number, many of the wealthieſt of the inhabitants were expelled the iſland, and driven into baniſhment. Whereon retiring to *Miletus*, they there begged the aſſiſtance of *Ariſtagoras*, for the reſtoring of them again to their countrey. This *Ariſtagoras* then governed that city as deputy to *Heſtiæus*, whoſe nephew and ſon-in-law he was, *Heſtiæus* being then abſent at *Suſa* in *Perſia*. For *Darius* on his return to *Sardis*, after his unfortunate expedition againſt the *Scythians*, being thoroughly informed that he owed the ſafety of himſelf, and all his army to *Heſtiæus*, in that he perſuaded the *Ionians* not to deſert him at the *Danube*, ſent for him to come to him, and having acknowledged his ſervice bid him ask his reward. Whereon he deſired of him the *Edonian Myrcinus*, a territory on the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, in order to build a city there, and having obtained his requeſt, immediately on his return to *Miletus* he equipped a fleet and ſailed for *Thrace*, and having there taken poſſeſſion of the territory granted him, did forthwith ſet himſelf on the enterprize of building his intended city in the place projected. *Megabyzus* being then governor of *Thrace*, for *Darius*, ſoon ſaw what danger this might create *An.* 504. Darius 18.

[k] Herodot. lib. 4. [l] Herodot. lib. 3. [m] *For according to the loweſt valuation an Attic talent of gold amounts to three thouſand pound of our money.* [n] Herodot. lib. 5.

to the King's affairs in thoſe parts. For he conſidered that the new-built city ſtood upon a navigable river, that the countrey thereabout afforded abundance of timber for the building of ſhips, that it was inhabited by ſeveral nations both of *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, which could furniſh a great multitude of men fit for military ſervice both by ſea and land; that if theſe ſhould get ſuch a crafty and enterpriſing perſon as *Heſtiæus* at the head of them, they might ſoon grow to a power both by ſea and land too hard for the King to maſter, and that eſpecially ſince from their ſilver and gold mines, of which there were many in that countrey, they might be furniſhed with means enough to carry on any enterprize they ſhould undertake. All this on his return to *Sardis* he repreſented unto the King, who being thereby made fully ſenſible of the error he had committed, for the remedying of it ſent a meſſenger to *Myrcinus*, to call *Heſtiæus* to *Sardis* to him, under pretence that having great matters in deſign, he wanted his counſel and advice concerning them, by which means having gotten him into his power he carried him with him to *Suſa*, pretending that he needed ſuch an able counſellor and ſo faithful a friend to be always about him to adviſe with on all occaſions that might happen, and that he would make him ſo far a partaker of his fortunes by his royal bounty to him in *Perſia*, that he ſhould have no reaſon any more to think either of *Myrcinus* or *Miletus*. *Heſtiæus* hereon ſeeing himſelf under a neceſſity of obeying, accompanied *Darius* to *Suſa*, and appointed *Ariſtagoras* to govern at *Miletus* in his abſence, and to him the baniſhed *Naxians* applied for relief. As ſoon as *Ariſtagoras* underſtood from them their caſe, he entertained a deſign of improving this opportunity to the making of himſelf maſter of *Naxus*, and therefore readily promiſed them all the relief and aſſiſtance which they deſired. But not being ſtrong enough of himſelf to accompliſh what he intended, he went to *Sardis*, and communicated the matter to *Artaphernes*, telling him, that this was an opportunity offered for the putting of a rich and fertile iſland into the King's hands; that if he had that, all the reſt of the *Cyclades* would of courſe fall under his power alſo; and that then *Eubœa*, an iſland as big as *Cyprus*, lying next, would be an eaſy conqueſt, from whence he would have an open paſſage into *Greece*, for the bringing of all that countrey under his obedience, and that an hundred ſhips would be ſufficient to accompliſh this enterprize. *Artaphernes* on the hearing of the propoſal was ſo much pleaſed with it, that inſtead of the hundred ſhips which *Ariſtagoras* demanded, he promiſed him two hundred, provided the King liked hereof, and accordingly on his writing to him having received his anſwer of approbation, he ſent him the next ſpring to *Miletus* the number of ſhips which he had promiſed, under the command of *Megabates*, a noble *Perſian* of the *Achæmenian* or royal family. But his commiſſion being to obey the orders of *Ariſtagoras*, and the haughty *Perſian* not brooking to be under the command of an *Ionian*, this created a diſſenſion between the two generals, which was carried on ſo far, that *Megabates* to be revenged on *Ariſtagoras* betrayed the deſign to the *Naxians*, whereon they provided ſo fully for their defence, that after the *Perſians* had in the ſiege of the chief city of the iſland ſpent four months, and all their proviſions, they were forced to retire for want wherewith there any longer to ſubſiſt, and ſo the whole plot miſcarried; the blame whereof being by *Megabates* all laid upon *Ariſtagoras*, and the falſe accuſations of the one being more favourably heard than the juſt defence of the other, *Artaphernes* charged on

An. 503. Darius 19.

him

him all the expences of the expedition, and it was given him to underſtand, that they would be exacted of him to the utmoſt penny; which being more than he was able to pay, he foreſaw that this muſt end not only in the loſs of his government, but alſo in his utter ruine, and therefore being driven into extremities by the deſperateneſs of his caſe, he entertained thoughts of rebelling againſt the King, as the only way left him for the extricating of himſelf out of this difficulty, and while he had this under conſideration came a meſſage to him from *Heſtiæus*, which adviſed the ſame thing. For *Heſtiæus*, after ſeveral years continuance at the *Perſian* court, being weary of their manners, and exceeding deſirous of being again in his own countrey, ſent this advice unto *Ariſtagoras*, as the likelieſt means to accompliſh his aim herein. For he concluded that if there were any combuſtions raiſed in *Ionia*, he ſhould eaſily prevail with *Darius* to ſend him thither to appeaſe them, as it accordingly came to paſs. *Ariſtagoras* therefore finding his own inclinations backed with the order of *Heſtiæus*, communicated the matter to the chief of the *Ionians*, and finding them all ready to join with him in what he propos'd, he fixed his reſolutions for a revolt, and immediately ſet himſelf to make all manner of preparations to put them in execution.

THE *Tyrians*, after the taking of their city by *Nebuchadnezzar*, having been reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude, continued under the preſſure of it full ſeventy years. But theſe being now expired, they were again, according to the [o] propheſy of *Iſaiah*, reſtored to their former privileges, and were allowed to have a King again of their own, and accordingly had ſo till the time of *Alexander*. This favour ſeems to have been granted them by *Darius*, in conſideration of their uſefulneſs to him in his naval wars, and eſpecially at this time, when he needed them and their ſhipping ſo much for the reducing of the *Ionians* again to their obedience to him. Hereon they ſoon recovered their former proſperity, and by the means of their traffic, whereby they had made their city the chief mart of all the eaſt, they ſoon grew to that greatneſs both of power and riches, as enabled them on *Alexander*'s invading the eaſt to make a greater ſtand againſt him than all the *Perſian* empire beſides. For they ſtopped the progreſs of his whole army full ſeven months, before they could be reduced, as will be hereafter ſhewn. This grant was made them by *Darius* in the nineteenth year of his reign.

THE next year after, *Ariſtagoras*, to engage the *Ionians* the more firmly to ſtick to him, [p] reſtored them all to their liberties. For beginning firſt with hmſelf at *Miletus*, he there aboliſhed his own authority, and reinſtated the people in the government, and then going round *Ionia* forced all the other tyrants (as the *Greeks* then called them) in every city to do the ſame; by which having united them into one common league, and gotten himſelf to be made the head of it, he openly declared his revolt from the King, and armed both by ſea and land to make war againſt him. This was done in the twentieth year of the reign of *Darius*. *An.* 502. Darius 20.

ARISTAGORAS, to ſtrengthen himſelf the more againſt the *Perſians* in this war, which he had begun againſt them, [q] went in the beginning of the following year to *Lacedæmon*, to engage that city in his intereſt, and gain their aſſiſtance. But being there rejected he came to *Athens*, where *An.* 501. Darius 21

[o] Iſaiah xxiii. 15, 17. [p] Herodot. lib. 5. [q] Herodot. lib. 5.

he

he had a much more favourable reception. For he had the good fortune to come thither at a time, when he found the *Athenians* in a thorough diſpoſition to cloſe with any propoſal againſt the *Perſians* that ſhould be offered to them, they being then in the higheſt degree exaſperated againſt them on this occaſion. *Hippias* the ſon of *Piſiſtratus* tyrant of *Athens*, having been expelled thence about ten years before, after he had in vain tried ſeveral other ways for his reſtoration, at length applied himſelf to *Artaphernes* at *Sardis*, and having there inſinuated himſelf a great way into his favour, was well heard in all that he had to ſay againſt the *Athenians*, and he ſpared not to do all that he could to ſet *Artaphernes* againſt them; which the *Athenians* having advice of, ſent an Embaſſy to *Sardis* to make friendſhip with *Artaphernes*, and to deſire him not to give ear to their exiles againſt them. The anſwer which *Artaphernes* gave them, was, that they muſt receive *Hippias* again if they would be ſafe. Which haughty meſſage being brought back to *Athens* did ſet the whole city into a rage againſt the *Perſians*; and in this juncture *Ariſtagoras* coming thither, eaſily obtained from them all that he deſired, and accordingly they ordered a fleet of twenty ſhips for his aſſiſtance.

An. 500. Darius 22. IN the third year of the war [r] the *Ionians* having gotten all their forces together, and being aſſiſted with twenty ſhips from *Athens*, and five from *Eretria*, a city in the iſland of *Eubœa*, they ſailed to *Epheſus*, and having there laid up their ſhips reſolved on an attempt upon *Sardis*; and accordingly marched thither and took the place. But *Sardis* being built moſt of cane, and their houſes being therefore very combuſtible, one of them being accidentally ſet on fire did ſpread the flame to all the reſt, and the whole city was burnt down, excepting only the caſtle, where *Artaphernes* retired and defended himſelf. But after this accident the *Perſians* and *Lydians* gathering together for their defence, and other forces coming in to their aſſiſtance from the adjacent parts, the *Ionians* ſaw it was time for them to retreat, and therefore marched back to their ſhips at *Epheſus* with all the ſpeed they were able; but before they could reach the place they were overtaken, fought with, and overthrown with a great ſlaughter. Whereon the *Athenians* going on board their ſhips hoiſted their ſails and returned home, and would not after this be any farther concerned in this war, notwithſtanding all the moſt earneſt intreaties with which they were ſollicited to it by *Ariſtagoras*. However [s] their having engaged thus far gave riſe to that war between the *Perſians* and the *Greeks*, which being carried on for ſeveral generations after between theſe two nations, cauſed infinite calamities to both, and at laſt ended in the utter deſtruction of the *Perſian* empire. For *Darius*, on his hearing of the burning of *Sardis*, and the part which the *Athenians* had therein, from that time reſolved on a war againſt *Greece*, and that he might be ſure not to forget it, he cauſed one of his attendants every day, when he was ſet at dinner, to ſay aloud unto him three times, *Sir, remember the* Athenians. In the burning of *Sardis*, it hapned that the temple of *Cybele*, the goddeſs of the countrey, took fire, and was conſumed with the reſt of the city, which afterwards ſerved the *Perſians* for a pretence, to ſet on fire all the temples of the *Grecians* which came in their way, tho' in truth that proceeded from another cauſe, which ſhall be hereafter related.

[r] Herod. lib. 5. [s] Herod. lib. 5. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

ON.

ON the departure of the *Athenians* [t] the reſt of the confederate fleet ſailed to the *Helleſpont* and the *Propontis*, and reduced the *Byzantines*, and moſt of the other *Grecian* cities in thoſe parts under their power. And then ſailing back again, brought in the *Carians* to joyn with them in this war, and alſo the *Cypriots*, who all (excepting the *Amathuſians*) entered into the ſame confederacy againſt *Darius*, and revolted from him, which drawing upon them all the forces that the *Perſians* had in *Cilicia*, and the other neighbouring provinces, and alſo a great fleet from *Phœnicia*, the *Ionians* ſailed thither to their aſſiſtance, and engaging the *Phœnician* fleet, gave them a great overthrow. But at the ſame time the *Cypriots* being vanquiſhed in a battel at land, and the head of that conſpiracy ſlain in it, the *Ionians* loſt the whole fruit of their victory at ſea, and were forced to return, without having at all benefited either themſelves or their allies by it. For after this defeat at land the whole iſland was again reduced; and within three years after, the ſame perſons whom they had now aſſiſted came againſt them with their ſhips, in conjunction with the reſt of the *Perſian* fleet, to complete their utter deſtruction.

THE next year after being the twenty third of *Darius*, [u] *Dauriſes*, *Hymees* and *Otanes*, three *Perſian* generals, and all ſons-in-law of *Darius* by the marriage of his daughters, having divided the *Perſian* forces between them, marched three ſeveral ways to attack the revolters. *Dauriſes* with his army directed his courſe to the *Helleſpont*, but after having there reduced ſeveral of the revolted cities, on his hearing that the *Carians* had alſo joyned the confederates, he left thoſe parts, and marched with all his forces againſt them. Whereon *Hymees*, who was firſt ſent to the *Propontis*, after having taken the city of *Cius* in *Myſia*, marched thence to ſupply his place on the *Helleſpont*, where there was much more need of him, and there reduced all the *Ilian* coaſt; but falling ſick at *Troas* he there died the next year after. *Artaphernes* and *Otanes* with the third army, reſolving to ſtrike at the very heart of the confederacy fell into *Ionia* and *Æolia*, where the chief of their ſtrength lay, and took *Clazomenæ* in *Ionia*, and *Cyma* in *Æolia*, which was ſuch a blow to the whole confederacy, that *Ariſtagoras* hereon deſpairing of his cauſe, reſolved to leave *Miletus*, and ſhift elſewhere for his ſafety, and therefore getting together all that were willing to accompany him, he went on ſhipboard, and ſet ſail for the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, and there ſeized on the territory of *Myrcinus*, which *Darius* had formerly given to *Heſtiæus*, but the next year after, while he beſieged the city, he was there ſlain by the *Thracians*, and all his army cut in pieces. *An.* 499 Darius 23.

IN the twenty fourth year of *Darius* [w] *Dauriſes* having fallen into the countrey of the *Carians*, overthrew them in two battels with a very great ſlaughter; but in a third battel, being drawn into an ambuſh, he was ſlain with ſeveral other eminent *Perſians*, and his whole army cut off and deſtroyed. *An.* 498. Darius 24.

ARTAPHERNES with *Otanes*, and the reſt of the *Perſian* generals, ſeeing that *Miletus* was the head, and chief ſtrength of the *Ionian* confederacy, [x] reſolved to bend all their force againſt it, reckoning that if they could make themſelves maſters of this city, all the reſt would fall of *An.* 497. Darius 25.

[t] Herod. lib. 5. [v] Herod. lib. 5. [w] Herod. lib. 5. [x] Herod. lib. 6.

courſe.

courſe. The *Ionians* being informed of this, agreed in their general council to bring no army into the field, but provide and ſtrengthen *Miletus*, as well as they could, for a ſiege, and to draw all their forces to fight the *Perſians* by ſea, in which ſort of fighting they thought themſelves, by reaſon of their skill in maritime affairs, moſt likely to prevail; in order whereto they appointed *Lada*, a ſmall iſland before *Miletus*, for their rendezvous, and thither they came to the number of 353 ſhips; at the ſight of which the *Perſians*, though their fleet was double the number, fearing the event, came not to a battel with them, till they had, by their emiſſaries ſent among them, corrupted the major part to deſert the cauſe; ſo that when they came to engage, the *Samians*, *Lesbians*, and ſeveral others, hoiſting their ſails and departing home, there were not above an hundred ſhips left to bear the whole brunt of the day; who being ſoon overborn by the number of the enemy, were almoſt all loſt and deſtroyed. After this *Miletus* being beſieg'd both by ſea and land ſoon fell a prey into the hands of the victors, who abſolutely deſtroyed the place; which hapned in the ſixth year after the revolt of *Ariſtagoras*. From *Miletus* the *Perſians* marched into *Caria*, and having there taken ſome cities by force, and received others by voluntary ſubmiſſion, in a ſhort time reduced all that countrey again under their former yoke. The *Mileſians*, who were ſaved from the ſword in the taking of the city, being ſent captives to *Darius* to *Suſa*, he did them no farther harm, but ſent them to inhabit the city of *Ampha*, which was ſituated at the mouth of the *Tigris*, where in conjunction with the *Euphrates* it falls into the *Perſian* gulph, not far from the place where now the city *Balſora* ſtands, and there they continued a *Grecian* colony for many ages after.

An. 496. Darius 26.

AFTER the taking of *Miletus* the *Perſian* fleet, which moſtly conſiſted of *Phœnicians*, *Cypriots* and *Egyptians*, having wintered on the coaſts thereabout, [y] the next year took in *Samos*, *Chius*, *Lesbus*, and the reſt of the iſlands. And while they were thus employed at ſea, the armies at land fell on the cities of the continent, and having brought them all again under their power, they treated them as they had afore threatned, that is, they made all the beautifulleſt of their youths eunuchs, ſent all their virgins into *Perſia*, and burnt all their cities with their temples; into ſo grievous a calamity were they brought by this revolt, which the ſelf-deſigns of one enterpriſing buſy-headed man, *Heſtiæus* the *Mileſian*, led them into, and he himſelf had his ſhare in it. For this very year being taken priſoner by the *Perſians*, he was carried to *Sardis*, and there crucified by the order of *Artaphernes*. He haſtned his execution, without conſulting *Darius* about it, leſt his kindneſs for him might extend to the granting him his pardon, and thereby a dangerous enemy to the *Perſians* be again let looſe to embaraſs their affairs. And that it would have ſo hapned, as they conjectured, did afterwards appear. For when his head was brought to *Darius*, he expreſſed great diſpleaſure againſt the authors of his death, and cauſed his head to be honourably buried, as the remains of a man that had much merited from him. How he was the cauſe of the *Ionian* war, and what was his aim herein, hath been above related. On the breaking out of that revolt, and the burning of *Sardis*, [z] *Darius* underſtanding that

[y] Herodot. lib. 6. [z] Herodot. lib. 5.

Ariſta-

Ariſtagoras, the deputy of *Heſtiæus*, was at the head of it, doubted not but that *Heſtiæus* himſelf was at the bottom of the whole contrivance, and therefore ſent for him, and charged him with it; but he managed the matter ſo craftily with *Darius*, as to make him believe not only that he was innocent, but that the whole cauſe of this revolt was, that he was not there to have hindered it. For he told him, that the matter appeared plainly to have been long a brewing, and that they had waited only for his abſence to put it in execution; and that if he had continued at *Miletus* it could never have hapned; and that the only way to reſtore his affairs in thoſe parts, was to ſend him thither to appeaſe theſe combuſtions; which he promiſed not only to do, but to deliver *Ariſtagoras* into his hands, and make the great iſland of *Sardinia* to become tributary to him; ſwearing that if he were ſent on this voyage, he would not change his garments till all were effected that he had ſaid. By which fair ſpeech *Darius* being deceived,[a] gave him permiſſion to return into *Ionia*. On his arrival at *Sardis* his buſy head ſet him at work to contrive a plot againſt the government there, and he had drawn ſeveral of the *Perſians* into it. But in ſome diſcourſe which he had with *Artaphernes*, finding that he was no ſtranger to the part which he had acted in the *Ionian* revolt, he thought it not ſafe for him any longer to tarry at *Sardis*, and therefore the next night after, getting privately away, he fled to the ſea coaſt, and got over to the iſland of *Chius*. But the *Chians*, miſtruſting that his coming thither was to act ſome part for the intereſt of *Darius* among them, ſeized on his perſon, and put him in priſon; but afterwards, being ſatisfied how he was engaged to the contrary, they ſet him again at liberty. Hereon he ſent one, whom he had confidence in, with letters to *Sardis*, to thoſe *Perſians* whom he had corrupted while he was there; but the perſon whom he truſted deceiving him, delivered the letters to *Artaphernes*, whereby the plot being diſcovered, and all the perſons concerned in it put to death, he failed of this deſign. But thinking ſtill he could do great matters, were he at the head of the *Ionian* league, in order to the gaining of this point, he got the *Chians* to convey him to *Miletus*. But the *Mileſians* having had their liberty reſtored to them by *Ariſtagoras* would by no means run the hazard of loſing it again by receiving him into the city, whereon endeavouring in the night to enter by force, he was repulſed and wounded, and thereby forced to return again to *Chius*. While he was there, being asked the reaſon, why he ſo earneſtly preſſed *Ariſtagoras* to revolt, and thereby brought ſo great a calamity upon *Ionia*, he told them, it was becauſe the King had reſolved to remove the *Ionians* into *Phœnicia*, and to bring the *Phœnicians* into *Ionia*, and give them that countrey; which was wholly a fiction of his own deviſing. For *Darius* had never any ſuch intention; but it very well ſerved his purpoſe, firſt to excuſe himſelf, and next to excite the *Ionians* with the greater firmneſs and vigour to proſecute the war, which accordingly had its effect. For the *Ionians* hearing that their countrey was to be taken from them and given to the *Phœnicians*, were exceedingly alarmed at it, and therefore reſolved with the utmoſt of their power to ſtand to their defence. However, *Heſtiæus* finding the *Chians* not any way inclined to truſt him with any of their naval forces, as he de-

[a] Herod. lib. 6.

fired of them, he paſſed over to the iſle of *Lesbus*, and having there gained eight ſhips he ſailed with them to *Byzantium*, where making prize of all the ſhips that paſſed the *Boſphorus*, either to or from the *Euxine* ſea, excepting only ſuch as belonged to thoſe who were confederated with him, he did there in a ſhort time grow to a great power. But on his hearing of the taking of *Miletus*, he left the conduct of his affairs in thoſe parts to a deputy, and ſailed to *Chius*, and after ſome little oppoſition at his firſt landing made himſelf maſter of the iſland, the *Chians* by reaſon of the loſs they had lately ſuſtained in the ſea-fight againſt the *Perſians* at *Lada* being too weak at that time to reſiſt him. From thence he ſailed with a great army of *Ionians* and *Æolians* to *Thaſus*, an iſland on the *Thracian* coaſt, and laid ſiege to the chief city of that iſland, but hearing that the *Phœnician* fleet in the ſervice of the *Perſians* was ſailed to take in the iſlands on the *Aſian* coaſt, he raiſed the ſiege, and ſailed back to *Lesbus* with all his forces to defend that place, from whence paſſing over into the continent, which was oppoſite to it, to plunder the countrey, *Harpagus*, one of the *Perſian* generals, who hapned then to be there with a great army, fell upon him, and having routed his Forces, and taken him priſoner, ſent him to *Sardis*, where he met with the fate which I have mentioned. He was a man of the beſt head, and the moſt enterprizing genius of any of his age, but he having wholly employed theſe abilities to lay plots and deſigns, which produced great miſchiefs in the world, for the obtaining of little aims of his own, it hapned to him as it doth moſt an end to ſuch refined politicians, who while they are ſpinning fine webs of politicks for the bringing about of their ſelf deſigns, often find them to become ſnares to their own deſtruction. For the providence of the wiſeſt of men being too ſhort to over-reach the providence of God, he often permits ſuch *Achitophels*, for the puniſhment of their preſumption, as well as their malice, to periſh by their own devices. And ſo it hapned to *Machiavel*, the famous maſter of our modern politicians, who after all his politicks died in jail for want of bread. And thus may it happen to all elſe, who make any other maxims than thoſe of truth and juſtice to be the rules of their politicks.

An. 495. Darius 27. AFTER the *Phœnician* fleet had ſubdued all the iſlands on the *Aſian* coaſt, *Artaphernes* [b] ſent them to reduce the *Helleſpont*, that is, all its coaſts on the *European* ſide, for thoſe on the *Aſian* had been already brought under by the armies at land; which *Miltiades*, prince of the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, having advice of, and that the fleet was come as far as *Tenedos* to put theſe orders in execution, he thought not fit to tarry their arrival, as being too weak to reſiſt ſo great a power, but immediately carried all that he had on board five ſhips, and ſet ſail with them for *Athens*. But in his paſſage one of them, commanded by *Metiochus* his eldeſt ſon, was taken by the *Phœnicians*, and *Metiochus* was carried to *Darius* to *Suſa*; but inſtead of doing him any hurt, he generouſly gave him an houſe, and lands alſo for his maintenance, and married him to a *Perſian* lady, with whom he there lived in an honourable ſtate all his life after, and never more returned into *Greece*. In the interim *Miltiades*, with his other four ſhips, got ſafe to *Athens*, and there again ſettled himſelf. For he was a citizen of that city, and of one of the moſt honourable families in it. *Miltiades*, his

[b] Herodot. lib. 6. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

father

father *Cimon*'s elder brother by the ſame mother (for they had different fathers) was the firſt of the *Athenians* that ſettled in the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, being called thither by the *Dolonces*, the inhabitants of the countrey, to be their prince, who dying without iſſue left his principality to *Steſagoras* his nephew, the eldeſt ſon of his brother *Cimon*, and he dying alſo without children, the ſons of *Piſiſtratus*, who then govern'd at *Athens*, ſent this *Miltiades* his brother thither to ſucceed him, where he arrived and ſettled himſelf in that year in which *Darius* entred on his war againſt the *Scythians*, in which expedition he accompanied him with his ſhips to the *Danube*, as hath been above ſaid. Three years after he was driven out by the *Scythians*, but being afterwards brought back, and reſtored again by the *Dolonces*, he continued there till this time, and then was finally diſpoſſeſs'd by the *Phœnicians*. While he lived in the *Cherſoneſus*, he married for his ſecond wife *Hegeſipyla* the daughter of *Olorus*, a *Thracian* King in the neighbourhood, by whom [c] he had *Cimon*, the famous general of the *Athenians*. After the death of *Miltiades* ſhe had by a ſecond huſband a ſon called alſo *Olorus*, by the name of his grandfather, who was the father of *Thucydides* the hiſtorian. She could not have had them both by the ſame husband, for *Cymon*, and *Thucydides*, and conſequently *Olorus*, were of two different tribes, and therefore they could not be both deſcended from *Miltiades*.

DARIUS recalling all his other generals [d] ſent *Mardonius*, the ſon of *Gobrias*, a young *Perſian* nobleman, who had lately married one of his daughters, to be the chief commander in all the maritime parts of *Aſia*, with orders to invade *Greece*, and revenge him on the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* for the burning of *Sardis*. On his arrival at the *Helleſpont*, all his forces being there rendezvouſed for the execution of theſe orders, he marched with his land forces through *Thrace* into *Macedonia*, ordering his fleet firſt to take in *Thaſus*, and then follow after him, and coaſt it by ſea, as he marched by land, that each might be at hand to act in concert with each other, for the proſecuting of the end propoſed by this war. On his arrival in *Macedonia*, all that countrey dreading ſo great a power ſubmitted to him. But the fleet, after they they had ſubdued *Thaſus*, as they were paſſing farther on towards the coaſts of *Macedonia*, on their doubling of the cape of mount *Athos*, now called *Capo Santo*, met there with a terrible ſtorm, which deſtroyed three hundred of their ſhips, and above twenty thouſand of their men. And at the ſame time *Mardonius* fell into no leſs a misfortune by land; for lying with his army in an encampment not ſufficiently ſecured, the *Thracians* took the advantage of it, and falling on him in the night broke into his camp, and ſlew a great number of his men, and wounded *Mardonius* himſelf, by which loſſes being diſabled for any farther action either by ſea or land, he was forced to march back again into *Aſia*, without gaining any honour or advantage, either to himſelf, or the King's affairs, by this expedition. *An.* 494. Darius 28.

DARIUS, before he would make any farther attempt upon the *Grecians*, [e] to make tryal which of them would ſubmit to him, and which would not, ſent heralds to all their cities to demand earth and water, which was the form whereby the *Perſians* uſed to require the ſubmiſſion of thoſe whom they would have yield to them. On the arrival of theſe heralds ſe- *An.* 493. Darius 29.

[c] Plutarchus in Cimone. [d] Herodot. lib. 6. [e] Herodot. lib. 7.

veral of the *Grecian* cities dreading the power of the *Perſians* did as was required of them. But when thoſe who were ſent to *Athens* and *Lacedæmon* came thither with this commiſſion, they flung them, the one into a well, and the other into a deep pit, and bid them fetch earth and water thence. But this being done in the heat of their rage, they repented of it when come to a cooler temper. For thus to put heralds to death was a violation of the law of nations, for which they were afterwards condemned even by themſelves, as well as all their neighbours, and would gladly have made any ſatisfaction for the wrong that would have been accepted of, and the *Lacedæmonians* ſent a perſon of purpoſe to *Suſa* to make an offer hereof.

An. 492. Darius 30. *DARIUS*, on the hearing of the ill ſucceſs of *Mardonius*, ſuſpecting the ſufficiency of his conduct, [f] recalled him from his command, and ſent two other generals in his ſtead to proſecute the war againſt the *Grecians*, *Datis* a *Median*, and *Artaphernes* a *Perſian*, the ſon of that *Artaphernes* his brother who was lately governor of *Sardis*, and gave them particularly in charge not to fail of executing his revenge on the *Athenians*, and the *Eretrians*, whom he could never forgive for the part which they had in the burning of *Sardis*. On their arrival on the coaſts of *Ionia* they there drew together an army of three hundred thouſand men, and a fleet of ſix hundred ſhips, and made the beſt preparations they could for this expedition againſt the *Grecians*.

An. 491. Darius 31. IN the beginning of the next ſpring, [g] the two *Perſian* generals having ſhipp'd their army, rendezvouſed their whole fleet at *Samos*, and from thence ſailed to *Naxus*, and having there burned the chief city of the iſland, and all their temples, and taken in all the other iſlands in thoſe ſeas, they ſhap'd their courſe directly for *Eretria*, and after a ſiege of ſeven days took the city by the treachery of ſome of its chief inhabitants, and burnt it to the ground, making all that they found in it captives. And then paſſing over into *Attica* they were led by the guidance of *Hippias*, the late tyrant of *Athens*, into the plain of *Marathon*, where being met and fought with by ten thouſand *Athenians*, and one thouſand *Plateans*, under the leading of *Miltiades*, that was lately prince of the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, they were there overthrown by this ſmall number with a great ſlaughter, and forced to retreat to their ſhips, and ſail back again into *Aſia* with baffle and diſgrace, having loſt in this expedition, [h] ſaith *Trogus*, by the ſword, ſhipwrack, and other ways, two hundred thouſand men. But [i] *Herodotus* tells us, they were no more than ſix thouſand four hundred that were ſlain in the field of battel, of which *Hippias* was one, who was the chief exciter and conductor of this war.

DATIS and *Artaphernes*, on their return into *Aſia*, [k] that they might ſhew ſome fruit of this expedition, ſent the *Eretrians* they had taken to *Darius* to *Suſa*, who without doing them any farther harm ſent them to dwell in a village of the region of *Ciſſia*, which was at the diſtance of about a days journey from *Suſa*, [l] where *Apollonius Tyaneus* found their deſcendents ſtill remaining a great many ages after.

An. 490. Darius 32. *DARIUS*, [m] on his hearing of the unſucceſsful return of his forces

[f] Herodot. lib. 6. Plutarchus in Ariſtide. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade. [g] Herodot. lib. 6. Plutarchus in Ariſtide & Themiſtocle. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade. [h] Juſtin. lib. 2. c. 9. [i] Herodot. lib. 6. [k] Herodot. lib. 6. [l] Philoſtratus, lib. 1. c. 17. [m] Herodot. lib. 7.

from

from *Attica*, inſtead of being diſcouraged by that, or the other diſaſters that had hapned unto him in his attempts upon the *Grecians*, added the defeat of *Marathon* to the burning of *Sardis*, as a new cauſe to excite him with the greater vigor to carry on the war againſt them. And therefore reſolving in perſon to make an invaſion upon them with all his power, he ſent orders thro' all the provinces to arm the whole empire for it. But after three years had been ſpent in making theſe preparations, a new war broke out in the fourth, by the revolt of the *Egyptians*. But *Darius*'s heart was ſo earneſtly ſet againſt the *Grecians*, that reſolving his new rebels ſhould not divert him from executing his wrath upon his old enemies, he determined to make war againſt them both at the ſame time, and that, while part of his forces were ſent to reduce *Egypt*, he would in perſon with the reſt fall upon *Greece*. But he being now an old man, and there being a controverſy between two of his ſons, to which of them two the ſucceſſion did belong, it was thought convenient that the matter ſhould be determined before he did ſet out on this expedition, leſt otherwiſe on his death it might cauſe a civil war in the empire. For the preventing of which, it was an ancient uſage among the *Perſians*, that before their King went out to any dangerous war his ſucceſſor ſhould be declared. The matter in diſpute [n] ſtood thus: *Darius* had three ſons by his firſt wife, the daughter of *Gobrias*, all born before his advancement to the throne, and four others by *Atoſſa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, who were all born after it. Of the firſt *Artabaſanes* (who is by ſome called *Artemines* and by others *Ariamenes*) was the eldeſt, and of the latter *Xerxes*. *Artabaſanes* urged that he was the eldeſt ſon, and therefore, according to the uſage and cuſtom of all nations, he ought to be preferred in the ſucceſſion before the younger. To this *Xerxes* replied, that he was the ſon of *Darius* by *Atoſſa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, who was the firſt founder of the *Perſian* empire, and therefore claimed in her right to ſucceed his father in it, and that it was much more agreeable to juſtice, that the crown of *Cyrus* ſhould come to a deſcendent of *Cyrus*, than to one who was not. And he farther added, that it was true, *Artabaſanes* was the eldeſt ſon of *Darius*, but that he was the eldeſt ſon of the King. For *Artabaſanes* was born while his father was only a private perſon, and therefore by that primogeniture could claim no more than to be heir to his private fortunes; but as to him, he was the firſt-born after his father was King, and therefore had the beſt right to ſucceed him in the kingdom. And for this he had an inſtance from the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom it was the uſage, that the ſons of their Kings, who were born after their advancement to the throne, ſhould ſucceed before thoſe who were born before it. And this laſt argument he was helped to by *Damaratus*, formerly King of *Lacedæmon*, who having been unjuſtly depoſed by his ſubjects, was then an exile in the *Perſian* court. Hereupon *Xerxes* was declared the ſucceſſor, tho' not ſo much by the ſtrength of his plea, as by the influence which his mother *Atoſſa* had over the inclinations of *Darius*, who was abſolutely governed in this matter by the authority ſhe had with him. That which was moſt remarkable in this conteſt was, the friendly and amicable manner with which it was managed. For during the whole time that it laſted, all the marks of a moſt entire fraternal affection paſſed between the two brothers. And when it was decided, as the one did not inſult,

An. 437. Darius 35.

[n] Herodot. lib. 7. Juſtin. lib. 2. c. 10. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe & in Apothegm. περὶ φιλαδελφίας.

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ſo neither did the other repine or expreſs any anger or diſcontent on the judgment given, and although the elder brother loſt the cauſe, yet he chearfully ſubmitted to the determination, wiſhed his brother joy, and without diminiſhing his friendſhip or affection to him, ever after adhered to his intereſt, and at laſt died in his ſervice, being ſlain fighting for him in the *Grecian* war, which is an example very rarely to be met with, where ſo great a prize is at ſtake, as that of a crown; the ambitious deſire of which is uſually of that force with the moſt of mankind, as to make them break through all other conſiderations whatſoever, where there is any the leaſt pretence to it, to reach the attainment.

An. 486. Darius 36. AFTER the ſucceſſion was thus ſettled, and all were ready to ſet out both for the *Egyptian*, as well as the *Grecian* war, [o] *Darius* fell ſick and died in the ſecond year after the *Egyptian* revolt, having then reigned [p] ſix and thirty years, and *Xerxes*, according to the late determination, quietly ſucceeded in the throne. There are writers [q] who place this determination after the death of *Darius*, and ſay that it was ſettled by the judgment of *Artabanus*, unkle to the two contending princes, who was made the arbitrator between them in this conteſt. But *Herodotus*, who lived the neareſt thoſe times of all that have written of it, poſitively tells us, that it was decided by *Darius* himſelf a little before his death. And his deciſion being that which was moſt likely to have the greateſt authority in this matter, *Herodotus*'s account of it ſeemeth the much more probable of the two.

DARIUS was a prince of wiſdom, clemency and juſtice, and hath the honour [r] to have his name recorded in holy writ for a favourer of God's people, a reſtorer of his temple at *Jeruſalem*, and a promoter of his worſhip therein; For all which God was pleaſed to make him his inſtrument, and in reſpect hereof, I doubt not, it was, that he bleſſed him with a numerous iſſue, a long reign, and great proſperity. For although he were not altogether ſo fortunate in his wars againſt the *Scythians*, and the *Grecians*, yet every where elſe he had full ſucceſs in all his undertakings, and not only reſtored and thoroughly ſettled the empire of *Cyrus*, after it had been much ſhaken by *Cambyſes* and the *Magian*, but alſo added many large and rich provinces to it, eſpecially thoſe of *India*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and the iſles of the *Ionian* ſea.

THE *Jews* [s] have a tradition, that in the laſt year of *Darius* died the prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah* and *Malachi*, and that thereon ceaſed the ſpirit of propheſy from among the children of *Iſrael*, and that this was the obſignation or ſealing up of viſion and propheſy ſpoken of by the prophet [t] *Daniel*. And from the ſame tradition they tell us, that the kingdom of the *Perſians* ceaſed alſo the ſame year. For they will have it, that this was the *Darius* whom *Alexander* conquered, and that the whole continuance of the *Perſian* empire was only fifty two years, which they reckon thus. *Darius the Median* reigned one year, *Cyrus* three years, *Cambyſes* (who they ſay was the *Ahaſuerus* who married *Eſther*) ſixteen years, and *Darius* (whom they will have to be the ſon of *Eſther*) thirty two years. And this

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[o] Herod. lib. 7. [p] Ptolem. in Canone, Africanus, Euſeb. &c. [q] Juſtin. lib. 2. c. 10. Plutarchus περὶ φιλαδελφίας. [r] Ezra v. *and in the propheſies of* Haggai *and* Zechariah.
[s] Abraham Zacutus in Juchaſin. David Ganz in Zemach David. Seder Olam Zuta, &c.
[t] Dan. ix. 24.

laſt

laſt *Darius*, according to them, was the *Artaxerxes*, who ſent *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* to *Jeruſalem* to reſtore the ſtate of the *Jews*. For they tell us, that *Artaxerxes* among the *Perſians* was the common name of their Kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was among the *Egyptians*. This ſhews how ill they have been acquainted with the affairs of the *Perſian* empire. And their countreyman *Joſephus*, in the account which he gives of thoſe times, ſeems to have been but very little better informed concerning them.

IN the time of his reign firſt appeared in *Perſia* the famous prophet of the Magians, whom the *Perſians* call *Zerduſht*, or *Zaratuſh*, and the *Greeks Zoroaſtres*. The *Greek* and *Latin* writers much differ about him, ſome of them [v] will have it, that he lived many ages before, and was King of *Bactria*; and others, that there were [w] ſeveral of the name, who lived in ſeveral ages, all famous in the ſame kind. But the oriental writers, who ſhould beſt know, [x] all unanimouſly agree, that there was but one *Zerduſht*, or *Zoroaſtres*, and that the time in which he flouriſhed, was while *Darius Hyſtaſpis* was King of *Perſia*. It is certain he was no King, but one born of mean and obſcure parentage, who did raiſe himſelf wholly by his craft in carrying on that impoſture, with which he deceived the world. They who place him ſo high as the time of *Ninus*, by whom, they ſay, he was ſlain in battel, follow the authority of *Juſtin* for it. But [y] *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Cteſias* tells us, that the King of *Bactria*, with whom *Ninus* had war, was called *Oxyartes*; and there are ſome ancient manuſcripts of *Juſtin*, [z] in which it is read *Oxyatres*, and perchance that was the genuine reading, and *Zoroaſtres* came into the text inſtead of it by the error of the copier, led thereto perchance by a note in the margin placed there by ſome critic, who from the character of the perſon took upon him to alter the name. For he is there ſaid, *Artes Magicas primo inveniſſe*, i. e. *That he was the firſt inventer of Magianiſme*, which *Zoroaſtres* only was generally taken to be, though in truth he was not the founder of that ſect, but only the reſtorer and reformer of it, as ſhall be hereafter ſhewn.

HE was the greateſt impoſtor, except *Mahomet*, that ever appeared in the world, and had all the craft and enterprizing boldneſs of that *Arab*, but much more knowledge. For he was excellently skill'd in all the learning of the eaſt that was in his time; whereas the other could neither write nor read; and particularly he was thoroughly verſed in the *Jewiſh* religion, and in all the ſacred writings of the old teſtament that were then extant, which makes it moſt likely, that he was as to his origine a *Jew*. And it is generally ſaid of him, that he had been a ſervant to one of the prophets of *Iſrael*, and that it was by this means, that he came to be ſo well skill'd in the holy ſcriptures, and all other *Jewiſh* knowledge, which is a farther proof that he was of that people, it not being likely, that a prophet of *Iſrael* ſhould entertain him as a ſervant, or inſtruct him as a diſciple, if he were not of the ſame ſeed of *Iſrael*, as well as of the ſame religion with him; and that eſpecially ſince it was the uſage of that people by principle of religion, as well as by long received cuſtom among them, to ſeparate themſelves from all other nations, as far as they were able. And

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[v] Juſtin. lib. 1. c. 1. Diogenes Laertius in Procemio. Plin. lib. 30. c. 1. [w] Plin. lib. 36. c. 1. *See* Stanley *of the* Chaldaic *Philoſophy*, *ch.* 2. [x] Abulfaragius, Iſhmael Abulfeda, Shareſtani, &c. vide etiam Agathiam, lib. 2. & Thomam Hyde de Religione veterum Perſarum, cap. 24. [y] Lib. 2. p. 94. [z] *So ſaith* Ligerius.

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it is farther to be taken notice of, that moſt of thoſe who ſpeak of his original, [a] ſay that he was of *Paleſtine*, within which countrey the land of *Judea* was. And all this put together amounts with me to a convincing proof, that he was firſt a *Jew*, and that by birth, as well as religion, before he took upon him to be prophet of the Magian ſect.

THE prophet of *Iſrael* to whom he was a ſervant, ſome [b] ſay was *Elias*, and [c] others *Ezra*; but as the former was too early, ſo the other was too late for the time in which he lived; with this beſt agreeth what is ſaid by a third ſort of writers, [d] that it was one of the diſciples of *Jeremiah* with whom he ſerved, and if ſo, it muſt have been either *Ezekiel* or *Daniel*. For beſides theſe two, there was no other prophet of *Iſrael* in thoſe times, who could have been of the diſciples of *Jeremiah*. And as *Daniel* was of age ſufficient at his carrying away to *Babylon* (he having been then about eighteen years old) to have been ſometimes before under the diſcipline and tutorage of that prophet, ſo having continued till about the end of the reign of *Cyrus*, he lived long enough to have been contemporary with this impoſtor, which cannot be ſaid of *Ezekiel*. For we hear nothing more of him after the twenty ſeventh year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, which was the year next after the taking of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar*. And therefore it is moſt likely, that he lived not much beyond that time. It muſt therefore be *Daniel* under whom this impoſtor ſerved; and beſides him, there was not any other maſter in thoſe times, under whom he could acquire all that knowledge both in things ſacred and prophane, which he was ſo well furniſhed with. And no doubt his ſeeing that great, good, and wiſe man, arrive to ſuch an height and dignity in the empire, by being a true prophet of God, was that which did ſet this crafty wretch upon the deſign of being a falſe one, hoping that by acting this part well he might obtain the ſame advancement, and by pretending to that, which the other really was, arrive to the like honour and greatneſs; and it muſt be ſaid, that by his craft and dexterity in managing this pretence, he wonderfully ſucceeded in what he aimed at. It is ſaid, that while he ſerved the prophet under whom he was bred, he did by ſome evil action [e] draw on him his curſe, and that thereon he was ſmitten with leproſy. But they, who tell us this, ſeem to be ſuch, who finding *Eliah* ſaid to be his maſter, miſtook *Eliſha* for *Eliah*, and therefore thought *Gehazi* to have been the perſon.

HE did not found a new religion, as his ſucceſſor in impoſture *Mahomet* did, but [f] only took upon him to revive and reform an old one, that of the Magians, which had been for many ages paſt the ancient national religion of the *Medes* as well as of the *Perſians*. For it having fall'n under diſgrace on the death of thoſe ringleaders of that ſect, who had uſurped the ſovereignty after the death of *Cambyſes*, and the ſlaughter which was then made of all the chief men among them, it ſunk ſo low, that it became almoſt extinct, and *Sabianiſme* every where prevail'd againſt it, *Darius* and moſt of his followers on that occaſion going over to it. But

[a] Religio veterum Perſarum per Thomam Hyde, c. 24. [b] Abulfaragius, p. 54.
[c] Abu Mohammed Muſtapha hiſtoricus Arabs. Religio veterum Perſarum, cap. 24. p. 313.
[d] Bundari ex Abu Japhar Tabarita hiſtorico Arabe. Relig. vet. Perſ. c. 24. p. 314.
[e] Migidi Perſa. Bundari. Abu Mohammed Muſtapha. Religio vet. Perſ. c. 24. p. 313, 114, 115.
[f] Vide Pocockii ſpecimen hiſtoriæ Arabicæ, p. 147, 148, 149. Et Thomam Hyde de religione veterum Perſarum.

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the affection which the people had for the religion of their forefathers, and which they had been all brought up in, not being eaſily to be rooted out, *Zoroaſtres* ſaw, that the revival of this was the beſt game of impoſture that he could then play, and having ſo good an old ſtook to graft upon, he did with the greater eaſe make all his new ſcions to grow, which he inſerted into it.

HE firſt [g] made his appearance in *Media*, now called *Aderbijan*, in the city of *Xiz*, ſay ſome; in that of *Ecbatana*, now *Tauris*, ſay others. For *Smerdis* having been of that province, it is moſt likely that the ſect which he was of had ſtill there its beſt rooting. And therefore the impoſtor thought he might in thoſe parts, with the beſt ſucceſs, attempt the revival of it. And his firſt appearing here is that, which I ſuppoſe hath given ſome the handle to aſſert, that this was the countrey in which he was born.

THE chief reformation which he made in the *Magian* religion [h] was in the firſt principle of it. For whereas before they had held the being of two firſt cauſes, the firſt Light, or the good God, who was the author of all good; and the other darkneſs, or the evil god, who was the author of all evil; and that of the mixture of theſe two, as they were in a continual ſtruggle with each other, all things were made, he introduced a principle ſuperior to them both, one ſupreme God, who created both light and darkneſs, and out of theſe two, according to the alone pleaſure of his own will, made all things elſe that are, according to what is ſaid in the xlv^th^ chapter of *Iſaiah*, Ver. 5, 6, 7. *I am the Lord, and there is none elſe; there is no God beſides me; I girded thee, though thou haſt not known me, that they may know from the riſing of the ſun, and from the weſt, that there is none beſides me. I am the Lord, and there is none elſe. I form the light and create darkneſs, I make peace and create evil. I the Lord do all theſe things.* For theſe words being directed to *Cyrus* King of *Perſia*, muſt be underſtood as ſpoken in reference to the *Perſian* ſect of the *Magians*, who then held light and darkneſs, or good and evil, to be the ſupreme beings, without acknowledging the great God, who is ſuperior to both. And, I doubt not, it was from hence that *Zoroaſtres* had the hint of mending this great abſurdity in their theology. But to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, [i] that God originally or directly created only light, or good, and that darkneſs or evil followed it by conſequence, as the ſhadow doth the perſon; that light or good had only a real production from God, and the other afterwards reſulted from it, as the defect thereof. In ſum, his doctrine, as to this particular, was, [k] that there was one ſupreme Being, independent and ſelf-exiſting from all eternity. That [l] under him there were two angels, one the angel of light, who is the author and director of all good; and the other the angel of darkneſs, who is the author and director of all evil; and that theſe two out of the mixture of light and darkneſs made all things that are; that they are in a perpetual ſtruggle with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there the moſt is good, and where the angel of darkneſs prevails, there the moſt is evil;

[g] Bundari. Abu Japhar Tabarita. Religio vet. Perſ. c. 24. Golii Notæ in Alfraganum, p. 207, & 227. [h] Abul Feda. Ebn Shahna. Pocockii Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arab. p. 147, 148. Religio vet. Perſ. cap. 9. p. 163. & cap. 22. p. 299. [i] Shahriſtani. Religio vet. Perſ. c. 22. p. 299. [k] Abul Feda. Shahriſtani. Religio vet. Perſ. c. 22. [l] Religio vet. Perſ. c. 9. p. 163. Pocockii Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabicæ, p. 148.

that this ſtruggle ſhall continue to the end of the world: that [m] then there ſhall be a general reſurrection, and [n] a day of judgment, wherein juſt retribution ſhall be rendred to all according to their works. After which [o] the angel of darkneſs and his diſciples ſhall go into a world of their own, where they ſhall ſuffer in everlaſting darkneſs the puniſhments of their evil deeds. And the angel of light and his diſciples ſhall alſo go into a world of their own, where they ſhall receive in everlaſting light the reward due unto their good deeds, and that after this they ſhall remain ſeparated for ever, and light and darkneſs be no more mixed together to all eternity. And [p] all this the remainder of that ſect which is now in *Perſia* and *India* do without any variation after ſo many ages ſtill hold even to this day. And how conſonant this is to the truth is plain enough to be underſtood without a comment. And whereas he taught, that God originally created the good angel only, and that the other followed only by the defect of good, this plainly ſhews, that he was not unacquainted with the revolt of the fallen angels, and the entrance of evil into the world that way, but had been thoroughly inſtructed, how that God at firſt created all his angels good, as he alſo did man, and that they that are now evil, became ſuch wholly through their own fault in falling from the ſtate which God firſt placed them in. All which plainly ſhews the author of this doctrine to have been well verſed in the ſacred writings of the *Jewiſh* religion, out of which it manifeſtly appears to have been all taken, only the crafty impoſtor took care to dreſs it up in ſuch a ſtyle and form, as would make it beſt agree with that old religion of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, which he grafted it upon.

ANOTHER reformation which he made in the *Magian* religion, was, [q] that he cauſed fire-temples to be built wherever he came. For whereas hitherto they had erected their altars, on which their ſacred fire was kept, on the tops of hills, and on high places in the open air, and there performed all the offices of their religious worſhip, where often by rain, tempeſts and ſtorms, the ſacred fire was extinguiſhed, and the holy offices of their religion interrupted and diſturbed, for the preventing of this he directed, that wherever any of thoſe altars were erected, temples ſhould be built over them, that ſo the ſacred fires might be the better preſerved, and the publick offices of their religion the better performed before them. For all the parts of their publick worſhip were performed before theſe publick ſacred fires, as all their private devotions were before private fires in their own houſes; not that they worſhipped the fire (for this they always diſowned) but God in the fire. For [r] *Zoroaſtres*, among other his impoſtures, having feigned, that he was taken up into heaven, there to be inſtructed in thoſe doctrines which he was to deliver unto men, he pretended not (as *Mahomet* after did) there to have ſeen God, but only to have heard him ſpeaking to him out of the midſt of a great and moſt bright flame of fire; and therefore taught his followers, that fire was the trueſt *Shecinah* of the divine preſence; that the ſun being the perfecteſt fire, God had there [s] the throne of his glory, and the reſidence of his di-

[m] Diogenes Laertius in Procemio. Plutarchus in Iſide & Oſiride. Shahriſtani. Relig. vet. Perſ. c. 22. p. 296. [n] Relig. vet. Perſ. c. 33. [o] Shahriſtani. Plutarchus de Iſide & Oſiride. Relig. vet. Perſ. p. 299, 395, &c. [p] Relig. vet. Perſ. c. 22. p. 292, 293. Ovington's *Travels*. [q] Relig. vet. Perſ. c. 1. c. 8. & c. 29. [r] Relig. vet. Perſ. c. 8. p. 160.
[s] Sanſon *in the preſent ſtate of* Perſia, p. 185. Relig. vet. Perſ. c. 4.

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vine preſence, in a more excellent manner than any where elſe, and next that in the elementary fire with us; and for this reaſon he ordered them ſtill to direct all their worſhip to God firſt towards the ſun, (which they called *Mithra)* and next towards their ſacred fires, as being the things in which God chiefly dwelt, and their ordinary way of worſhip was to do ſo towards both. For when they came before theſe fires to worſhip, they always approached them on the weſt ſide, that having their faces towards them, and alſo towards the riſing ſun at the ſame time, they might direct their worſhip towards both. And in this poſture they always performed every act of their worſhip. But this was not a new inſtitution of his. For thus to worſhip before fire and the ſun, was, as hath been ſaid, the ancient uſage of that ſect, and according hereto is it, that we are to underſtand what we find in the ſixteenth verſe of the eighth chapter of *Ezekiel*, where it is related, that the prophet being carried in a viſion to *Jeruſalem* to ſee the abominations of that place, among other impieties, had there ſhewn him *about five and twenty men ſtanding between the porch and the altar, with their backs towards the temple of the lord, and their faces towards the eaſt, and they worſhipped the ſun.* The meaning of which is, that they had turned their backs upon the true worſhip of God, and had gone over to that of the *Magians*. For the holy of holies (in which was the *Shecinah* of the divine preſence reſting over the mercy ſeat) being on the weſtern end of the temple at *Jeruſalem*, all that entered thither to worſhip God, did it with their faces turned that way. For that was their [t] *Kebla*, or the point towards which they always directed their worſhip. But the *Kebla* of the *Magians* being the riſing ſun, they always worſhipped with their faces turned that way, that is, towards the eaſt. And therefore theſe five and twenty men by altering their *Kebla*, are ſhewn to have altered their religion, and inſtead of worſhipping God according to the *Jewiſh* religion, to have gone over to the religion and worſhip of the *Magians*.

ZOROASTRES having thus retained in his reformation of *Magianiſm* the ancient uſage of that ſect in worſhipping God before fire, to give the ſacred fires in the temples, which he had erected, the greater veneration, he pretended, that when he was in heaven, and there heard God ſpeaking to him out of the midſt of fire, he [u] brought thence ſome of that fire with him on his return, and placed it on the altar of the firſt fire-temple that he erected, (which was that [w] at *Xiz* in *Media)* from whence they ſay it was propagated to all the reſt. And this is the reaſon which is given for their ſo careful keeping of it. [x] For their prieſts watch it day and night, and never [y] ſuffer it to go out, or be extinguiſhed. And for the ſame reaſon alſo they did treat it with that ſuperſtition, that they fed it only with [z] wood ſtripped of its bark, and of that ſort which they thought moſt clean, and they never [a] did blow it either with bellows or with their breath, for fear of polluting it, and to do this either of thoſe ways, or to caſt any unclean thing into it, was no leſs than death by the law of the land,

[t] Kebla *among the eaſtern nations ſignifieth the point of the heavens, towards which they directed their worſhip. The* Jews *did it towards the temple at* Jeruſalem, *the* Mahometans *towards* Mecca, *the* Sabians *towards the* Meridian, *and the* Magians *towards the riſing ſun.* [u] Relig. vet. Perſ. c. 8. p. 160. [w] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 227. [x] Strabo, lib. 15. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 23. Agathias, lib. 2. [y] Relig. vet. Perſ. c. 28. p. 351. & c. 29. p. 355. [z] Strabo, lib. 15. Relig. vet. Perſ. ibid.

as long as thoſe of that ſect reigned in it, which from the time of *Zoroaſtres* to the death of *Yazdejerd*, the laſt *Perſian* King of the *Magian* religion, was about eleven hundred and fifty years; yea, it went ſo far, [z] that the prieſts themſelves never approached this fire but with a cloth over their mouths, that they might not breath thereon, and this they did, not only when they tended the fire to lay more wood thereon, or do any other ſervice about it, but alſo when they approached it to read the daily offices of their liturgy before it. So that they mumbled over their prayers rather than ſpoke them, in the ſame manner as the *Popiſh* prieſts do their maſſes, without letting the people preſent articulately hear one word of what they ſaid, and if they ſhould hear them, they would now as badly underſtand them. For all their public prayers are even to this day in the old *Perſian* language, in which *Zoroaſtres* firſt compoſed them above two thouſand two hundred years ſince, of which the common people do not now underſtand one word. And in this abſurdity alſo have they the *Romaniſts* partakers with them. When *Zoroaſtres* compoſed his liturgy, the old *Perſic* was then indeed the vulgar language of all thoſe countries where this liturgy was uſed. And ſo was the *Latin* throughout all the weſtern empire, when the *Latin* ſervice was firſt uſed therein. But when the language changed, they would not conſider that the change, which was made thereby, in the reaſon of the thing did require that a change ſhould be made in their liturgy alſo, but retained it the ſame, after it ceaſed to be underſtood as it was before. So it was the ſuperſtitious folly of adhering to old eſtabliſhments againſt reaſon, that produced this abſurdity in both of them; though it muſt be acknowledged, that the *Magians* have more to ſay for themſelves in this matter than the *Romaniſts*. For they are taught, that their liturgy was brought them from heaven, which the others do not believe of theirs, tho' they ſtick to it as if it were. And if that ſtiffneſs of humour, which is now among too many of us againſt altering any thing in our liturgy, ſhould continue, it muſt at laſt bring us to the ſame paſs. For all languages being *in fluxu*, they do in every age alter from what they were in the former, and therefore as we do not now underſtand the *Engliſh*, which was here ſpoken by our anceſtors three or four hundred years ago, ſo in all likelihood will not our poſterity three or four hundred years hence, underſtand that which is now ſpoken by us. And therefore ſhould our liturgy be ſtill continued without any change or alteration, it will then be as much in an unknown language, as now the *Roman* ſervice is to the vulgar of that communion.

BUT to return to the reformations of *Zoroaſtres*; How much he followed the *Jewiſh* platform in the framing of them, doth manifeſtly appear from the particulars I have mention'd. For moſt of them were taken either from the ſacred writings, or the ſacred uſages of that people. *Moſes* heard God ſpeaking to him out of a flame of fire from the buſh, and all *Iſrael* heard him ſpeaking to them in the ſame manner out of the midſt of fire from mount *Sinai*. Hence *Zoroaſtres* pretended to have heard God ſpeaking to him alſo out of the midſt of a flame of fire. The *Jews* had a viſible *Shecinah* of the divine preſence among them, reſting over the mercy ſeat in the holy of holies, both in their tabernacle and temple, toward which they offered up all their prayers; and therefore *Zoroaſtres* taught

[z] Strabo, lib. 15. p. 732. Relig. vet. Perſ. cap. 30.

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his *Magians* to pretend to the like, and to hold the ſun, and the ſacred fires in their fire-temples, to be this *Shecinah*, in which God eſpecially dwelt; and for this reaſon they offered up all their prayers to him with their faces turned towards both. The *Jews* had a ſacred fire, which came down from heaven upon their altar of burnt offerings, which they did there ever after, till the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the *Chaldeans*, inextinguiſhably maintain, and with this fire only were all their ſacrifices and oblations made, and *Nadab* and *Abihu* were puniſhed with death for offering incenſe to God with other fire. And in like manner *Zoroaſtres* pretended to have brought his holy fire from heaven, and therefore commanded it to be kept with the ſame care. And to kindle fire on the altar of any new erected fire-temple, or to rekindle it on any ſuch altar, where it had been by any unavoidable accident extinguiſhed, from any other fire, than from one of the ſacred fires in ſome other temple, or elſe from the ſun, was reckoned a crime to be puniſhed in the ſame manner. And whereas great care was taken among the *Jews*, [a] that no wood ſhould be uſed on their altar in the temple, but that which they reputed clean, and for this reaſon they had it all barked and examined before it was laid on; and that when it was laid on, the fire ſhould never be blowed up, either with bellows or the breath of man, for the kindling of it; hence *Zoroaſtres* [b] ordained both theſe particulars to be alſo obſerved in reſpect of his ſacred fire among his *Magians*, commanding them to uſe only barked wood for the maintaining of it, and no other means for the kindling of it up into a flame, but the pouring on of oyl, and the blaſts of the open air. And that he ſhould in ſo many things write after the *Jewiſh* religion, or have been ſo well informed therein, can ſcarce ſeem probable, if he had not been firſt educated and brought up in it.

ZOROASTRES having thus taken upon him to be a prophet of God, ſent to reform the old religion of the *Perſians*, to gain the better reputation to his pretenſions [c] he retired into a cave, and there lived a long time as a recluſe, pretending to be abſtracted from all worldly conſiderations, and to be given wholly to prayer and divine meditations; and the more to amuſe the people, who there reſorted to him, he dreſſed up his cave with ſeveral myſtical figures repreſenting *Mithra* and other myſteries of their religion; from whence it became for a long while after a uſage among them to chuſe ſuch caves for their devotions, which being dreſſed up in the ſame manner were called *Mithratic* caves. While he was in this retirement, he compoſed the book wherein all his pretended revelations are contained, which ſhall be hereafter ſpoken of. And *Mahomet* exactly followed his example herein. For he alſo retired to a cave ſome time before he broached his impoſture, and by the help of his accomplices there formed the *Alcoran* wherein it is contained. And [d] *Pythagoras*, on his return from *Babylon* to *Samos*, in imitation of his maſter *Zoroaſtres*, (whom [e] *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us he emulouſly followed) had there in like manner his cave to which he retired, and wherein he moſtly abided both day and night, and for the ſame end as *Zoroaſtres* did in his, that is, to get himſelf the greater veneration from the people. For *Pythagoras* acted

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[a] *See* Lightfoot's *temple ſervice*. [b] Relig. vet. Perſ. c. 29. & c. 30. [c] Porphyrius in libro de Nympharum Antro, p. 254. Edit. Cam. [d] Porphyrius in vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 184. Edit. Cantab. Jamblichus in vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 5. [e] Strom. 1. p. 223.

a part

a part of impoſture as well as *Zoroaſtres*, and this perchance he alſo learnt from him.

AFTER he had thus acted the part of a prophet in *Media*, and there ſettled all things according to his intentions, he removed from thence into [f] *Bactria*, the moſt eaſtern province of *Perſia*, and there ſettled in the city of *Balch*, which lyes on the river *Oxus* in the confines of *Perſia*, *India*, and *Coware ſmia*, where under the protection of *Hyſtaſpes*, the father of *Darius*, he ſoon ſpread his impoſture thro' all that province with great ſucceſs. For altho' *Darius*, after the ſlaughter of the *Magians*, had with moſt of his followers gone over to the ſect of the *Sabians*, yet *Hyſtaſpes* ſtill adhered to the religion of his anceſtors, and having fixed his reſidence at *Balch*, (where it may be ſuppoſed he governed thoſe parts of the empire under his ſon) did there ſupport and promote it to the utmoſt of his power. And in order to give it the greater reputation, [g] he went in perſon into *India* among the *Brachmans*, and having there learned from them all their knowledge in mathematicks, aſtronomy, and natural philoſophy, he brought it back among his *Magians*, and thoroughly inſtructed them in it. And they continued for many ages after, above all others of thoſe times, skilful in theſe ſciences, eſpecially after they had been farther inſtructed in them by *Zoroaſtres*, who was the greateſt mathematician, and the greateſt Philoſopher, of the age in which he lived, and therefore took care to improve his ſect not only in their religion, but alſo in all natural knowledge, which ſo much advanced their credit in the world, that thenceforth a learned man and a *Magian* became equivalent terms. And this proceeded ſo far, that the vulgar looking on their knowledge to be more than natural entertained an opinion of them, as if they had been actuated and inſpired by ſupernatural powers, in the ſame manner as too frequently among us ignorant people are apt to give great ſcholars, and ſuch as are learned beyond their comprehenſions, (as were Friar *Bacon*, [h] Dr. *Fauſtus*, and [i] *Cornelius Agrippa)* the name of conjurers. And from hence thoſe who really practiſed wicked and diabolical arts, or would be thought to do ſo, taking the name of *Magians*, drew on it that ill ſignification which now the word *Magician* bears among us, whereas the true and ancient *Magians* [k] were the great mathematicians, philoſophers, and divines, of the ages in which they lived, and had no other knowledge but what by their own ſtudy, and the inſtructions of the ancients of their ſect, they had improved themſelves in.

BUT it is not to be underſtood that all *Magians*, that is, all of the ſect, were thus learned, but only thoſe who had this name by way of eminence above the reſt, that is, their prieſts. For they being all * of the ſame tribe, as among the *Jews*, (none but the ſon of a prieſt being capable of being a

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[f] Abu Japhar Tabarita, Bundari, Relig. vet. Perſ. c. 24. [g] Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 23.

[h] John Fauſt *was the firſt inventor of printing at* Mentz, *and from thence being taken for a conjurer, that ſtory is here in* England *made of him, which goes under the name of Dr.* Fauſtus.

[i] *That which contributes moſt to the opinion, that* Cornelius Agrippa *was a Magician, is an impertinent book publiſhed under his name, entitled, The Fourth Book* De Occultâ Philoſophiâ, *which that learned man was never the author of. For it is not to be found in the folio edition of his works, in which only thoſe that are genuine, and truly his, are contained.* [k] Dion Chryſoſtomus *tells us,* (in Oratione Boryſthenicâ) *that the* Perſians *call them* Magians *who are ſkilled in the worſhip of the Gods, and not as the* Greeks, *who being ignorant of the meaning of the word, called them ſo who were ſkilful in* Goetic Magic, i.e. *That which juglers and conjurers pretend to make uſe of.* * Relig. vet. Perſ. cap. 30. p. 367. Theodoreti Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 5. cap. 38.

prieſt

prieſt among them) they moſtly appropriated their learning to their own families, tranſmitting it in them from father to ſon, and ſeldom communicating it to any other, unleſs it were to thoſe of the royal family, † whom they were bound to inſtruct, the better to fit them for government, and therefore there were ſome of them as tutors, as well as chaplains, always reſiding in the palaces of their Kings. And whether it were, that theſe *Magians* thought it would bring the greater credit to them, or the Kings, that it would add a great ſacredneſs to their perſons, or whether it were from both theſe cauſes, the royal family among the *Perſians*, as long as this ſect prevailed among them, was always reckoned of the ſacerdotal tribe. They were divided into three orders. The loweſt were the inferior clergy, who ſerved in all the common offices of their divine worſhip; next above them were the ſuper-intendents, who in their ſeveral diſtricts governed the inferior clergy, as the biſhops do with us; and above all was the *Archimagus*, or arch-prieſt, who in the ſame manner as the high-prieſt among the *Jews*, or the pope now among the *Romaniſts*, was the head of the whole religion. And according to the number of their orders, the churches or temples in which they officiated were alſo of three ſorts. The loweſt ſort were the parochial churches, or oratories, which were ſerved by the inferior clergy, as the parochial churches are now with us. And the duties which they there performed were to read the daily offices out of their liturgy, and at ſtated and ſolemn times to read ſome part of their ſacred writings to the people. In theſe churches there were no fire altars, but the ſacred fire, before which they here worſhipped, was maintained only in a lamp. Next above theſe were their fire-temples, in which fire was continually kept burning on a ſacred altar. And theſe were in the ſame manner, as cathedrals with us, the churches or temples where the ſuper-intendent reſided. In every one of theſe were alſo ſeveral of the inferior clergy entertained, who in the ſame manner as the choral vicars with us performed all the divine offices under the ſuper-intendent, and alſo took care of the ſacred fire, which they conſtantly watched day and night by four and four in their turns, that it might be always kept burning, and never go out. 3*dly*, The higheſt church above all was the fire-temple, where the *Archimagus* reſided, which was had in the ſame veneration with them, as the temple of *Mecca* among the *Mahometans*, to which every one of that ſect thought themſelves obliged to make a pilgrimage once in their lives. *Zoroaſtres* firſt ſettled it at *Balch*, and there he, as their *Archimagus*, had his uſual reſidence. But after the *Mahometans* had over-run *Perſia*, in the ſeventh century after Chriſt, the *Archimagus* was forced to remove from thence into *Kerman*, which is a province in *Perſia*, lying upon the ſouthern ocean towards *India*, and there it hath continued even to this day. And to the fire-temple there, erected at the place of his reſidency, do they now pay the ſame veneration as formerly they did to that of *Balch*. This temple of the *Archimagus*, as alſo the other fire-temples, were endowed with large revenues in lands; but the parochial clergy depended ſolely on the tythes and offerings of the people. For this uſage alſo had *Zoroaſtres* taken from the *Jewiſh* church, and made it one of his eſtabliſhments among his *Magians*.

† Plato in Alcibiade 1. Stobæus, p. 496. Clemens Alexandrinus in Pædagogo 1. p. 81. Relig. vet. Perſ. cap. 28. & cap. 30.

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THE impoſtor having thus ſettled his new ſcheme of *Magianiſm* throughout the province of *Bactria*, with the ſame ſucceſs as he had before in *Media*, he [m] went next to the royal court at *Suſa*, where he managed his pretenſions with that craft, addreſs, and inſinuation, that he ſoon got within *Darius* himſelf, and made him a proſelyte to his new-reform'd religion; whoſe example in a ſhort time drew after it into the ſame profeſſion the courtiers, nobility, and all the great men of the kingdom. This hapned in the thirtieth year of *Darius*, and altho' it ſucceeded not without great oppoſitions from the ring-leaders of the *Sabians*, who were the oppoſite ſect, yet the craft, addreſs, and dexterity of the impoſtor ſurmounted them all, and ſo ſettled his new device, that thenceforth it became the national religion of all that countrey, and ſo continued for many ages after, till this impoſture was at laſt ſupplanted by that of *Mahomet*, which was raiſed almoſt by the ſame arts. They who profeſſed this religion [n] in *Lucian*'s time, as reckoned up by him, were the *Perſians*, the *Parthians*, the *Bactrians*, the *Chowareſmians*, the *Arians*, the *Sacans*, the *Medes*, and many other barbarous nations. But ſince that, the new impoſture hath grown up to the ſuppreſſing of the old in all theſe countries. However, there is a remnant of theſe *Magians* ſtill remaining in *Perſia* and *India*, who even to this day obſerve the ſame religion which *Zoroaſtres* firſt taught them. For they ſtill have his book, wherein their religion is contained, which they keep and reverence in the ſame manner as the chriſtians do the Bible, and the mahometans the Alcoran, making it the ſole rule both of their faith and manners.

THIS [o] book the impoſtor compoſed, while he lived in his retirement in the cave, and therein are contained all his pretended revelations. When he preſented it to *Darius*, it was bound up in twelve volumes, whereof each conſiſted of an hundred skins of vellum. For it [p] was the uſage of the *Perſians* in thoſe times to write all on skins. This book is called *Zendaveſta*, and by contraction *Zend*, the vulgar pronounce it *Zundaveſtow*, and *Zund*. The word originally ſignifieth a fire-kindler, ſuch as is a tinder-box with us, which phantaſtical name the impoſtor gave it, becauſe, as he pretended, all that would read this book, and meditate thereon, might from thence, as from a fire-kindler, kindle in their hears the fire of all true love for God and his holy religion. For the better underſtanding of which it is to be obſerved, that in thoſe eaſtern countries their way of kindling fire is not by a tinder-box, as with us, but by rubbing two pieces of cane, one againſt another, till one of them takes fire; and ſuch a fire-kindler of his religion in the hearts of men the impoſtor would have his book to be, and therefore called it by that name. The firſt part of it contains their liturgy, which is ſtill uſed among them in all their oratories and fire-temples even to this day. The reſt treats of all other parts of their religion. And according as their actions do agree or diſagree with this book, do they reckon them to be either good or evil. Thence in their language they call a righteous action *Zend-aver*, i. e. *what the book* Zend *allows*; and an evil action *Na-Zendaver*, i. e. *which the book* Zend *diſallows*. This book *Zoroaſtres* feigned to have received from heaven, as *Mahomet* afterwards (perchance following his pattern) pretended of his alcoran. It is

[m] Relig. vet. Perſ. cap. 24. [n] Lucian. De Longævis. [o] Relig. vet. Perſ. c. 25, & 26.
[p] Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. p. 118.

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ſtill preſerved among them in the old *Perſian* language and character; and in every oratory and fire-temple, even to this day, there is a copy of it kept, in the ſame manner as there is with us of the Bible in every pariſh church, out of which on certain ſtated times the prieſts read a portion of it to the people. [q] Dr. *Hyde*, late profeſſor of the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues at *Oxford*, being well skill'd in the old *Perſic* as well as the modern, [q] offered to have publiſhed the whole of it with a *Latin* tranſlation, could he have been ſupported in the expences of the edition. But for want of this help and encouragement the deſign died with him, to the great damage of the learned world. For a book of that antiquity, no doubt, would be of great uſe, could it be made public among us, and would unfold and give us light into many things of the times wherein it was written, which we are now ignorant of.

IN this book are found a great many things [r] taken out of the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, beſides thoſe I have already mentioned, which farther proves the author's original to have been what I have ſaid. For therein he inſerts a great part of the *Pſalms* of *David*; he makes *Adam* and *Eve* to have been the firſt parents of all mankind, and gives in a manner the ſame hiſtory of the creation and the deluge, that *Moſes* doth; only as to the former, whereas *Moſes* tells us, that *all things were created in ſix days*, *Zoroaſtres* converts thoſe ſix days into ſix times, allowing to each of thoſe times ſeveral days; ſo that putting them all together, the time of the creation, according to his account, amounted to three hundred ſixty five days, that is, a whole year. He ſpeaks therein alſo of *Abraham*, *Joſeph*, *Moſes*, and *Solomon*, in the ſame manner as the Scriptures do. And out of a particular veneration for *Abraham* he called his book the book of *Abraham*, and his religion the religion of *Abraham*. For he pretended, that the reformation which he introduced was no more than to bring back the religion of the *Perſians* to that original purity in which *Abraham* practiſed it, by purging it of all thoſe defects, abuſes, and innovations, which the corruptions of after-times had introduced into it. And to all this *Mahomet* alſo (no doubt from this pattern) afterwards pretended for his religion. For the name of *Abraham* hath for a great many ages paſt been had in great veneration all over the eaſt, and among all ſects, ſo that every one of them have thought it would give reputation to them, could they entitle themſelves to him. For not only the *Jews*, the *Magians*, and the *Mahometans*, but the *Sabians*, and alſo the *Indians*, (if the *Brahama* of the latter be *Abraham*, as it is with good reaſon ſuppoſed) all challenge him to themſelves, as the great patriarch and founder of their ſeveral ſects, every one of them pretending that their religion is the ſame which *Abraham* profeſſed, and by his reformation eſtabliſhed among them, and to reſtore this reformation was all that *Zoroaſtres*, *Mahomet*, and the author of the *Sabian* ſect, whoever he was, pretended to. This veneration for *Abraham* in thoſe parts proceeded from the great fame of his piety, which was (it's ſuppoſed) there ſpread among them by the *Iſraelites*, in their diſperſion all over the eaſt, firſt on the *Aſſyrian*, and after on the *Babyloniſh* captivity. And this fame being once fixed, made all parties fond of having him thought their own, and therefore all laid claim to him. And in this book *Zoroaſtres*

q Vide eundem, de Relig. vet. Perſ. cap. 1. p. 25. r Pocockii Specimen hiſtoriæ Arabicæ, p. 148. Relig. vet. Perſ.

commands alſo the ſame obſervances about beaſts clean and unclean, as *Moſes* doth, gives the ſame law of paying tythes to the ſacerdotal order, enjoins the ſame care of avoiding all external as well as all internal pollutions, the ſame way of cleanſing and purifying themſelves by frequent waſhings, the ſame keeping of the prieſthood always within the ſame tribe, and the ſame ordaining of one high-prieſt over all; and ſeveral other inſtitutions are alſo therein contained, of the ſame *Jewiſh* extraction. The reſt of its contents are an hiſtorical account of the life, actions, and propheſies of its author, the ſeveral branches and particulars of his new-reform'd ſuperſtition, and rules and exhortations to moral living, in which he is very preſſing, and ſufficiently exact, ſaving only in one particular, that is, about inceſt. For therein he wholly takes this away, and as if nothing of this nature were unlawful, [r] allows a man to marry, not only his ſiſter or his daughter, but alſo his mother; and it went ſo far with that ſect in the practice, that in the ſacerdotal tribe, he that was born of this laſt and worſt ſort of inceſt, was looked on as the beſt qualified for the ſacerdotal function, none being eſteemed among them more proper for the higheſt ſtations in it, than thoſe that were born of mothers, who conceived them of their own ſons; which was ſuch an abomination, that tho' all things elſe had been right therein, this alone is enough to pollute the whole book. The *Perſian* Kings being exceedingly given to ſuch inceſtuous marriages, this ſeems to have been contrived out of a vile piece of flattery to them, the better to engage and fix them to their ſect. But [s] *Alexander*, when he conquered *Perſia*, did put an end to this abomination. For he did by a law forbid all ſuch inceſtuous copulations among them.

ZOROASTRES having obtained this wonderful ſucceſs in making his impoſture to be thus received by the King, and the great men, and the generality of the whole kingdom, [t] he returned back again to *Balch*, where according to his own inſtitution he was obliged to have his reſidence, as *Archimagus*, or head of the ſect, and there he reigned in ſpirituals with the ſame authority over the whole empire, as the King did in temporals, and from hence perchance might proceed the miſtake of making him King of *Bactria*, *Balch* being in that province. And his being ſaid to have been there ſlain in battel by *Ninus*, might alſo have its original from his ſuffering this fate in that countrey, although from another hand. For after his return to *Balch*, having enterpriſed upon *Argaſp* King of the oriental *Scythians* (who was a zealous *Sabian*) to draw him over to his religion, and backed this attempt with the authority of *Darius*, the more prevalently to induce him to it; the *Scythian* prince reſented it with ſuch indignation to be thus imperiouſly addreſſed to concerning this matter, that he invaded *Bactria* with an army, and having there defeated the forces of *Darius* that oppoſed him, ſlew *Zoroaſtres* with all the prieſts of his patriarchal church, which amounted to the number of eighty perſons, and demoliſhed all the fire-temples in that province. This hapned in the thirty fifth year of the reign of *Darius*. The *Perſians* tell us that *Loraſp* or *Hyſtaſpes*, the father of *Darius*, was ſlain alſo in the ſame war. But if he lived ſo long, he muſt then have been exceeding old. For allowing him

[r] Diogenes Laertius in Procœmio. Strabo, lib. 15. Philo Judæus de ſpecialibus Legibus, p. 778. Tertullian in Apologetico. Clemens Alexandrinus in Pædagogo 1. p. 81. & Strom. 3. p. 314.
[s] Plutarchus de fortuna Alexandri. [t] Relig. vet. Perſ. cap. 24.

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to have been no more than twenty on his firſt coming with *Cyrus* out of *Perſia*, he muſt now have been ninety three years old. But this is no ſtrange thing in thoſe parts. For the air being there thoroughly pure and healthy, the perſpiration free and regular, and all the fruits of the earth fully concocted, they, who can there avoid the exceſſes of luſt and luxury, uſually live to a great age, of which we have lately had two inſtances, in *Aurang-Zeb* King of *India*, and *Rajah-Singah* King of *Candia*, in the iſland of *Ceylon*; the former dying in the year 1708, of the age of near an hundred, and the other about twenty years before, much older.

BUT *Darius* ſoon revenged the injury upon the *Scythian* King. For falling on him before he could make his retreat, he overthrew him with a great ſlaughter, and drove him out of the province; after which he rebuilt again all the fire-temples that had been demoliſhed by the enemy, and eſpecially that of *Balch*, which he erected with a grandeur ſuitable to its dignity, it being the patriarchal temple of the ſect, and therefore from the name of its reſtorer it was thenceforth called [w] *Azur Guſtaſp*, i. e. the fire-temple of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*. And the care which he took in this matter ſhews the zeal which he had for his new religion, which he ſtill continued to propagate after the death of its author with the ſame ardour as before. And the better to preſerve its credit and reputation after this accident, he thenceforth took it on himſelf to be their *Archimagus*. For [x] *Porphyry* tells us he ordered before his death, that among other his titles it ſhould be engraven on his monument, that he was *Maſter of the Magians*, which plainly implies that he bore this office among them. (For none but the *Archimagus* was maſter of the whole ſect.) But it was not long that he was in it, for he died the next year after. However from hence it ſeems to have proceeded, that the Kings of *Perſia* were ever after looked on to be of the ſacerdotal tribe, and were always [y] initiated into the ſacred order of the *Magians*, before they took on them the crown, or were inaugurated into the kingdom.

THE [z] *Greeks* had the name of *Zoroaſtres* in great eſteem, ſpeaking of him as the great maſter of all humane and divine knowledge. [a] *Plato*, [b] *Ariſtotle*, [c] *Plutarch*, and [d] *Porphyry*, mention him with honour, acknowledging his great learning, and ſo do others. [e] *Pliny* ſaith much of him, and particularly remarks, that he was the only perſon, that laughed on the day in which he was born; and that the pulſation of his head did then beat ſo ſtrong, that it heaved up the hand laid upon it; which laſt he ſaith was a preſage of his future learning. *Solinus* tells the ſame ſtory of his laughing on the day of his birth, and ſaith that [f] he was *optimarum artium peritiſſimus*, i. e. *moſt skilful in the knowledge of the beſt arts*. And *Apuleius*'s character of him is that he was, [g] *omnis divini arcani antiſtes*, i. e. *the chief doctor in all divine myſteries*. *Cedrenus* names him as a famous aſtronomer among the *Perſians*, and [h] *Suidas* ſaith of him, that he excelled all others in that ſcience. And this reputation he ſtill hath over all the eaſt, even among thoſe who are moſt averſe

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[w] Relig. vet. Perſ. cap. 23. [x] Porphyrius de abſtinentia, lib. 4. p. 167. Edit. Cantab.
[y] Cicero de Divinatione, lib. 1. Philo Judæus de Specialibus Legibus. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.
[z] Diogenes Laertius in Procœmio. [a] In Alcibiade 1. [b] In libro de Magia citante Laertio in Procœmio. [c] De Iſide & Oſiride. [d] In vitâ Pythagoræ. [e] Lib. 30. c. 1. & lib. 7. c. 16. [f] Cap. 1. [g] Floridorum 2do. [h] In vocibus Μαγοι & Ἀστρονομία & Ζωροάστης.

to his ſect, to this very day. For they all there, as well *Mahometans* as *Sabians*, give him [i] the title of *Hakim*, that is, of a wiſe and learned philoſopher, and reckon him as the moſt skilful and eminent of their ancient aſtronomers. And particularly *Ulugh Beigh*, that famous and learned *Tartarian* prince, writing a book of aſtronomy and aſtrology doth therein [k] prefer *Zoroaſtres* before all others for his skill and knowledge in theſe ſciences. It is to be obſerved alſo, that they who write of *Pythagoras* do almoſt all of them tell us, that he was the ſcholar of *Zoroaſtres* at *Babylon*, and learned of him moſt of that knowledge which afterwards rendred him ſo famous in the weſt. So ſaith [l] *Apuleius*, and ſo ſay [m] *Jamblichus*, [n] *Porphyry*, and [o] *Clemens Alexandrinus*. (For the *Zabratus*, or *Zaratus* of *Porphyry*, and the *Na-Zaratus* of *Clemens*, were none other than this *Zoroaſtres*) and they relate the matter thus: That when *Cambyſes* conquered *Egypt*, [p] he found *Pythagoras* there on his travels, for the improvement of himſelf in the learning of that countrey, and that having taken him priſoner he ſent him with other captives to *Babylon*, where *Zoroaſtres* (or *Zabratus*, as *Porphyry* calls him) then lived, and that there he became his diſciple, and learned many things of him of the eaſtern learning. The words of *Porphyry* are, *That by* [q] Zabratus *he was cleanſed from the pollutions of his life paſt, and inſtructed from what things virtuous perſons ought to be free, and alſo learn'd from him the diſcourſe concerning nature, and what are the principles of the univerſe.* This ſtory may well enough agree with the time of *Zoroaſtres*, but it cannot do ſo with the time of *Pythagoras*; what is therein ſaid of his being carried captive to *Babylon*, it's poſſible might have hapned when *Nebuchadnezzar* conquered *Egypt*, but could not be when it was conquered by *Cambyſes*; [r] the chronology of the life of *Pythagoras* may very well admit of the former, but can never of the later. For by that time *Cambyſes* had conquered *Egypt*, *Pythagoras* had been ſettled in *Italy* above twenty years, after all his travels were over, and was then grown an old man, being then about the ſixty third year of his age. But however, that *Pythagoras* was at *Babylon*, and learnt there a great part of that knowledge which he was afterwards ſo famous for, is agreed by [s] all, though there may be ſome error as to the time when he is ſaid to have been there, or the manner how he came thither. His ſtay there, *Jamblichus* [t] tells us, was twelve years, and that in his converſe with the *Magians* he learnt from them (over and above what hath been afore-mention'd out of *Porphyry*) arithmetic, muſic, and the knowledge of divine things, and the ſacred myſteries pertaining thereto. But the moſt important doctrine which he brought home from thence was that of the immortality of the ſoul. For it's generally agreed among the ancients, [u] that he was the firſt of all the *Greeks* that taught it. And this, I take it for certain, he had from *Zoroaſtres*. For, as I have afore ſhewn, it was his doctrine, and he is the ancienteſt whom we have upon record of all the heathen nations that taught it. But *Pythago-*

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[i] Relig. vet. Perſ. c. 24. p. 312. [k] Relig. vet. Perſ. ibid. [l] Floridorum 2do.
[m] In vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 4. [n] In vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 185. Edit. Cantab.
[o] Strom. 1. p. 223. [p] Jamblichus de vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 4. Apuleius Floridorum 2do.
[q] In vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 185. Edit. Cantab. [r] *See the biſhop of* Worceſter's *tract of the life of* Pythagoras. [s] Diogenes Laertius, Porphyrius & Jamblichus in vitâ Pythagoræ.
[t] Jamblichus in vitâ Pythagoræ, lib. 4. [u] Porphyrius in vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 188. & 201. Edit. Cantab. Jamblichus in vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 30.

ras did not bring this doctrine into *Greece*, with that purity in which he received it from his master. For having corrupted it with a mixture of the *Indian* philosophy, (for this also he had learn'd in the east) he made this immortality to consist [w] in an eternal transmigration of the soul from one body to another, whereas *Zoroastres*'s doctrine was [x] that there is to be a resurrection of the dead, and an immortal state after to follo w, in the same manner as [y] *Daniel* taught, and the people of God then held, and we now, and there is no doubt but that he had it from them.

SOME of the [z] ancient heretics, especially the followers of *Prodicus*, pretended to have the secret books of *Zoroastres*, containing his revelations, and other mysteries of religion, and offered to make use of them in defence of their heresies. Against these [a] *Plotinus* and *Porphyry* did both write, and fully shewed them to have been the forgeries of the *Gnostick* christians. And others have gathered together out of *Proclus*, *Simplicius*, *Damascius*, *Synesius*, *Olympiodorus*, and other writers, what they call the oracles of *Zoroastres*, and several editions have been published of them in *Greek*, with the scholia or comments of *Pletho* and *Psellus*. But all these are mere figments, coined by the *Platonic* philosophers, who lived after the time of *Christ*, and are condemned as such by [b] St. *Chrysostom*, who plainly tells us that they were all figments. If any are desirous to see what unintelligible and nonsensical stuff these oracles do contain, they may consult Mr. *Stanley*'s book of the *Chaldaic* philosophy, which is published at the end of his history of philosophy, where they will find them translated into *English* from the collection of *Francis Patricius*.

ABUL-PHARAGIUS tells us, that [c] *Zerdusht* (or *Zoroastres*) foretold to his *Magians* the coming of *Christ*, and that at the time of his birth there should appear a wonderful star, which should shine by day as well as by night, and therefore left it in command with them, that when that star should appear they should follow the directions of it, and go to the place where he should be born, and there offer gifts, and pay their adoration unto him: And that it was by this command that the three wise men came from the east, that is, out of *Persia*, to worship Christ at *Bethlehem*. And so far [d] *Sharistani*, tho' a *Mahometan* writer, doth agree with him, as that he tells us, That *Zerdusht* (or *Zoroastres*) foretold the coming of a wonderful person in the latter times, who should reform the world both in religion and righteousness, and that Kings and Princes should become obedient to him, and give him their assistance in promoting the true religion, and all the works thereof. But what these attribute to the prophesy of *Zoroastres*, [e] others refer to the prophesy of *Balaam*, and say, that it was by his prediction that the wise men were led by the star to seek *Christ* in *Judea*, and there pay their adoration unto him. But all this seems to be taken out of the *legendary* writings of the eastern christians. And *Abul-Pharagius*, tho' an *Arab* writer, being by religion a christian, it is most likely, that what he tells us of this matter was taken from them.

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[w] Porphyrius in vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 17. Edit. Cantab. & Jamblichus & Diogenes Laertius in vitâ ejusdem. [x] Diogenes Laertius in Procemio. [y] *Chap.* xii. ver. 2, 3.
[z] Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. 1. p. 223. [a] Vide Lucam Holstenium de vita & scriptis Porphyrii, cap. 9. p. 57. Edit. Cantab. [b] In vitâ Babylæ Martyris.
[c] Historia Dynastiarum, p. 54. [d] Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 31. p. 382, 383.
[e] Theodorus Tarsensis.

THOSE

THOSE who are ſtill remaining of this ſect in *Perſia* [f] have there the name of *Gaurs*, which in the *Arabick* ſignifieth *Infidels*, and is the uſual appellation which the *Mahometans* beſtow on all that are not of their religion. But theſe people have this name in *Perſia* by way of eminency, as if there were none other ſuch like them, and therefore they are called by it, as if it were their national name, and are known by none other in that countrey, and whoſoever ſpeaks of a *Gaur* there, underſtands none other by it than one of this ſect. They have a ſuburb at *Hiſpahan*, the metropolis of *Perſia*, which is called *Gaurabad*, or the town of the *Gaurs*, where they are employed only in the meaneſt and vileſt drudgeries of the town. And ſome of them are ſcattered abroad in other places of that countrey, where they are made uſe of in the like ſervices. But the bulk of them is in *Kerman*, which being the barreneſt and worſt province of all *Perſia*, and where others care not to dwell, the *Mahometans* have been content to permit them to live there with ſome freedom, and the full exerciſe of their religion. But every where elſe they uſe them as dogs; eſteeming them, as to their religion, the worſt of all thoſe that differ from them, and it is with a wonderful conſtancy that they bear this oppreſſion. Some ages ſince for the avoiding of it ſeveral of them fled into *India*, and ſettled there in the countrey about *Surat*, where their poſterity are ſtill remaining even to this day. And a [g] colony of them is ſettled in *Bombay*, an iſland in thoſe parts belonging to the *Engliſh*, where they are allowed, without any moleſtation, the full freedom and exerciſe of their religion. They are a poor harmleſs ſort of people, zealous in their ſuperſtition, rigorous in their morals, and exact in their dealings, profeſſing the worſhip of one God only, and the belief of a reſurrection and a future judgment, and utterly deteſting all idolatry, although reckoned by the *Mahometans* the moſt guilty of it. For although they perform their worſhip before fire, and towards the riſing ſun, yet they utterly deny that they worſhip either of them. They hold, that more of God is in theſe his creatures, than in any other, and that therefore they worſhip God towards them, as being in their opinion the trueſt *Shecinah* of the divine preſence among us, as darkneſs is that of the devils; and as to *Zoroaſtres*, they ſtill have him in the ſame veneration as the *Jews* have *Moſes*, looking on him as the great prophet of God, by whom he ſent his law, and communicated his will unto them.

An. 485. Xerxes 1. *XERXES* having aſcended the throne [h] employed the firſt year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of *Egypt*, which his father had begun. He [i] confirmed to the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem* all the privileges granted them by his father, eſpecially that of having the tribute of *Samaria* for the furniſhing them with ſacrifices for the carrying on of the divine worſhip in the temple of God in that place.

An. 484. Xerxes 2. IN the ſecond year of his reign he marched againſt the *Egyptians*, and having thoroughly vanquiſhed and ſubdued theſe revolters, he [k] reduced them under an heavier yoke of ſervitude than they were before, and then towards the end of the year, after having made *Achemenes* one of his brothers governor of that province, returned again to *Suſa*.

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[f] Thevenot's *travels*. Sanſon's *preſent ſtate of* Perſia. Tavernier Relig. vet. Perſ. cap. 29.
[g] Ovington's *travels*. [h] Herod. lib. 7. [i] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5.
[k] Herod. lib. 7.

THIS

SEPTENTRIO

ASIA MINOR

PONTVS EVXINVS

EVROPAE PARS

MARE AEGAEVM

MARIS MEDITERRANEI PARS

MARE SYRVM

OCCIDENS

MERIDIES

PONTVS GALATICVS

PONTVS POLEMONIACVS

CAPPADOCIA

BITHYNIA

PAPHLAGONIA

GALATIA

PROPONTIS

CHERSONESVS THRACIA

TROAS

MYSIA MAIOR

MYSIA MINOR

AEOLIS

IONIA

LYDIA

PHRYGIA PROPRIA

PHRYGIA EPICTETVS

AMYNTAENVM

LYCAONIA

ISAVRIA

PISIDIA

PAMPHYLIA

CILICIA TRACHEA SIVE SELEVCIA ASPERA

CILICIA CAMPESTRIS

CYPRVS

CARIA

PERAEA RHODIAE

RHODVS

Carambis op. & prom.

Cimolis

Abonuticho

Armene

Sinope

Cytorum opp. & M.

Amastris

Zagira

Plegra

Heneti

Heraclea

Helua

Flauiopolis

Marandyni

Gangra

Olgasis Mons

Tolistobogii

Claudiopolis olim Bithynium

Neoclaudianopolis

Pompeiopolis

Olympus M.

Blucium

Ancyra

Galatiæ

Germa

Vindia

Tectosages

Tauium

Cordiucome et Iuliopolis

Pessinus

Dindymus M.

Docimeum

Dadastana

Cotyæum

Dorylæum

Midæum

Nacolia

Synaus

Gordium

Eucarpia

Ancyra Phrygiæ

Synnada

Eumenia

Acmonia

Tiberiopolis

Celænæ

Tripolis

Hierapolis

Laodicea comb usta

Apamea Cibotos

Neapolis

Laodicea

Amblada

Homonadenses

Rappa

Derbe

Iconium

Castabala

Comana

Cybistra

Cocusos

Mopsucrene

Seleucia

Antiochia

Ifaura

Taurus

Olbasa

Apamea

Petnelissus

Sandalium

Orvanda

Selge

Trachea siue Seleucia Aspera

Coracesium

Aspendus

Sidé

Perge

Side

Olbia

Corycus

Anemurium

Melania

Celenderis

Soli

Lapethus

Aphrodisium

Arsinoe

Paphos noua

Salamis

Citium

Curium

Paphos vetus

Malum

Curias Prom.

Acamas Promont

Atelbusa

Chelidoniæ Insulæ

Megiste

Dolichiste

Rhodus

Lindus

Ialysus

Camirus

Cnidus

Calymne

Astypalæa

Casus

Carpathus

Amorgus

Leros

Icaria

Pathmus

Scyros

Chios

Samothracæ

Thasus

Lemnus

Chryse

Lysimachia

Nicomedia

Cius s. Prusa

Prusa

Apamea Myrlea

Adriani

Apollonia

Cyzicus

Lampsacus

Parium

Abydus

Arisba

Dardanum

Rhœtæum

Troia Ilium

Ide

Ida

Sigeum

Alexandria Troas

Sigrium prom.

Ereſſus

Methymna

Antandrus

Scepsis

Troianopolis

Pergamus

Hyrcania

Hyrcanus

Nitrocæsarea

Pitana

Elæa

Grynium

Myrina

Cumæ

Phocæa

Smyrna

Clazomenæ

Erythræ

Mymas

Lebedus

Teos

Colophon

Notium

Ephesus

Magnesia

Tmolus M. et op.

Sardes

Philadelphia

Caystrus Flu.

Tralles

Hypæpa

Hermus Flu.

Magnesia ad Sipylum

Antiochia ad Mæandrum

Tripolis

Apollonia

Orthosia

Bubon

Banasa

Balbura

Amyzon

Alabanda

Stratonice

Tenedba

Heraclea

Miletus

Didymi

Bargylia

Pedasa

Alinda

Hydissa

Cragus Mons

Calbis Flu.

Halicarnassus

Myndus

Thera

Pimara

Xanthus

Physcus

Patara

Andriace

Limyra

Olympus

Phaselis

Perga

Aspendus

Sidé

Coracesium

Eleutherocilices

Anazarbus

Cæsarea ampl.

Tarsus

Pindenissus

Epiphanea

Irenæ

Mopsuestia

Issus

Alexandria

Pylæ Syriæ

Seleucia

Antiochia

Taurus Mons

Amisus

Eupatoria

Themiscyra

Halys Flu.

Iris Fl.

Polemonium

Cotyorum

Pharnacia

Ischopolis

Cerasus

Chalybes

Tiba reni

Thermodon Fl.

Satala

Phanarea

Neocæsarea

Eupatoria Magnopolis

Amasia

Comana Pontica

Lycus Flu.

Zela

Nicopolis

Sebastopolis

Iris Flu.

Ariarathira

Cabira

Diopolis

Sebaste

Sebastia

Sargarausena Præfectura

Herpa

Archelais

Parnasus

Garsauria

Aspona

Trocmi

Dacora

Nazianzum

Nissa

Diocæsarea

Argæus Mons

Anitaurus Mons

Cæsarea olim Mazaca

Nora castellum

Lystra

Cadyna

Tyana

Castabala

Artaxata

Arabissus

Melas Flu.

Melitene

Taurus Mons

Eleuthero Cilices

Pindenissus

Ipsus

Alexandria

Pylæ Syriæ

Seleucia

Antiochia

Cydes

Aphrodisium

Lapethus

Soli

Arsinoe

Salamis

Citium

Curium

Malum

Curias Prom.

Mathus

Paphos vetus

Paphos noua

Acamas Promont

Megiste

Dolichiste

Chelidoniæ Insulæ

Atelbusa

Tiberiopolis

Celænæ

Tripolis

Hierapolis

Laodicea comb usta

Apamea Cibotos

Neapolis

Laodicea

Amblada

Homonadenses

Rappa

Derbe

Iconium

Castabala

Comana

Cybistra

Cocusos

Mopsucrene

Seleucia

Antiochia

Ifaura

Taurus

Olbasa

Apamea

Petnelissus

Sandalium

Orvanda

Selge

Trachea siue Seleucia Aspera

Coracesium

Aspendus

Sidé

Perge

Side

Olbia

Corycus

Anemurium

Melania

Celenderis

Soli

Lapethus

Aphrodisium

Arsinoe

Paphos noua

Salamis

Citium

Curium

Paphos vetus

Malum

Curias Prom.

Mathus

THIS year *Herodotus* the famous hiſtorian [l] was born at *Halicarnaſſus* in *Caria*. For he was fifty three years old when the *Peloponeſian* war firſt began.

XERXES being puffed up with his ſucceſs againſt the *Egyptians*, upon the advice and inſtigation of *Mardonius*, the ſon of *Gobrias*, who had married one of his ſiſters, [m] reſolved upon a war with *Greece*, and in order thereto made great preparations for three years together throughout all the provinces of the *Perſian* empire. *An.* 483. Xerxes 3.

JESHUA the high-prieſt of the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem* [n] died in the fifty third year of his high-prieſthood, and [o] *Joiakim* his ſon ſucceeded him in that office.

XERXES being reſolved on the *Grecian* war, [p] entered into a league with the *Carthaginians*, whereby it was agreed, that while the *Perſians* invaded *Greece*, the *Carthaginians* ſhould fall on all thoſe who were of the *Grecian* name in *Sicily* and *Italy*, that thereby they might be diverted from helping one the other. And the *Carthaginians* made choice of *Hamilcar* to be their general in this war, who not only raiſed what forces he could in *Africa*, but alſo with the money ſent him by *Xerxes* hired a great number of mercenaries out of *Spain*, *Gallia*, and *Italy*, ſo that he got together an army of three hundred thouſand men, and a fleet proportionable hereto, for the proſecuting of the intent of this league. *An.* 482. Xerxes 4.

AND thus *Xerxes*, according as was foretold by the prophet *Daniel*, [q] having *by his ſtrength and thorough his great riches ſtirred up all* the then known habitable world *againſt the realm of* Grecia, that is, all the weſt under the command of *Hamilcar*, and all the eaſt under his own, he did [r] in the fifth year of his reign, which was [s] the tenth after the battel of *Marathon*, ſet out from *Suſa* to begin the war, and having marched as far as *Sardis* wintered there. *An* 481. Xerxes 5.

EARLY the next ſpring [t] *Xerxes* did ſet out for the *Helleſpont*, over which two bridges of boats having been laid, the one for his army, and the other for his carriages and beaſts of burden, he paſſed all over in ſeven days, during all which time they were continually a paſſing day and night before all could get over, ſo great was the number of them that attended him in this expedition. From thence marching thorough the *Thracian Cherſoneſus* he arrived at *Doriſcus*, a city at the mouth of the river *Hebrus* in *Thracia*, at which place having encamped his army, and ordered his fleet alſo to attend him on the adjacent ſhore, he there took an account of both. His land army upon the muſter was found to be one million and ſeven hundred thouſand foot, and fourſcore thouſand horſe, beſides his chariots and his camels, for which allowing twenty thouſand more, the whole will amount to one million and eight hundred thouſand men. His fleet conſiſted of twelve hundred and ſeven ſhips of the line of battel, beſides gallies, tranſports, victuallers, and other ſorts of veſſels that attended, which were three thouſand more; on board all which were reckoned to be five hundred and ſeventeen thouſand ſix hundred and ten men. So that the whole number of forces by ſea and land, which *Xerxes* brought *An.* 480. Xerxes 6.

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[l] Aulus Gellius, lib. 15. c. 23. [m] Herodot. lib. 7. [n] Chronicon Alexandrinum. [o] Nehem. xii. 10. Joſ. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 5. [p] Diod. Siculus, lib. 11. [q] Dan. xi. 2. [r] Herod. lib. 7. [s] Thucydides, lib. 1. [t] Herod. lib. 7. Diodor. Siculus, lib. 11. Plutarchus in Themiſtocle & Ariſtide. Juſtin. lib. 2. c. 10.

with

with him out of *Aſia* to invade *Greece*, amounted to two millions three hundred and ſeventeen thouſand ſix hundred and ten men. After his paſſing the *Helleſpont*, the nations on this ſide that ſubmitted to him, added to his land army three hundred thouſand men more, and two hundred and twenty ſhips to his fleet, on board of which were twenty four thouſand men. So that putting all together, his forces by ſea and land, by that time he come to the *Streights* of the *Thermopylæ*, made up the number of two millions ſix hundred forty one thouſand ſix hundred and ten men. And the ſervants, eunuchs, women, ſutlers, and all ſuch other people as followed the camp, were computed to be no leſs than as many more. So that the whole number of perſons of all ſorts, that followed *Xerxes* in this expedition, were at leaſt five millions. This is [v] *Herodotus*'s account of them, and [w] *Plutarch* and [x] *Iſocrates* agree with him herein. But [y] *Diodorus Siculus*, [z] *Pliny*, [a] *Ælian* and others, do in their computations fall much ſhort of this number, making the army of *Xerxes*, with which he paſſed the *Helleſpont* againſt *Greece*, to be very little more than that with which *Darius* his father paſſed the *Boſphorus* to make war upon the *Scythians*. It is probable they might have miſtaken the one for the other. The verſes engraved on the monument of thoſe *Grecians* who were ſlain at *Thermopylæ*, beſt agree with the account of *Herodotus*. For in them it is ſaid, [b] that they there fought againſt two millions of men. And he being the ancienteſt author that hath written of this war, and having lived in the age in which it hapned, and treated of it more particularly, and with a greater appearance of exactneſs than any other, his computation ſeemeth the moſt likely to be the trueſt, and that eſpecially ſince we find it to be the general opinion of the ancients, both *Greeks* and *Latins*, that this was the greateſt army that was ever brought into the field.

JOSEPHUS tells us, [c] that a band of *Jews* was alſo in this army, and brings for proof of it a paſſage out of the poet *Chærilus*, who in deſcribing the army of *Xerxes*, as they paſſed on by their ſeveral nations in their march, hath theſe verſes.

Then next did march in habit and in meen,
A people wonderful for to be ſeen.
Their language is in dialect the ſame,
Which men do ſpeak of the Phœnician *name.*
They dwell in the high Solymæan *land,*
On hills, near which there doth a great lake ſtand.

Jeruſalem having alſo had the name of [d] *Solyma*, and all the countrey thereabout being mountainous, and lying near the great lake *Aſphaltites*, commonly called the lake of *Sodom*, this deſcription ſeems plainly to ſuit the *Jews*, eſpecially ſince it is alſo mentioned, that they ſpake the *Phœnician* language, the *Syriac* being then the vulgar language of the *Jews*. But [e] *Scaliger*, [f] *Cunæus*, and [g] *Bochartus* underſtand it of the *Solymi* in *Piſidia*,

[v] Herod. lib. 7. [w] In Themiſtocle. [x] In Panathenaico. [y] Lib. 11. [z] Lib. 33. c. 10. [a] Var. Hiſt. lib. 13. cap. 3. [b] Herod. lib. 7. Diod. Siculus, lib. 11. p. 26. *This inſcription, according to the reading as in* Herodotus, *ſaith they were three millions, but as in* Diodorus *only two millions.* [c] Contra Apionem, lib. 1. [d] *By abbreviation for* Hieroſolyma. [e] In notis ad fragmenta. [f] De Republica Hebræorum, lib. 2. c. 18. [g] Geographia Sacra, Part 2. lib. 1. c. 2.

How-

However, [h] *Salmaſius* maintains the contrary opinion, and juſtifies *Joſephus* in it; and it muſt be ſaid, that it is not at all likely, that when *Xerxes* called all the other nations of the *Perſian* empire to follow him to this war, the *Jews* alone ſhould be excuſed from it. And therefore whether theſe whom *Chœrilus* ſpeaks of were *Jews* or not, it muſt be taken for certain, that they alſo did bear a part in this expedition.

AFTER *Xerxes* had taken this account of his fleet and army at *Doriſcus*, [i] he marched from thence with his army through *Thrace*, *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*, towards *Attica*, and ordered his fleet to attend him on the coaſt all the way, making the ſame ſtations by ſea that he did by land. All yielded to him in his march without any oppoſition, till he came to the *Streights* of *Thermopylæ*, where *Leonidas* King of the *Lacedæmonians* with three hundred *Spartans*, and as many other *Greeks* as made up a body of four thouſand men, defended the paſs againſt him. For two days he made it good againſt all the numerous army of the *Perſians*, repulſing them in every aſſault with a great ſlaughter of their men. But on the third day, being ready to be ſurrounded by the *Perſians* through the treachery of a certain *Greek*, who led them by a ſecret way over the mountains to fall on them in the rear, all retired, ſaving *Leonidas* and his three hundred *Spartans*, and ſome few others that would not deſert them, who reſolutely abiding by the poſt they had undertaken to defend, were at length all ſlain upon the ſpot. But the *Perſians* paid very dear for this victory, having loſt in the gaining of it twenty thouſand of their men, and among them two of the brothers of *Xerxes*.

AFTER this *Xerxes* [k] entered through *Bœotia* into *Attica* the countrey of the *Athenians*, having ſpent in his march hither ſince his paſſing the *Helleſpont* four months. The *Athenians* not able to defend themſelves againſt ſo great a force, deſerted their city, putting all their men aboard their fleet, and ſecuring their wives and children in *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*, neighbouring cities, which by the intervention of the ſea were out of the reach of his army, ſo that on his coming thither he became maſter of the place without any oppoſition.

IN the interim, the *Perſian* and *Grecian* [l] fleets lying near each other, the former at *Aphetæ*, and the other at *Artemiſium*, above *Eubœa*, had ſeveral encounters with each other, in every one of which the *Grecians* had the advantage, and though it was not great, yet it ſerved them to ſhew, that the enemy, notwithſtanding their great number, were not invincible, which gave them the heart afterwards with the greater courage and reſolution to fight againſt them. However their ſhips being much ſhattered by theſe ſeveral encounters, they found it neceſſary to retire to ſome ſafer place to refit, and for this purpoſe came into the *Streights* of *Salamis*, where they not only refitted, but were alſo re-inforced and augmented by a great many other ſhips, which from ſeveral parts of *Greece* came thither to them, and there joined them againſt the common enemy, till at length they there made up a fleet upward of three hundred ſail. It was while they lay there, that *Xerxes* entered *Athens*, and thereon the *Perſian* fleet came thither alſo, and anchored at *Phalerus*, a port on that ſhore.

[h] In Oſſilegio Linguæ Helleniſticæ. [i] Herod. lib. 7. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Themiſtocle. [k] Herod. lib. 8. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Ariſtide & Themiſtocle. [l] Herod. lib. 8. Plutarchus in Themiſtocle. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

The *Streights* of *Salamis*, where the *Greek* fleet lay, was the moſt advantageous place for them to fight the numerous fleet of the enemy in, that they could chuſe. For the *Perſians*, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of that ſea, not being able to extend their front in it beyond that of the *Greeks*, could there have no advantage from their numbers; but altho' their fleet was four times as great muſt in that place fight upon equal terms: Which *Themiſtocles* the general of the *Athenians* having wiſely obſerved, did by his prudence and dexterity bring it to paſs, that there it came to a battel between them; wherein the *Grecians* by the advantage of the place gained the victory, and gave the enemy ſuch an overthrow, as wholly daſhed all the aims and deſigns of this prodigious expedition, which was one of the greateſt, both for expence and number of men, that was ever undertaken. For they having deſtroyed two hundred of their ſhips, beſides thoſe which they took, the reſt got away to the *Aſian* coaſt, and having ſet in at *Cyma*, a city in *Æolia*, they there laid up for the winter, and never came again into *Greece*. And *Xerxes* being frighted with an apprehenſion, leſt the conquerors ſhould ſail to the *Helleſpont*, and there obſtruct his return, fled thither with all the haſte and precipitation he could, and having left *Mardonius*, with three hundred thouſand men, to carry on the war in *Greece*, marched back with the reſt to *Sardis*, and there took up his quarters for the enſuing year. It is remarkable, that at his coming to *Helleſpont*, finding the bridge of boats which he had left there broken by ſtorms, he who had paſſed over that ſea but a few months before with ſuch pomp and pride, was forced to repaſs it in a poor fiſher-boat.

ABOUT the ſame time [n] his confederates the *Carthaginians* met with as great, or rather a much greater defeat, in *Sicily*. For *Hamilcar*, their general, having drawn together his numerous army, of which I have already ſpoken, and ſhipped them on board the vaſt fleet which he had prepared for their tranſportation, ſailed with them for *Sicily*, and having there landed them at *Panormus*, a port in that iſland, laid ſiege to *Himera*, a maritime city in the neighbourhood. While he lay there, for his better ſecurity he cauſed two large camps to be fortified, in the one of which he lodged his land-army, and into the other he drew up his ſhips, placing there all his marines for their defence. At that time *Gelo* was King of *Sicily*, a prince of great wiſdom, conduct, and valour. As ſoon as he had an account of this invaſion, he drew together an army of fifty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, and marched immediately againſt the enemy for the defence of the countrey. On his arrival at *Himera* he intercepted a courier carrying letters from the *Salinuntines*, confederates of the *Carthaginians*, to *Hamilcar*, whereby he underſtood that the next morning *Hamilcar* was to celebrate a great ſacrifice to *Neptune* at the camp of the marines, and that he had appointed the *Salenuntine* horſe then to come thither to him. *Gelo* taking the advantage of this intelligence, the next morning at the time appointed ſent thither a party of horſe of his own, who being received into the camp of the *Salinuntines*, firſt ſlew *Hamilcar*, and then ſet the fleet on fire. As ſoon as this was done, *Gelo* having notice of it by a ſignal given him from the top of an adjacent hill, where he had placed watchmen for this purpoſe, drew out his army before the other camp of the enemy, and gave them battel. But the flame aſcending from the

[n] Herodot. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

camp

camp of the marines, ſoon telling the *Carthaginians* the fate of their fleet, and a meſſenger at the ſame time bringing them an account of the death of their general, this ſo diſheartned and confounded them, that having no longer any courage to ſtand their ground, they were ſoon put to the rout, and *Gelo* ſlew of them an hundred and fifty thouſand on the field of battel, and took all the reſt priſoners, which were as many more, and ſold them all for ſlaves; ſo that all *Sicily* was filled with them. This defeat was ſo entire, that of all this prodigious fleet and army, the greateſt that was ever ſet forth in thoſe weſtern parts for any expedition, it's remarked none returned ſave only a few, who eſcaped in a cock-boat to bring this diſmal news to *Carthage*. [n] *Herodotus* tells us, that this battel was fought on the ſame day with that of *Salamis*, but [o] *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, it was at the time when *Leonidas* was ſlain at *Thermopylæ*, which ſeems to be the truer account of the two. For after this ſucceſs of *Gelo*, [p] the *Grecians* ſent to him for his aſſiſtance againſt *Xerxes*, which they would not have done after the battel of *Salamis*. For from thenceforth they thought themſelves alone more than ſufficient for the enemy, without needing any other force than that of their own to finiſh the war.

ON *Xerxes*'s departure out of *Greece*, [q] *Mardonius* wintered his army in *Theſſaly* and *Macedonia*, and early the next ſpring marched with it into *Bœotia*. From thence he ſent *Alexander* King of *Macedonia* to *Athens*, with propoſals of accommodation from the King. Thereby he offered them to rebuild at the King's charges, whatſoever had been burnt or demoliſhed in *Attica* the former year, to permit them to live according to their own laws, to reinſtate them in all their former poſſeſſions, and to add to them whatſoever other lands they ſhould deſire. But the *Athenians* not being to be induced to deſert the intereſt of *Greece*, for any advantage whatſoever, would hearken to none of theſe offers; whereon [r] *Mardonius* being enraged by the refuſal, marched with all his army into *Attica*, deſtroying every thing wherever he came, and entring *Athens*, burnt and demoliſhed whatſoever he there found ſtanding after the former year's devaſtation. For the *Athenians* not being ſtrong enough to reſiſt ſuch a torrent, had the ſecond time withdrawn to *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*, and left the city empty. In the interim, the joint forces of all *Greece* being drawn together at the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, *Mardonius* thought fit to march back again into *Bœotia*. For that being an open and level countrey, was much fitter for him to fight in than *Attica*, which being rough, craggy, and full of hills and defiles, could ſcarce any where afford him room enough for to draw up his numerous army in, or a ground proper for his cavalry to do any ſervice in. On his return he encamped on the river *Æſopus*; thither the *Greeks* marched after him, under the command of *Pauſanias* King of *Lacedæmon*, and *Ariſtides* general of the *Athenians*. They conſiſted of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, and the *Perſians* of three hundred and fifty thouſand, ſaith [s] *Herodotus*; of five hundred thouſand, ſaith [t] *Diodorus Siculus*; and with theſe forces near the city of *Platæa* it came to a deciſive battel between them, in which *Mardonius* was ſlain, and all the *Perſian* army cut in pieces. Only *Artabazus*,

An. 479. Xerxes 7.

[n] Lib. 7. [o] Lib. 11. [p] Herodot. lib. 7. [q] Herodot. lib. 8. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Ariſtide & Themiſtocle. Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 14. [r] Herodot. lib. 9. [s] Lib. 9. [t] Lib. 11.

who was aware of the event from the ill conduct which he had obſerved in *Mardonius*, made an early eſcape, with forty thouſand men which he commanded, and by his ſpeed out-marching the fame of the defeat got ſafe to *Byzantium*, and there paſſed over into *Aſia*. Beſides theſe, not four thouſand of all the reſt eſcaped the carnage of that day, but were all ſlain and cut in pieces by the *Greeks*, and this quite delivered them from all farther invaſions of that people. For from that time a *Perſian* army was never more ſeen on this ſide the *Helleſpont*.

ON the ſame day that the *Greeks* fought this battel at *Platæa*, [v] their naval forces got as memorable a victory over the remainder of the *Perſian* fleet in *Aſia*. For at the ſame time that their land-forces rendezvouſed at the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, their fleet having met together at *Ægina* under the command of *Leotychides*, the other King of the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, there came thither to them embaſſadors from the *Ionians* to invite them into *Aſia*, to deliver the *Greek* cities there from the ſlavery of the *Barbarians*, whereon they ſailed for *Delos* in their way thither, and while they lay there other embaſſadors came to them from *Samos*, who having acquainted them that the *Perſian* fleet which wintered at *Cyma*, having ſailed thence, were then at *Samos*, and might there be eaſily vanquiſhed and deſtroyed by them, earneſtly ſollicited them to come thither and fall upon them. Whereon they accordingly ſet ſail forthwith for *Samos*. But the *Perſians* hearing of their approach retired to *Mycale*, a promontory on the continent of *Aſia*, where their land-army lay, conſiſting of an hundred thouſand men, which were the remainder of thoſe which *Xerxes* had brought back out of *Greece* the former year, and there drew up their ſhips upon the land, and fortified them with a ſtrong rampart drawn round them. But the *Greeks* following them thither, by the aſſiſtance of the *Ionians* who revolted to them, vanquiſhed their army at land, took their rampart, and burnt all their ſhips. And here ended all the great deſigns of *Xerxes* in a moſt miſerable diſappointment, there being after theſe two battels ſcarce any of all that prodigious army, with which the year before he marched ſo proudly over the *Helleſpont*, now left, whom either the famine, the peſtilence, or the ſword, had not abſolutely deſtroyed, excepting thoſe whom *Artabazus* brought back out of *Greece*. And of theſe a great number died on their return into *Aſia*, by their overglutting themſelves with the plenty of that countrey, after the hardſhips they had ſuffered on the other ſide of the *Helleſpont*. A greater fleet and army was ſcarce ever ſet forth in the weſt for any expedition, than that of *Hamilcar*'s againſt *Sicily*, or ever was there a greater army brought together any where, than that wherewith *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, yet all theſe numerous forces were baffled, defeated, and deſtroyed by thoſe, who in number or power, reckoning all the armies on both ſides againſt each other, could ſcarce bear the name of an handful of men in compariſon of them; and hereby a ſignal inſtance was given, that whatſoever the pride of man may deſign, or the power of man think to effect, it is ſtill the providence of God that governs the world, and turneth all the affairs thereof which way ſoever he pleaſeth.

THE battel of *Platæa* was fought in the morning, and that of *Mycale*, in the afternoon of the ſame day, and yet [w] it is commonly ſaid by the *Greek*

[v] Herodot. lib. 9. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. [w] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Herodot. lib. 9. Juſtin. lib. 2. c. 14.

writers,

writers, that they had an account of the victory of *Platæa* at *Mycale* before they begun the battel there, though the whole *Ægean* ſea, which was ſeveral days ſailing, lay between. But *Diodorus Siculus* clears this matter. For [x]he tells us, that *Leotychides*, finding the forces that followed him to be in great pain for the *Greeks* at *Platæa*, leſt they ſhould be overpowered and vanquiſhed by the numerous army of *Mardonius*, the better to encourage and enhearten his men for the battel, juſt before he made the firſt onſet, cauſed it to be given out through all the army, that the *Perſians* were defeated, though he then knew nothing of the matter. But what he then feigned hapning to be true, and alſo done the ſame day, this gave occaſion for what is ſaid of that quick intelligence, which was utterly impoſſible to have come in ſo ſhort a time, from ſo far diſtant a place by any human means. And there is no reaſon to ſuppoſe a miracle in this caſe. And that which is ſaid [y]of the victory of *Paulus Æmilius* over the *Macedonians*, being known at *Rome* on the ſame day on which it was got, at a greater diſtance than *Platæa* was from *Mycale*, no doubt was from the ſame cauſe. That hapned to be true which was only feigned when firſt reported, and afterwards when it was found to be true, and done on the ſame day on which the *Romans* firſt had the report, it was made a miracle of, as if there had been ſome ſupernatural power that brought the intelligence.

XERXES on his having received theſe two great defeats at *Platæa* and *Mycale*, [z]left *Sardis* almoſt with the ſame precipitation as he did *Athens* after the battel of *Salamis*, making all the haſte he could towards *Perſia*, that thereby he might get as far as he could out of the reach of the conquering enemies. However, he omitted not before he left thoſe parts to give [a]order for the burning and demoliſhing of all the temples in the *Grecian* cities in *Aſia*, which was accordingly executed upon all of them, excepting only that of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, which alone eſcaped this general devaſtation. And this he did not out of any particular diſpleaſure to the *Aſiatic Greeks*. For he did the ſame wherever elſe he came, deſtroying all idolatrous temples that came in his way, throughout this whole expedition. The true cauſe of this was his zeal for the *Magian* religion, in which he had been thoroughly inſtructed, and made a zealous proſelyte to it by *Zoroaſtres*. For that ſect expreſſing [b]a great deteſtation againſt worſhipping of God by images, were for deſtroying all idolatrous temples wherever they came. And to keep *Xerxes* firm to their party, not only ſeveral of the chief doctors of the *Magians*, but alſo [c]*Oſtanes* himſelf, [d]who was then the *Archimagus*, or great patriarch of the whole ſect, accompanied him as his chaplains through this whole expedition. And by their inſtigation [e]*Tully* tells us it was, that all theſe temples were deſtroyed. This *Oſtanes* is ſaid to have been [f]grandfather to *Zoroaſtres*, but it is moſt likely that he was his grandſon, and that it was by miſtake that it hath been ſaid otherwiſe. For *Zoroaſtres* it's certain was [g]a very old man at his death. The name of *Oſtanes* was very famous among the *Greeks*. For

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[x] Lib. 11. [y] Plutarchus in Paulo Æmilio. Livius, lib. 41. [z] Herod. lib. 9. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. [a] Strabo, lib. 14. p. 634. Cicero de Legibus, lib. 2. Hieronymus in Eſaiæ, cap. 37. Æſchylus in Perſis. Herod. lib. 8. [b] Clemens Alexandrinus in Protreptico. Laertius in Procemio. Pocockii Specimen, Hiſt. Arab. p. 148, 149. [c] Plin. lib. 30. c. 1, 2. [d] Laertius in Procemio. Suidas in voce Μάγοι. [e] De Legibus, lib. 2. [f] Relig. vet. Perſ. c. 24. [g] Relig. vet. Perſ. ibid.

[h] from

[h]from him, they ſay, they firſt had the *Magian* philoſophy, he having communicated it unto them, while he followed *Xerxes* in this war, and therefore from him they ſometimes call the whole ſect [i]*Oſtaneans*, inſtead of *Magians*, as if he had been the chief founder of it.

ONE of the temples, which by *Xerxes*'s order were thus deſtroyed, was [k]that of *Apollo Didumæan* near *Miletus*, from whence he took an immenſe treaſure. This was diſcovered to the *Perſians* by the *Branchidæ* a family of the *Mileſians*, that had the keeping of the temple, who thereon finding themſelves by reaſon of this treachery and ſacrilege to become very odious to their countrey-men, durſt not, on *Xerxes*'s going away, ſtay behind him, for fear of their wrath, but followed after him into *Perſia*, and were there planted by him in a ſmall territory, which he gave them on the river *Ozus* in the province of *Bactria*, where *Alexander*, on his making himſelf maſter of that countrey, finding their poſterity ſtill remaining, [l]cauſed them all to be put to the ſword, thereby cruelly and unreaſonably revenging on the innocent deſcendents, the crime committed by their anceſtors many ages before.

XERXES on his return toward *Suſa* paſſing thorough *Babylon*, [m]made there the ſame devaſtation of their temples, as he had in *Greece*, and the *Leſſer Aſia*, and as it may be ſuppoſed on the ſame principle, that is, his zeal for the *Magian* religion, and his averſion to that of the *Sabians*, who worſhipped God by images, [n]of which the *Magians* had the utmoſt deteſtation. For the *Babylonians* were all *Sabians*, and indeed were the firſt founders of the ſect. For they firſt brought in the worſhip of the planets, and afterwards that of images, and from thence propagated it to all the other nations, where it obtained, as hath been already ſhewn. And for this reaſon the *Magians* having them in abhorrence above all other *Sabians*, prevailed with *Xerxes*, out of an eſpecial hatred to them, to take *Babylon* in his way to *Suſa*, of purpoſe to deſtroy all the temples they had there; altho' perchance to recruit himſelf with the ſpoils of theſe temples, after the vaſt expences which he had been at in his *Grecian* war, might be the moſt forcible motive that wrought him into this reſolution. For the wealth of their temples was vaſt and exceſſive, as having been the collection of a great number of ages. I have already computed how many millions of our money the treaſures of the temple of *Belus* only amounted to, according to the account given us of them by *Diodorus Siculus*, and if thoſe which he found in the other idol temples in that city were as great, as no doubt they were, they muſt more than repay him all that he ſpent in the *Grecian* war. And without ſome ſuch recruit, it is ſcarce poſſible to imagine how he could have ſupported himſelf at home after ſo great a miſcarriage and loſs. And yet we find, that after his return he was ſupported through all his empire, in the ſame manner as before, without ſuffering any great damage either in his authority, or power therein, after this ſo great and ſo extraordinary a diſaſter, whereas it uſually happens, that princes are ruined at home as well as abroad by ſuch misfortunes.

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[h] Plin. lib. 30. c. 1, & 2. [i] Suidas in Ὀσταναι. [k] Strabo, lib. 14. [l] Strabo, lib. 11. p. 518. Q. Curtius, lib. 7. cap. 5. [m] Arrianus Expeditionis Alexandri, lib. 7. Strabo, lib. 16. Herod. lib. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 2. [n] Pocockii Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabicæ, p. 148, 149.

By

BY the pillaging and deſtroying of all theſe heathen temples at *Babylon* was fully completed, what the prophets *Iſaiah* and *Jeremiah* propheſied hereof many years before. [o] *All the graven images of her gods hath he broken unto the ground.* [p] *I will puniſh* Bel *in* Babylon. *I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath ſwallowed.* [q] *And I will do judgment upon all the graven images of* Babylon. [r] Bel *is confounded,* Merodach *is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces.* For when *Xerxes* deſtroyed all theſe temples in *Babylon,* he took from them all their treaſures, which they had been for many ages a ſwallowing; and pulling down all the images that were in them, broke them all to pieces, and converted the gold and ſilver, of which they were made, to all thoſe common uſes for which he had occaſion of them.

AFTER the battel of *Mycale* [s] the *Grecian* fleet ſailed to the *Helleſpont,* to ſeize the bridges which *Xerxes* had laid over thoſe ſtreights, ſuppoſing that they had been ſtill whole. But on their coming thither, finding that they had been broken by ſtorms, *Leotychides* with the *Peloponeſians* ſailed home; but *Xantippus* with the *Athenians* and allies of *Ionia* ſtill ſtaying there, made themſelves maſters of *Seſtus* and the *Thracian Cherſoneſus,* where they took much ſpoil, and a great number of priſoners, and then on the approach of winter returned to their reſpective Cities. *Xantippus* finding all the material of *Xerxes*'s bridge at *Cardia,* where the *Perſians* had cauſed them to be brought before his arrival in thoſe parts, he carryed them with him to *Athens,* and there laid them up to be a memorial of that total overthrow which they gave their enemy in this war, by the many victories which they had obtained over them. From this time all the *Ionian* cities in *Aſia* revolted from the *Perſians,* and entering into confederacy with the *Grecians,* by their help maintained their liberty for the moſt part ever after, during the continuance of that empire.

THE *Greeks* having re-ſettled their affairs at home, after the great ruffle that was made in them by the late invaſion of the *Perſians,* [t] reſolved farther to proſecute the war againſt them for the driving of them out of all the cities abroad that were of the *Grecian* original. For which purpoſe they equipped a ſtrong fleet of which *Pauſanias* King of the *Lacedemonians,* and *Ariſtides* the *Athenian* having the command, they ſailed with it to *Cyprus,* and there having freed a great many *Grecian* cities from their *Perſian* garriſons, reſtored them again to their own liberty. *An.* 477. Xerxes 9.

ABOUT this time *Xerxes* at *Suſa* [u] was acting a very cruel and barbarous tragedy in the houſe of *Maſiſtes* his Brother, which had its riſe from an inceſtuous love firſt begun at *Sardis.* For *Xerxes,* after his return thither from his flight out of *Greece,* fell in love with *Maſiſtes*'s wife, who was then in that city, but ſhe being a very virtuous woman, and very loving and faithful to her husband, could on no ſolicitations be prevailed with to defile his bed. But *Xerxes* thinking to win her at laſt, heaped all manner of favours and obligations upon her, to engage her to yield to him; and particularly he married a daughter which ſhe had, named *Artaynta,* to *Darius* his eldeſt ſon, whom he intended for his ſucceſſor in the throne, and on his return to *Suſa* cauſed the marriage to be conſummated, which being the greateſt favour he could beſtow upon the mother, he expected it

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[o] Iſaiah xxi. 9. [p] Jer. li. 44. [q] Jer. li. 47, 52. [r] Jer. l. 2. [s] Herod. lib. 9.
[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Ariſtide. [u] Herod. lib. 9.

would

would engage her to a compliance with his desires. But finding the lady's virtue to be still impregnable against all his attempts, he at length turned the amour from the mother to the daughter, and fell in love with *Artaynta*, where he soon found a ready compliance to all he desired. While this was a doing, *Hamestris*, *Xerxes*'s Queen, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle, presented it to the King, who being very much pleased with it, wore it when he made his next visit to his mistress; and on his having enjoyed his lust on her, to express the satisfaction he had therein, he bad her ask what she would of him for her reward, promising her with an oath, that whatsoever it should be he would give it unto her. Hereon she asked of him the mantle which he had then on him. *Xerxes* being aware of the mischief which might follow from his giving of it unto her, did all that he could to divert her from this request, offering her whatever else was in his power to redeem it from her. But nothing else being able to content the lady, and his promise and the oath being urged for the grant, he was forced to give it unto her, and she out of the vanity and pride of her mind, as soon as she had it put it on, and as by way of trophy wore it publickly, whereby *Hamestris* being thoroughly confirmed in what she was afore only jealous of, became enraged to the utmost degree, but instead of turning her wrath against the daughter, who only was faulty in this matter, resolved to be revenged on the mother, as if all this intrigue had been of her contrivance, who was wholly innocent of it. And therefore waiting the great festival that used annually to be celebrated on the King's birth-day, which was then approaching, whereon it was the custom for the King to grant her whatsoever she should then desire, she asked of him the wife of *Masistes* to be given unto her. The King perceiving the malice of the woman, and what she intended, abhorred it to the utmost, both for the sake of his brother, and also for what he knew of the innocency of the lady, as to that for which *Hamestris* was exasperated against her, and therefore at first withstood her in this request all that he could. But her importunity not being to be diverted, nor what was said for the custom to be gainsaid, he was forced to yield to her. Whereon the lady being seized by the King's guards, and delivered to her, she caused her breasts, her tongue, nose, ears and lips, to be cut off and thrown to the dogs before her face, and then sent her home again thus mangled to her husband's house. In the interim *Xerxes*, to mollify the matter as much as he could, sent for *Masistes*, and told him, that it was his desire that he must part with his wife, and that instead of her he would give him one of his daughters in marriage. But *Masistes* having an entire affection for his wife could not be induced to consent hereto; whereon *Xerxes* told him in an angry manner, that since he refused to accept of his daughter, when offered to him, he should neither have her nor his wife neither, and so dismissed him in displeasure. Whereon *Masistes* suspecting some mischief was done him, made haste home to see how matters there stood, where finding his wife in that mangled condition, as hath been mentioned, and being thereby exasperated to the utmost, as the case deserved, he immediately got together all his family, servants, and dependants, and made all the haste he could towards *Bactria*, the province of which he was governor, purposing, as soon as he could arrive thither, to raise an army and make war upon the King, to be revenged of him for this barbarous usage. But *Xerxes* hearing of his sudden retreat, and suspecting from thence

thence what he intended, ſent a party of horſe after him, who overtaking him on the road, cut him off, with his wife and children, and all that belonged to him. This *Maſiſtes* was brother of *Xerxes* by *Atoſſa*, the ſame mother as well as by the ſame father, and was a perſon of great worth and honour, as well as of great fidelity to the King, and he had done him great ſervices in his *Grecian* war, having been one of his chief generals, who had the leading of his army in that expedition, and he was perſonally engaged for him in the battel of *Mycale*, and was in truth the chief honour of his houſe, and never gave him any juſt cauſe to be offended with him. However all this could not protect him from *Xerxes*'s cruelty; which ſufficiently ſhews, that where there is a vicious prince, with an arbitrary power in the government, there is nothing that can be ſufficient to ſecure any man's ſafety under him.

AND there is [w] another fact related of *Hameſtris* equally cruel and impious, that is, that ſhe cauſed fourteen boys of the beſt families in *Perſia* to be buried alive, as a ſacrifice to the infernal gods. And in the relating of this, as well as her other cruelties above-mention'd, I have been the more particular, becauſe [x] ſeveral having been of opinion, by reaſon of the ſimilitude that is between the names of *Hameſtris* and *Eſther*, that *Xerxes* was the *Ahaſuerus*, and *Hameſtris* the *Eſther* mentioned in Scripture, it may from hence appear, how impoſſible it is, that a woman of ſo vile and abominable a character, as *Hameſtris* was, could have ever been that Queen of *Perſia*, who by the name of *Eſther* is ſo renowned in holy writ, and is there recorded, as the inſtrument, by whom God was pleaſed in ſo ſignal a manner to deliver his people from that utter deſtruction which was deſigned againſt them.

AFTER the death of *Maſiſtes* *Xerxes* appointed [y] *Hyſtaſpis* his ſecond ſon to be governor of *Bactria* in his ſtead; which obliging him to be abſent from court, gave *Artaxerxes* his younger brother the opportunity of mounting the throne before him on the death of *Xerxes*, as will be hereafter related.

THE *Grecian* fleet having effected at *Cyprus* what they went thither for, [z] ſailed from thence to the *Helleſpont*, and took in *Byzantium*; where ſeveral *Perſians* of eminent note, and ſome of them of the kindred of *Xerxes*, being taken priſoners, *Pauſanias* treacherouſly releaſed them all, pretending they had made their eſcape, and by ſome of them entered into a treaty with *Xerxes* to betray *Greece* unto him, upon condition that he would give him one of his daughters in marriage; which being readily agreed to by *Xerxes*, *Pauſanias* thenceforth took upon him to live after another rate than formerly, affecting the pomp and grandeur of the *Perſians*, and carrying himſelf haughtily and tyrannically towards the allies; whereon they being diſguſted with his conduct, and not being able any longer to bear it, did put themſelves under the *Athenians*, who thenceforth by this means obtained the chief command at ſea in all the *Grecian* affairs, and held it for many years after. The *Lacedæmonians* having received an account of theſe miſcarriages of *Pauſanias* depoſed him from his command on the *Helleſpont*, and recalling him home put him under publick cenſure for them. *An.* 476. Xerxes 10.

[w] Herodot. lib. 7. [x] Scaliger *and his followers.* [y] Diod. Sic. lib. 11.
[z] Thucydides, lib. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Ariſtide.

An. 475. Xerxes 11. HOWEVER [a] the next year he went again to the *Helleſpont*, although without the conſent of the ſtate or any commiſſion from them, ſailing thither in a private ſhip, which he hired on pretence of fighting againſt the *Perſians* as a voluntier in that war; but in reality to carry on his treaſonable deſigns with them, *Artabazus* being appointed governor on the *Propontis*, of purpoſe to be there at hand to treat with him. But while he was at *Byzantium* his behaviour was ſuch, that the *Athenians* drove him thence; whereon he went to the countrey of *Troas*, and there tarried ſome time, the better to carry on his correſpondence with *Artabazus*, of which there being ſome ſuſpicions, the *Lacedæmonians* ſummoned him home by a publick officer, but on his return put him in priſon; but no evidence appearing of this thing in his tryal, he was again diſcharged. But ſome time after the whole of it being brought to light, and diſcovered by one whom he had made uſe of to carry on the correſpondence, they put him to death for it.

An. 472. Xerxes 14. *THEMISTOCLES*, [b] by his wiſdom and great application, having much advanced the power and intereſt of the *Athenians*, hereby drew on him the bitter enmity of the *Lacedæmonians*. For they ſeeing their honour eclipſed, and that authority, whereby they had hitherto born the chief ſway among the *Greeks*, now rivall'd and diminiſh'd by the growing up of this flouriſhing ſtate, could not with patience bear it, and therefore to gratify their revenge, reſolved on the ruine of him that had been the author of it. In order whereto they cauſed him firſt to be accuſed at *Athens*, of being a confederate with *Pauſanias* in his treaſon againſt *Greece*, but nothing being proved of what was laid to his charge, he was there acquitted.

An. 471. Xerxes 15. BUT [c] the next year after, *Themiſtocles* being baniſhed *Athens*, they renewed their deſign againſt him. He was not baniſhed for any crime, but by Oſtraciſme, which was [d] a way among them, whereby for the better ſecuring of their liberty they uſed to ſuppreſs thoſe that were grown to too great a power and authority among them, by baniſhing them the city for a certain term of years. *Themiſtocles* being thus neceſſitated for a time to leave his countrey, ſettled at *Argos*, of which the *Lacedæmonians* taking the advantage, proſecuted anew their charge againſt him before the general council of all *Greece* then met at *Sparta*, and ſummoned him to appear before them to anſwer to it, accuſing him there of treaſon againſt the whole community of *Greece*. *Themiſtocles* ſeeing how bitterly the *Lacedæmonians* were ſet againſt him, and knowing that they could carry every thing as they pleaſed in that aſſembly, durſt not truſt his cauſe with them, but fled firſt to *Corcyra*, and from thence to *Admetus* king of the *Moloſſians*, by whoſe aſſiſtance being conveyed to the coaſts of the *Ægean* ſea, he took ſhipping at *Pydna* in *Macedonia*, and from thence paſſed over to *Cyma*, a city of *Æolia* in the *leſſer Aſia*. But *Xerxes* having put a price of two hundred talents upon his head, (which amounted to thirty ſeven thouſand five hundred pound of our money) ſeveral were there upon the hunt after him for the gain of ſo great a reward. For the avoiding of this danger he was forced there to lye hid for ſome time, till at length by the contrivance and

[a] Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Ariſtide & Themiſtocle. Cornelius Nepos in Pauſania.
[b] Herodot. lib. 7, &c. Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Themiſtocle. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.
[c] Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Themiſtocle. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.
[d] Plutarchus in Ariſtide.

aſſiſtance

assistance of his friend and host *Nicogenes*, the richest man of that countrey, he was conveyed safe to *Susa*, in one of those close chariots in which the *Persians* used to carry their women; they that had the conducting of him, giving out that they were carrying a young *Greek* lady to the court for one of the nobility, by which means he got to the *Persian* court without any danger; where being arrived, he addressed himself to *Artabanus* the captain of the guards, to whose office it belonged to bring those to the audience of the King that had any business with him; by him he was introduced into *Xerxes*'s presence; and being there asked who he was, he told him he was *Themistocles* the *Athenian*; that though he had done him great hurt in his wars, yet he had in many things much served him, particularly in hindering the *Greeks* from pursuing him after the battel of *Salamis*, and obstructing his retreat over the *Hellespont*; that for these his services to him being driven out of his countrey, he was now fled to him for refuge, hoping that he would have more regard to what he had done for his interest, than to what, with the rest of his countreymen, he had in the wars acted against it. *Xerxes* then said nothing to him, though as soon as he was withdrawn he expressed a great deal of joy and satisfaction, that so considerable a person was come over to him, wishing that God would always put it into the minds of his enemies, thus to drive their best men from them. But the next morning having assembled the chief of the *Persian* nobility about him, and ordered him again to be brought into his presence, he received him with great kindness, telling him in the first place, that he owed him two hundred talents. For he having set that price upon his head, it was due to him, who had brought him his head by thus rendring himself unto him, and accordingly commanded it to be paid him, and then ordered him to say, what he had concerning the affairs of *Greece* to impart unto him. But *Themistocles* being then no otherwise able to deliver himself than by an interpreter, begged leave that he might be permitted first to learn the *Persian* language, hoping that then he might be in a capacity to communicate to the King, what he had to impart to him, in a much more perfect manner than he could then promise to do by the interpretation of another; which being granted to him, and he having after a year's time made himself thorough master of that tongue, he was again called in to the King, to whom having communicated all that he thought proper, he grew very much into his favour, so that when *Mandana* his sister, who had lost several of her sons in the battel of *Salamis*, had prosecuted an accusation against *Themistocles* for their death, and was very importunate and clamorous to have him delivered up to her, a sacrifice to her revenge, he not only caused him to be acquitted by the suffrages of all the nobility then attending the court, but conferred many royal bounties upon him. For he gave him a wife of a noble *Persian* family, with an house, servants, and an equipage in all things suitable hereto, and an annual revenue sufficient to enable him in the best manner to support the same, and on all occasions much caressed him as long as he continued in his court. And it is mentioned as one particular instance of his favour to him, that by his especial command he [a] was admitted to hear the lectures and discourses of the *Magians*, and was instructed by them in all the secrets of their philosophy. But at length it being thought best for the King's inte-

[a] Plutarchus in Themistocle.

reſt that he ſhould reſide in ſome of the maritime towns near *Greece*, that he might be there ready at hand for ſuch ſervices as the King might have occaſion of from him in thoſe parts, he was ſent to live at *Magneſia* on the river *Meander*, where he had not only all the revenues of that city, (which were fifty talents a year) but alſo thoſe of *Myus* and *Lampſacus* allowed him for his maintenance, amounting all together to one hundred and fifty talents a year, which was little leſs than thirty thouſand pound of our money. And here he lived all the time of *Xerxes*, and ſeveral Years after, in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, his ſoon, in a very plentiful and ſplendid manner, as well he might on ſo large a revenue, till at length he ended his days in that city, in the manner as ſhall be hereafter related.

BUT according to [f] *Thucydides*, *Xerxes* was dead, and *Artaxerxes* had newly ſucceeded in the throne, when *Themiſtocles* fled out of *Greece* to the *Perſian* court; and therefore he tells us that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and not *Xerxes* by whom *Themiſtocles* was received with ſo much favour; and *Thucydides* being an hiſtorian of great credit, and having wrote this not many years after the Death of *Artaxerxes*, [g] *the lord primate Uſher*, moved by ſo great an authority, follows him in this matter, and to make it accord with the other tranſactions of thoſe times, takes nine years from the reign of *Xerxes*, and adds them [h] to the two following reigns, making *Xerxes* to end his reign nine years ſooner, and *Artaxerxes* to begin his reign nine years ſooner, than any other author ſays. Hereby the learned primate doth exceedingly help his hypotheſis of the computation of the ſeventy weeks of *Daniel*'s propheſy, and that, no doubt, induced him to prefer the authority of *Thucydides* before all others in this particular. For if we put the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* (from whence he reckons the beginning of theſe ſeventy weeks) nine years higher than others do, the middle of the laſt week will fall exactly in with the time when *Chriſt* was crucified. And therefore were the authority of *Thucydides* ſufficient to juſtify him in this matter, the primate's computation would appear much more plauſible than now it doth. But [i] the canon of *Ptolemy*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Africanus*, *Euſebius*, and all others that write of theſe times, being againſt him herein, it is much more probable that *Thucydides* was out in this particular. For although he be a very exact hiſtorian in the affairs of *Greece*, of which he profeſſedly writes, yet it is poſſible he might be miſtaken in thoſe of *Perſia*, which he treats of only by the by.

IN the interim, the *Athenians* having ſet out a fleet under the command of *Cimon*, [k] the ſon of *Miltiades*, conquered *Eione* on the river *Strymon*, and other parts of *Thrace*, and then took in the iſlands of *Scyrus* and *Naxus*, which had revolted from them, and [l] while they were aſſaulting the laſt of theſe, *Themiſtocles* paſſed by them in his flight into *Aſia*, and difficultly eſcaped falling into their hands.

An. 470. Xerxes 16. THIS next year after, [m] *Cimon* ſailing from *Athens* with a fleet of two hundred ſail, paſſed over to the coaſts of *Aſia*, where having augmented it

[f] Lib. 1. [g] In annalibus veteris Teſtamenti ſub anno Julianæ periodi 4241.

[h] i. e. *To the reigns of* Artaxerxes, *and his ſon* Xerxes, *whom the primate makes to reign one year after him.* [i] *For theſe authors ſay that* Xerxes *reigned one and twenty years, and* Artaxerxes *one and forty; but according to the primate,* Xerxes *reigned but twelve years,* Artaxerxes *fifty.*

[k] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Cimone. [l] Plutarchus in Themiſtocle.

[m] Diodor. & Plutarchus, ibid. Thucydides, lib. 1.

with

with an hundred ſail more from the allies, he took in all the maritime parts of *Carya* and *Lycia*, driving the *Perſians* out of all the cities they were poſſeſſed of in thoſe parts, and then hearing that they had a great fleet on the coaſts of *Pamphylia*, and were alſo drawing down thither as great an army by land for ſome expedition, he haſtned thither with two hundred and fifty of his beſt ſhips in queſt of them; and finding their fleet conſiſting of three hundred and fifty ſail at anchor, in the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*, and their land-army encamped on the ſhore by, he firſt aſſaulted their Fleet, which being ſoon put to the rout, and having no other way to flee but up the River, were all taken, every ſhip of them, and twenty thouſand men in them, the reſt having either eſcaped to land, or been ſlain in the fight. After this, while his forces were thus fluſhed with ſucceſs, he put them aſhore and fell upon the land-army, and overthrew them alſo with a great ſlaughter; whereby he got two great victories in the ſame day, of which one was equal to that of *Salamis*, and the other to that of *Platæa*. And having gotten information that there were eighty more *Phœnician* ſhips coming to join the *Perſian* fleet, he ſurprized them in harbour before they had any notice of the late defeat, and deſtroyed every ſhip of them, and all the men on board were either drowned or ſlain in the fight. After which ſucceſs *Cimon* returned home in great triumph, and very much enriched and adorned *Athens* with the ſpoils got in this expedition.

THE next year [n] *Cimon* ſailed to the *Helleſpont*, and falling on the *Perſians* who had taken poſſeſſion of the *Thracian Cherſoneſus* drove them out thence, and ſubjected their country again to the *Athenians*, though in truth (it having been the principality [o] of his father *Miltiades*) he had the beſt right to it himſelf. After this he ſubdued the *Theſians* who had revolted from the *Athenians*, and then landing his army on the oppoſite ſhore of *Thrace*, he ſeized all the gold mines on thoſe coaſts, and brought under him all that countrey as far as *Macedon*, and thereby opened a way for the conquering of that realm alſo, would he have purſued the opportunity. For [p] the omitting of which he was afterwards on his return brought to trial for his life before the *Athenians*, as if he had been corrupted by the *Macedonians* to ſpare them, and hardly eſcaped being condemned for it. *An.* 469. Xerxes 17.

XERXES being at laſt daunted, and wholly diſcouraged by the continued ſeries of ſo many loſſes and defeats, [q] gave over all thoughts of any longer carrying on the *Grecian* war, and therefore from this time [r] no more of his ſhips were ſeen in the *Ægean* ſea, or any of his forces on the coaſts adjoining to it, all the remainder of his reign.

AFTER this, *Xerxes* giving himſelf wholly up to luxury and eaſe, minded nothing but the gratifying of his pleaſures and his luſts, whereby growing into contempt with the people, [s] *Artabanus*, the captain of his guards, and one who had been long in prime favour and authority with him, conſpired againſt him, and having drawn *Mithridates*, one of his eunuchs, that was his chamberlain, into the plot, by his means got into his bedchamber, and there ſlew him while he ſlept in his bed; and then going to *Artaxerxes*, his third ſon, acquainted him of the murder, and accuſed *Darius* his elder brother to be the author of it, telling him that it was *An.* 465. Xerxes 21.

[n] Plutarchus in Cimone. [o] Herodot. lib. 6. [p] Plutarchus in Cimone.
[q] Plutarchus in Cimone. [r] Teſias. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Juſtin. lib. 3. c. 1.

done

done to make his way to the throne, and that it was his deſign to cut him off next to ſecure himſelf in it, and that therefore it behoved him to look to himſelf. All which *Artaxerxes*, as being then a very young man, raſhly believing without any farther examination to be true, and being irritated thereby in ſuch a manner as *Artabanus* intended, went immediately to his brother's apartment, and there, by the aſſiſtance of *Artabanus* and his guards, ſlew him alſo. And this he did, as he thought, by way of juſt revenge for the death of his father, and for the ſecuring of his own ſafety, being impoſed on and deceived by the craft of the traytor, who excited him hereto. The next heir was *Hyſtaſpes* the ſecond ſon of *Xerxes*, but he being abſent in *Bactria*, of which province he was governor, *Artabanus* took *Artaxerxes*, as being next at hand, and put him on the throne; but with deſign to let him ſit on it no longer than till he had formed a party ſtrong enough to ſeize it for himſelf. He having been long in great authority had made many creatures, and he had alſo ſeven ſons, all grown up to be men of robuſt bodies, and advanced to great dignities in the empire, and his confidence in theſe was that which put his ambition on this deſign; but while he was haſtning it to a concluſion, *Artaxerxes* having got a full diſcovery of the whole plot by the means of *Megabyzus*, who had married one of his ſiſters, was before-hand with him in a counter-plot, and cut him off before his treaſon was fully ripened for execution; whereby having ſecured himſelf in thorough poſſeſſion of the kingdom, he held it forty one years.

HE is ſaid to have been [t] the handſomeſt perſon of the age in which he lived, and to have been a prince [v] of a very mild and generous diſpoſition; he is called by the *Greek* hiſtorians Μακρόχειρ or *Longimanus*, (*i. e.* the long-handed) [w] by reaſon of the more than ordinary length of his hands; for they were ſo long, that on his ſtanding upright he could touch his knees with them. But in ſcripture he hath the name of *Ahaſuerus* as well as that of *Artaxerxes*, and was the ſame who had *Eſther* for his Queen. I acknowledge there are two very great men whoſe opinion differ from me herein, archbiſhop *Uſher*, and *Joſeph Scaliger*.

THE former [x] holdeth that it was *Darius Hyſtaſpis* that was the King *Ahaſuerus* who married *Eſther*, and that *Atoſſa* was the *Vaſhti*, and *Artyſtona* the *Eſther* of the holy ſcriptures. But all what is ſaid of thoſe perſons by the hiſtorians that have written of them, is wholly inconſiſtent herewith. For *Herodotus* poſitively tells us, that *Artyſtona* [y] was the daughter of *Cyrus*, and therefore ſhe could not be *Eſther*; and that [z] *Atoſſa* had four ſons by *Darius* beſides Daughters, all born to him by her after he was King, and therefore ſhe could not be that Queen *Vaſhti*, who was divorced from the King her husband [a] in the third year of his reign, nor he that *Ahaſuerus* that divorced her. Furthermore *Atoſſa* is ſaid to have had that predominant intereſt with *Darius*, even to the time of his death, that it was by her means, that in the laſt act of his life [b] he was influenced to ſettle the ſucceſſion of his crown on *Xerxes* her ſon, to the diſinheriting of all his elder ſons, who were born to him by a former wife; whereas the *Ahaſuerus* of the book of *Eſther*, had removed *Vaſhti* both

[t] Strabo, lib. 15. p. 735. [v] Plutarc. in Artaxerxe Mnemone. [w] Plutarch & Strabo, ibid.
[x] In annalibus veteris teſtamenti ſub anno J. P. 4193. [y] Herodot. lib. 3. & lib. 7.
[z] Herodot. lib. 7. ſub initio. [a] Eſther i. 3. [b] Herodot. lib. 7.

from

from his bed and from his preſence by [c] an unalterable decree, and therefore never could admit her again to either all his life after. That which chiefly induced the learned archbiſhop to be of this opinion was, that whereas it is ſaid of *Ahaſuerus* [d] in the book of *Eſther*, that he laid a tribute upon the land, and upon the iſles, [e] the ſame is alſo ſaid of *Darius Hyſtaſpis* by *Herodotus*; and therefore he thought that they were both the ſame perſon. But *Strabo*, who is an author of as good if not better credit, attributeth this to [f] *Longimanus*. It muſt be acknowledged that in the printed copies which we now have of that author, it is read *Darius Longimanus* in the place which I refer to. But the title *Longimanus*, and the deſcription of the perſon after in that place added, can belong to none but to the *Artaxerxes* whom we now ſpeak of; and therefore it is manifeſt, that there *Darius* is put inſtead of *Artaxerxes* by the corruption of the text.

SCALIGER's opinion is, [g] that *Xerxes* was the *Ahaſuerus*, and *Hameſtris* his Queen the *Eſther* of the holy ſcriptures. His main reaſon for it is the ſimilitude that is between the names of *Hameſtris* and *Eſther*. But how much more the diſſimilitude of their characters proves the contrary hath been already ſhewn; and what will be hereafter ſaid of her dealing with *Inarus*, and the *Greeks* taken with him in *Egypt*, and her frequent adulteries will be a farther confirmation of it. Farthermore it appears from [h] *Herodotus*, that *Xerxes* had a ſon by *Hameſtris*, that was marriageable in the ſeventh year of his reign, and therefore it is impoſſible ſhe could be *Eſther*. For *Eſther* was not marryed to *Ahaſuerus* [i] till the ſeventh year of his reign, nor could poſſibly have been taken into his bed ſooner than two years before. For according to the ſacred hiſtory [k] it was the fourth year of *Ahaſuerus*, when the choice of virgins was made for him, and a [l] whole year being imployed in the purifications, whereby they were prepared for his bed, ſhe could not be called thither till the fifth year of his reign; and therefore the ſixth was the ſooneſt that ſhe could have a ſon by him. Beſides, *Artaxerxes* the third ſon of *Hameſtris* [m] being grown up to the ſtate of a man at the death of his father, (which hapned in the twenty firſt year of his reign) he muſt have been born before the ſixth year of his reign. All which put together do ſufficiently prove, how much ſoever the names *Eſther* and *Hameſtris* may be alike, the perſons could not be the ſame.

BUT there being no ſuch objections as to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, it is moſt probable that he was the perſon. The ancienteſt and beſt evidences that can be had of this matter, are from the *Greek* verſion of the ſacred text called the ſeptuagint, the apocryphal additions to the book of *Eſther*, and *Joſephus*, and all theſe agree for *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. For *Joſephus* [n] poſitively tells us it was he; and the ſeptuagint through the whole book of *Eſther*, wherever the *Hebrew* text hath *Ahaſuerus*, tranſlate *Artaxerxes*; and the apochryphal additions to that book every where call the husband of *Eſther Artaxerxes*, who could be none other than *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. For there are ſeveral circumſtances related of him both in the canonical and apocryphal *Eſther*, which can by no means be

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[c] Eſther i. 19. [d] Chap. x. 1. [e] Herodot. lib. 3. [f] Strabo, lib. 15. p. 735.
[g] De Emendatione, lib. 6. [h] Lib. 9. [i] Eſther ii. 16. [k] Eſther ii.
[l] Eſther ii. 12. [m] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. [n] Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

appli-

applicable to the other *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*. And *Severus Sulpitius*, and many other writers, as well of the ancients as the moderns, come alſo into this opinion. And the extraordinary [o] favour and kindneſs, which *Artaxerxes Longimanus* ſhewed the *Jews*, beyond all the other Kings that reigned in *Perſia*, firſt in ſending *Ezra*, and after *Nehemiah*, for the repairing of the broken affairs of that people in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, and the reſtoring of them again to their ancient proſperity, is what can ſcarce be accounted for on any other reaſon, but that they had in his boſom ſuch a powerful advocate as *Eſther* to ſolicite for them. But theſe and the other tranſactions of this King will be the ſubject of the next enſuing book.

[o] *There were two other Kings of* Perſia *that ſhewed kindneſs to the* Jews, Cyrus *and* Darius Hyſtaſpis. *Each of them granted a decree in favour of the* Jews, *but* Artaxerxes *went beyond them both. For he granted two decrees, by virtue of which both the eccleſiaſtical and political ſtate of the* Jews *were thoroughly reſtored, and therefore where the Scripture names thoſe Kings of* Perſia, *by whoſe favour this reſtoration was made, he is named among them in the order as he reigned. For it is ſaid* (Ezra vi. 14.) that this was done by the commandment of *Cyrus*, *Darius*, and *Artaxerxes*, i. e. Cyrus *the founder of the* Perſian *empire*, Darius Hyſtaſpis, *and* Artaxerxes Longimanus. *For of theſe, and none other, is that text undoubtedly to be underſtood, and no doubt when the church and ſtate were reſtored, much was done for the reſtoration of the temple alſo.*

THE

Old and *New* TESTAMENT

Connected in the

HISTORY

OF THE

Jews and Neighbouring Nations,

FROM THE

Declenſion of the Kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah* to the time of Christ.

BOOK V.

ARTAXERXES having by the death of *Artabanus* removed one grand obſtacle to his quiet poſſeſſing of the throne, had ſtill two others to ſtruggle with, his brother *Hyſtaſpes* in *Bactria*, and *Artabanus*'s party at home. And this laſt being neareſt at hand gave him the firſt trouble. For * although *Artabanus* was dead, he had left behind him ſeven ſons, and many partiſans, who immediately gathered together to revenge his death; whereon a fierce conflict enſued between them, and thoſe who ſtood by *Artaxerxes*, in which many noble *An.* 464. Artaxerxes I.

* Cteſias.

Perſians were ſlain; but at length *Artaxerxes* having prevailed did cut off all that were concerned in this conſpiracy; and eſpecially he took a ſignal revenge of every one of thoſe who had an hand in the murther of his father, and particularly of the eunuch *Mithridates* that betrayed him, whom he cauſed to be boated to death. The [b] manner of this puniſhment was thus: The perſon condemned to it being laid on his back in a boat, and having his hands ſtretched out and tied faſt to each ſide of it, had another boat put over him, his head only being left out thorough a place made fit for it. In this poſture they fed him, till the worms which were bred in the excrements, that he voided as he thus lay, did eat out his bowels, and ſo cauſed his death, which was uſual this way twenty days in effecting, the criminal lying all this while in exquiſite torments.

ARTAXERXES having maſtered this difficulty, was at leiſure to ſend an army into *Bactria* [c] againſt his brother. But there he did not meet with ſo eaſy ſucceſs, [d] for a fierce battel enſuing, tho' *Hyſtaſpes* did not get the victory, yet he did ſo well make good his ground, that no advantage was gotten againſt him, but both armies parted with equal ſucceſs, and each retired to make better preparations for a ſecond encounter.

An. 463. Artaxerxes 2. BUT the next year [e] *Artaxerxes* having drawn together a much ſtronger army, as having the greateſt part of the empire at his devotion, overpowered *Hyſtaſpes*, and utterly overthrew him in a ſecond battel; whereby having removed all difficulties and oppoſitions, he now became fully poſſeſſed of the whole empire, [f] and the better to ſecure himſelf in it, he removed all thoſe governors of cities and provinces, of whom he had any ſuſpicion, that they had been concerned with, or any way well affected to either of the parties which he had ſuppreſſed, and put into their places only ſuch as he had a thorough confidence in. After this he did ſet himſelf to reform all the abuſes and diſorders of the government, whereby he gained to himſelf much credit and authority throughout all the provinces of the empire, and thoroughly eſtabliſhed himſelf in the affections of the people, wherein lyeth the ſureſt intereſt of princes.

An. 462. Artaxerxes 3. AFTER *Artaxerxes* had obtained theſe ſucceſſes, and thereby firmly ſettled himſelf in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the whole *Perſian* empire, [g] he appointed a ſolemn rejoycing on this account, and cauſed it to be celebrated in the city of *Shuſhan* or *Suſa* in feaſtings and ſhews, for the term of an hundred and eighty days, on the concluſion of which he made a great feaſt for all the princes and people that were then in *Shuſhan*. for ſeven days. And *Vaſhti* the Queen, at the ſame time, made a like feaſt in her apartment for the women. On the ſeventh day the King's heart being merry with wine, he commanded his ſeven chamberlains to bring Queen *Vaſhti* before him, with the crown royal on her head, that he might ſhew to the princes and people her beauty; for ſhe was exceeding fair. But for her thus to ſhew herſelf in ſuch an aſſembly being [h] contrary to the uſage of the *Perſians*, and appearing to her (as indeed it was) very undecent, and much unbecoming the modeſty of a lady, as well as the dignity of her ſtation, ſhe refuſed to comply herewith, and would not come; whereon the

[b] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. [c] *That* Hyſtaſpes *was governor of* Bactria *at his father's death, is atteſted by* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11. p. 53. [d] Cteſias. [e] Cteſias. [f] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. [g] Eſther i. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6. [h] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

King

King being very much incenſed, called his ſeven counſellors to take advice with them about it, who fearing this might be of ill example through the whole empire, in encouraging women to contemn and diſobey their huſbands, adviſed that the King ſhould put *Vaſhti* away for ever from him, and give her royal ſtate to another that ſhould be better than ſhe; and by his royal edict give command throughout the whole empire, that all wives ſhould pay honour and obedience to their husbands, and that every man ſhould bear rule in his own houſe. Which advice pleaſing the King, he commanded it accordingly to be put in execution, and *Vaſhti* never more after that came again into the King's preſence. For the decree whereby ſhe was removed from him was regiſtred among the laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and therefore it could never again be altered. After this, orders were given out through the whole empire, for the gathering together to the palace at *Shuſhan* all the fair virgins in every province, that out of them one might be choſen, whom the King ſhould beſt like, to be made Queen in her place.[i]

AT the time when this collection of virgins was made, there lived in *Shuſhan* a certain *Jew* named *Mordecai*, who was of the deſcendents of thoſe who had been carried captive to *Babylon* with *Jeconiah* King of *Judah*, and by his attendance at the King's gate ſeems to have been one of the porters of the royal palace. He having no children, did breed up *Hadaſſah* his uncle's daughter, and adopted her for his own. This young woman being very beautiful and fair, was made choice of among other virgins on this occaſion, and was carried to the King's palace, and there committed to the care of *Hegai* the King's chamberlain, who was appointed to have the cuſtody of theſe virgins; whom ſhe pleaſed ſo well by her good carriage, that he ſhewed her favour before all the other virgins under his care; and therefore he aſſigned her the beſt apartment of the houſe, and provided her of the firſt with thoſe things that were requiſite for her purification. For the cuſtom was, that every virgin thus taken into the palace for the King's uſe, was to go through a courſe of purification, by ſweet oils and perfumes, for a whole year; and therefore *Hadaſſah* having been by the favour of the chamberlain of the earlieſt provided with theſe things, was one of the firſt that was prepared and made ready for the King's bed, and therefore was one of the ſooneſt that was called to it. *An.* 461. Artaxerxes 4.

THE term therefore of her purification being accompliſhed, her turn came to go in unto the King, who was ſo well pleaſed with her that he often again called for her by name, which he uſed not to do, but to thoſe only of his women whom he was much delighted with. From this time ſhe ſeems to have had the name of *Eſther*, for it is of a *Perſian* original; the ſignification of it is not now known. *An.* 460. Artaxerxes 5.

THE [k] *Egyptians* being very impatient of a foreign yoke, in order to deliver themſelves from it rebelled againſt *Artaxerxes*, and making *Inarus* prince of the *Libyans* their King, called in the *Athenians* to their aſſiſtance, who having then a fleet of two hundred ſail at *Cyprus* gladly laid hold of the invitation, and forthwith ſailed for *Egypt*, looking on this as a favourable opportunity for the cruſhing of the *Perſian* power, by driving them out of that countrey.

[i] Eſther ii. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6. [k] Thucydides, lib. 1. Cteſias.

ARTAXERXES, on the hearing of this revolt, [l]made ready an army of three hundred thouſand men for the ſuppreſſing of it, purpoſing himſelf to march into *Egypt* at the head of them; but being diſſuaded from hazarding his perſon in this expedition, he committed it to the care of *Achæmenides*, one of his brothers. [m] *Herodotus* and [n] *Diodorus Siculus* ſay, that it was *Achæmenes* the brother of *Xerxes*, and uncle of *Artaxerxes*, the ſame who afore had the government of *Egypt* in the beginning of the reign of *Xerxes*, that had the conduct of this war, but herein they were deceived by the ſimilitude of the names. For it appears by *Cteſias*, that he was the ſon of *Hameſtris*, whom *Artaxerxes* ſent with this army into *Egypt*.

An. 459. Artaxerxes 6. *ACHÆMENIDES* being arrived in *Egypt* with his numerous army, encamped on the river *Nile*. In the interim [o]the *Athenians* having beaten the *Perſian* fleet at ſea, and deſtroyed or taken fifty of their ſhips, ſailed up the *Nile*, and having landed their forces under the command of *Charitimis* their general, joined *Inarus* and the *Egyptians*; whereon falling on *Achæmenides* with their joint forces they overthrew him in a great battel, killing an hundred thouſand of his men, and among them *Achæmenides* himſelf. The remainder fled to *Memphis*, where the victors purſuing them took two parts of the town; but the *Perſians* ſecuring themſelves in the third, called the *White Wall*, which was by much the largeſt and the ſtrongeſt part, there ſuffered a ſiege of near three years; during all which time they valiantly defended themſelves againſt their aſſailants, till at length they were ſuccoured by thoſe who were ſent to their relief.

An. 458. Artaxerxes 7. *ARTAXERXES* having received an account of the defeat of his army in *Egypt*, and what part the *Athenians* bore in the effecting of it, in order to divert their forces from being thus employed againſt him, [p] he ſent an embaſſador to the *Lacedæmonians*, with great ſums of money, to induce them to make war upon the *Athenians*, but they not being by any means to be wrought to it, *Artaxerxes* reſolved to endeavour this diverſion another way, by ſending himſelf an army into *Attica* with *Themiſtocles* at the head of it; which he thought could not fail of making them recal their forces out of *Egypt*, becauſe then they would need them at home for their own defence. And [q]accordingly orders were ſent to *Themiſtocles* to prepare for the expedition, and an army and a fleet was drawing towards the *Ionian* coaſt, to be committed to his conduct for this purpoſe. But *Themiſtocles* not knowing how to decline the command, by reaſon of the great benefits he had received from the King, and the promiſes he had made of ſerving him on any ſuch occaſion; and, on the other hand, abhorring the bringing of a war upon his countrey; to extricate himſelf from this difficulty reſolved to put an end to his life; and therefore inviting all his friends together, and having ſacrificed a bull, he drank a large draught of his blood, and ſo died. But [r]there are others that ſay this was done not ſo much out of a love to his countrey, as out of a fear of encountring the valour and good fortune of *Cimon*, who being then general of the *Athenians* carried victory with him wherever he went. But had this been all the matter, ſo wiſe and va-

[l] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Cteſias. [m] Herodot. lib. 3. & lib. 7. [n] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. [o] Thucydides, lib. 1. Cteſias. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. [p] Thucydides, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. [q] Plutarchus in Themiſtocle. [r] Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Themiſtocle & Cimone.]

liant

liant a man would have ſeen enough in this caſe not to have run upon ſo fatal a reſolution. It's poſſible he might have beaten *Cimon*; if not, it would have been time enough for him to have ſalved his credit this way, by dying in battel when vanquiſhed, and therefore he needed not to have anticipated it by a poiſonous draught. In [r] the interim *Artabazus* governor of *Cilicia*, and *Magabyzus* governor of *Syria* were ordered to get ready an army for the relief of thoſe who were beſieged in the *White Wall*, and for the carrying on of the *Egyptian* war. This [s] *Megabyzus* was the ſon of *Zopyrus*, and had been one of the generals that commanded in the army which *Xerxes* led into *Greece*, whoſe daughter *Amytis* he had marryed; but ſhe having very much abuſed his bed by her frequent adulteries, which ſhe was very infamouſly addicted to, he grew very much diſguſted at it, and that not only with her, but alſo with the whole royal family, where perchance ſhe found too much countenance in her crime, eſpecially from her mother, who was as infamouſly guilty of it as herſelf. This induced *Artabanus* to communicate to him the plot which he had contrived againſt the life of *Artaxerxes* after the murder of his father, hoping while he was under this diſcontent to draw him into his party. But *Megabyzus* abhorring the treaſon made diſcovery of the whole to *Artaxerxes*, and gave him that counſel, which put him in the way to get rid of this danger. And after the death of *Artabanus*, he headed the King's forces againſt the partizans of the traitor; and it was chiefly by his valour and conduct that they were ſuppreſſed, and *Artaxerxes* ſecured on the throne, and in the accompliſhing of this he received a dangerous wound, of which he very difficultly recovered. By all which merit he very deſervedly obtained the firſt place in the King's favour, and therefore was chiefly confided on in this important commiſſion for the reduction of *Egypt*.

IN the beginning of this year [t] *Ezra* obtained of King *Artaxerxes* and his ſeven chief counſellors, a very ample commiſſion for his return to *Jeruſalem*, with all his nation that were willing to accompany him thither, giving him full authority there to reſtore and ſettle the ſtate, and reform the church of the *Jews*, and to regulate and govern both according to their own laws. This extraordinary favour not being likely to have been obtained but by ſome more than ordinary means, it ſeems to have been granted at the ſollicitation of *Eſther*, who was now become the beſt beloved of all the King's concubines, though not yet advanced to the dignity of Queen. For it was [w] uſual for the Kings of *Perſia*, on ſome particular days and occaſions, to allow their women to ask what boons they pleaſed, and upon ſome ſuch time or occaſion it's moſt likely *Eſther* by the direction of *Mordecai*, though ſhe had not yet diſcovered her kindred and nation, asked this of the King. This *Ezra* was of the deſcendents of *Seraiah* the high-prieſt, who was ſlain by *Nebuchadnezzar*, when he burnt the temple and city of *Jeruſalem*. That he was the immediate ſon of *Seraiah* is wholly improbable; for ſuppoſing him to have been but one year old at the death of this *Seraiah*, he muſt now have been one hundred and thirty and two, and [x] yet we find him alive in the time of *Nehemiah* fifteen years after, when according to this account he muſt have been one hundred forty and ſeven years old, tho' he was then of that vigour as to bear the fatigue of reading the law for a whole fore-

[r] Thucydides, lib. 1. Diodor. lib. 11. Cteſias. [s] Herodot. lib. 3. in fine, & lib. 7. Cteſias. [t] Ezra 7. [w] Herodot. lib. 9. [x] Nehem. viii.

noon

noon together to all the people of the *Jews*, which is a thing wholly unlikely in those days; and therefore where he is said to be the son of *Seraiah*, it must be understood in that large sense, wherein commonly in Scripture any descendent is said to be the son of any ancestor from whom he was derived; and we need seek no farther for an instance of this than the very text, where *Ezra* is said to be the son of *Seraiah*. For in the same place *Azariah* is said to be son of *Meraioth*, though there were [y] six between. As *Ezra* was a very holy, so also was he a very learned man, and especially he was very excellently skill'd in the knowledge of the holy scriptures, and therefore he is said to have been a very ready scribe in the law of God, which he was so eminent for, that *Artaxerxes* [z] takes particular notice of it in his commission. * He began his journey from *Babylon* on the first day of the first month called *Nisan*, (which might fall about the middle of our *March*) and having halted at the river of *Ahava* till the rest of his company was come up to him, he there in a solemn fast recommended himself and all that were with him to the divine protection, and then on the twelfth day set forward for *Jerusalem*, where they all safely arrived on the first day of the fifth month, having spent four whole months in their journey from *Babylon* thither. On his arrival he delivered up to the temple the offerings which had been made to it by the King and his nobles, and the rest of the people of *Israel* that stayed behind, which amounted to an hundred talents of gold, with twenty basons of gold of the value of a thousand [a] *Darics*, and six hundred and fifty talents of silver, with vessels of silver of the weight of an hundred talents more. And then having communicated his commission to the King's lieutenants and governors throughout all *Syria* and *Palestine*, he betook himself to the executing of the contents of it; whereby [b] he was fully impowered to settle both the church and the state of the *Jews* according to the law of *Moses*, and to appoint magistrates and judges to punish all such as should be refractory, and not become obedient to it, and that not only by imprisonment and confiscation of goods, but also with banishment and death, according as their crimes should be found to deserve. And all this power *Ezra* was invested with, and continued faithfully to execute it for the space of thirteen years, till *Nehemiah* arrived with a new commission from the *Persian* court for the same work.

ESTHER [c] growing farther still in the King's favour, and gaining his affection beyond all the rest of his women, he advanced her to higher honour, and on the tenth day of the tenth month, which falls about the end of our year, did put the royal diadem upon her head, and declared her Queen in the stead of *Vashti*; and thereon made a solemn feast for his princes and servants, which was called *Esther*'s feast, and in honour of her at the same time made a release of taxes to the provinces, and gave donatives and presents to all that then attended him, according to the grandeur and dignity of his royal estate; which gave *Ezra* the greater encouragement under her protection and patronage to go on with the work of reforming and settling the *Jewish* church and state in *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, which he had there undertaken.

AND from his entring on this work the beginning of the seventy weeks

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[y] *See* 2 Chron. vi. 7, 8, 9. [z] Ezra vii. 12. * Ezra viii. [a] *A* Daric *was a piece of gold of the value of one of our* Jacobus's, *see above book* 2. [b] Ezra vii. 25, 26. [c] Esther ii.

of

of the famous prophecy, which is delivered to us in the ix^th^ chapter of *Daniel* concerning the coming of the *Meſſiah*, is to be computed. The words of the propheſy in our *Engliſh* tranſlation are as followeth.

Ver. 24. *SEVENTY weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finiſh the tranſgreſſion, and to make an end of ſins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting righteouſneſs, and to ſeal up the viſion and propheſy, and to anoint the moſt holy.* Ver. 25. *Know therefore and underſtand, that from the going forth of the commandment to reſtore and to build* Jeruſalem *unto* Meſſiah *the Prince, ſhall be ſeven weeks, and threeſcore and two weeks the ſtreet ſhall be built again, and the wall even in troublous times.* Ver. 26. *And after threeſcore and two weeks ſhall* Meſſiah *be cut off, but not for himſelf, and the people of the Prince that ſhall come ſhall deſtroy the city and the ſanctuary, and the end thereof ſhall be with a flood, and to the end of the war deſolations are determined.* Ver. 27. *And he ſhall confirm the covenant with many for one week, and in the midſt of the week he ſhall cauſe the ſacrifice and the oblation to ceaſe, and for the overſpreading of abominations he ſhall make it deſolate, even until the conſummation, and that determined ſhall be poured out upon the deſolate.*

AND it being of great moment for the conviction of *Jews* and other infidels, who reject the faith of Chriſt, to have this propheſy well cleared and made out, in order hereto it is to be obſerved,

I. THAT this propheſy doth relate primarily and eſpecially to the *Jews*. For it expreſſeth the time that was determined upon the people of *Daniel*, that is, the *Jews*, and upon the holy city, that is, *Jeruſalem*, the whole of which was ſeventy weeks; that is, that this was the time which God had fore-ordained and determined upon the *Jews* for their being his peculiar people, and upon *Jeruſalem* for its being his holy city, after the expiration of which an end being to be put to the *Moſaic* œconomy, they ſhould be no longer God's peculiar people, and the worſhip which he had eſtabliſhed at *Jeruſalem* being to be aboliſh'd, that city ſhould be no longer a city holy unto him.

II. THAT theſe ſeventy weeks are weeks of years. For among the *Jews* as there were ſabbatical days, whereby their days were divided into weeks of days, ſo there were [d] ſabbatical years, whereby their years were divided into weeks of years, and this laſt ſort of weeks is that which is here mentioned, ſo that every one of the weeks of this propheſy contains ſeven years, and the whole number of ſeventy weeks contain four hundred and ninety years, at the end whereof this determined time expired; after which the *Jews* were no more to be the peculiar people of God, nor *Jeruſalem* his holy city, becauſe then the œconomy which he had eſtabliſhed among them was to ceaſe, and the worſhip which he had appointed at *Jeruſalem*, was wholly to be aboliſhed. And,

III. ALL this was accompliſhed at the death of *Chriſt*. For then the *Jewiſh* church, and the *Jewiſh* worſhip at *Jeruſalem* were wholly aboliſhed, and the chriſtian church and the chriſtian worſhip ſucceeded in their ſtead; then the time which was determined upon the *Jews* for their being God's peculiar people, and upon *Jeruſalem* for its being his holy city, being fully expired, thenceforth began the kingdom of the *Meſſiah*, and

[d] Levit. xxv. 8.

inſtead

inſtead of the *Jews* all the nations of the world were called thereunto, and inſtead of *Jeruſalem* every place through the whole earth, where God ſhould be worſhipped in ſpirit and in truth was made holy unto him. And therefore then the ſeventy weeks of this propheſy muſt have their ending. For they were determined and decreed for this purpoſe, and therefore in this they muſt have their concluſion. And this all the events which are in this propheſy predicted to be brought to paſs at the concluſion of theſe weeks, do neceſſarily prove. In the xxiv[th] verſe we have ſix of them, for the accompliſhing of which theſe ſeventy weeks are there ſaid to be determined; and therefore at the accompliſhing of them theſe weeks muſt have their ending. They are theſe following, 1[ſt], *To finiſh* (or [a] reſtrain) *tranſgreſſion*; 2[d], *To* [f] *make an end of ſins*; 3[d], *To make* [g] (expiation or) *reconciliation for iniquity*; 4[th], *To bring in everlaſting righteouſneſs*; 5[th], *To ſeal up* (or [h] complete and fulfil) *viſion and propheſy*; and 6[th], *To anoint the moſt holy*. And all theſe were accompliſhed in that great work of our ſalvation, which *Chriſt* our Lord undertook for us, and fully completed by his death and paſſion, and his reſurrection from the dead. For being born without original ſin, and having lived without actual ſin, he was truly *the moſt holy* of all that bore our nature. And being thereby fully fitted for this great work, *he was anointed* with the Holy Ghoſt, and with power to be our King, and our prieſt, and our prophet, for the effecting and accompliſhing of it. And having as our prieſt offered up himſelf a ſacrifice upon the croſs to make expiation and atonement for all our ſins, and did thereby *make an end of them*, by taking away their guilt, and in ſo doing *he did work reconciliation* for us with our God. And having as our prophet given unto us his goſpel, the law of *everlaſting righteouſneſs*, which was not a temporary law, as was that of *Moſes*, but to laſt for ever, and to be our guide into all righteouſneſs, as long as the world ſhould laſt; and alſo having as our King ſent his Holy Spirit into our hearts to influence and govern us according to this law, he hath done all for us that is neceſſary, thereby *to reſtrain and extinguiſh in us all manner of tranſgreſſions*, and fully deliver us from the power of them. And in doing all this *he hath ſealed up, that is fulfilled, and thoroughly finiſhed all that, which by viſions and propheſies had been before revealed concerning him.* And therefore all theſe events being thus brought to paſs, and accompliſhed at the time of *Chriſt*'s death, this neceſſarily determines us there to fix the end of theſe weeks, which were appointed for the accompliſhing of them.

IV. THE end of theſe weeks being thus fixed at the death of *Chriſt*, it doth neceſſarily determine us where to place the beginning of them, that

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[a] *The word* lecalle *in the* Hebrew *ſignifieth to reſtrain, as well as to ſhut up or finiſh; and the former rather than the latter.* [f] *Here is a various reading in the* Hebrew *text, as to the word which we tranſlate* to make an end of. *For whereas the true reading is* lehatem, *that is, to finiſh or make an end of; and in the next line after there is the word* lachtom, *which there ſignifieth to ſeal up; and theſe two words as to the letters differing only in this, that the former is written with an* He *in the middle, and the other with a* Cheth, *the ſimilitude that is between theſe two letters in the* Hebrew *alphabet, (for they differ very little the one from the other) led tranſcribers into this miſtake, that they wrote the word as if it were* lachtom *in both places. But it is corrected in the margin. However this would not have altered the ſenſe, becauſe the ſame word which ſignifieth* to ſeal up *in* Hebrew, *is alſo uſed to ſignify* to finiſh *or* complete, *becauſe the putting of the ſeal to any inſtrument or writing completes the matter about which it is, and finiſheth the whole tranſaction.* [g] *The word in the* Hebrew *text properly ſignifieth* to expiate as by ſacrifice, *and by ſuch an expiation did* Chriſt *our Lord work reconciliation for us with our God.* [h] *See note* f.

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is, four hundred and ninety years before. And therefore the death of *Chriſt*, as moſt learned men agree, falling [i] in the year of the *Julian* period 4746, and in the *Jewiſh* month [k] *Niſan*, if we reckon four hundred and ninety years backward, this will lead us up to the month *Niſan*, in the year of the *Julian* period 4256, which was the very year and month [l] in which *Ezra* had his commiſſion from *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Perſia*, for his return to *Jeruſalem*, there to reſtore the church and ſtate of the *Jews*. For that year of the *Julian* period, according to *Ptolemy's* canon, was the ſeventh year of that King's reign, [m] in which the ſcriptures tell us his commiſſion was granted. The beginning therefore of the ſeventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years of this propheſy, was in the month *Niſan*, of the *Jewiſh* year, in the ſeventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Perſia*, and in the 4256th year of the *Julian* period, when *Ezra* had his commiſſion; and the end of them fell in the very ſame month of *Niſan* in the 4746th year of the *Julian* period; in which very year, and very month, *Chriſt* our Lord ſuffered for us, and thereby completed the whole work of our ſalvation, there being juſt ſeventy weeks of years, or four hundred and ninety years from the one to the other.

V. IT's evident from the propheſy it ſelf, that theſe weeks muſt have this beginning, that is, from the date of the commiſſion granted *Ezra*. For *1ſt*, They are pinn'd down thereto by an expreſs character in the text; and *2dly*, They cannot agreeably to that, and other ſcriptures, and the authentic hiſtories of the times to which they relate, have it any where elſe.

AND *1ſt*, Theſe weeks muſt have their beginning from the date of the commiſſion granted *Ezra*, becauſe they are pinn'd down thereto by an expreſs character in the text, and that character is, *the going forth of the commandment to reſtore and build* Jeruſalem. For that from thence the ſeventy weeks muſt have their beginning, [n] the text is very expreſs; and to excite us the more to obſerve it, introduceth it with this remarkable preface, [n] *know therefore and underſtand*. But this commandment, or decree, was that which was granted to *Ezra* in that commiſſion, with which he was ſent into *Judea*, in the ſeventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Perſia*; and therefore from thence the beginning of theſe weeks muſt commence. For the words in the text, *to reſtore and build* Jeruſalem, are not to be underſtood literally, but figuratively for the reſtoring of the ſtate of the *Jews*, as well the political as the eccleſiaſtical, and the reſettling of both according to the law of *Moſes*; and what is more uſual in propheſies, than to be given out in figurative expreſſions? and what is more common in ſcripture, than by *Jeruſalem* to mean the whole political and eccleſiaſtical ſtate of that people? and for the re-eſtabliſhing of both theſe, and the ſettling of them again upon the former baſis, from whence they had been overthrown by the *Babylonians*, and were not as yet but very imperfectly reſtored, the commiſſion granted to *Ezra* was very full. For [o] it gave him thorough power to reſtore the law of *Moſes*, and fully re-eſtabliſh the obſervance of it both in church and ſtate, and to appoint ma-

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[i] Scaliger de emendatione temporum, lib. 6. p. 562. Uſherus in annalibus ſub anno J. P. 4746. Strauchius aliique. [k] *Chriſt ſuffered at the time of the paſſover, which was always celebrated in the middle of the month* Niſan. [l] Ezra vii. 9. *There it is ſaid* in the firſt month, *and the firſt month of the* Jewiſh *year was* Niſan. [m] Ezra vii. 7. [n] Daniel ix. 25.

[o] *See the commiſſion in the* viith *chapter of* Ezra, ver. 11---26.

giſtrates and judges to govern the people according to it, and to puniſh all ſuch as ſhould be diſobedient thereto, either with death, baniſhment, impriſonment, or confiſcation of goods, according as their crimes ſhould be found to deſerve. And all this *Ezra* accordingly executed, in manner as will hereafter be related. Before his coming to *Jeruſalem* with this commiſſion the ſcriptures were in a manner loſt, the people in a profound ignorance of the law, and the worſhip of God neglected, and every thing elſe, both in church and ſtate, in great diſorder and confuſion. But on his coming he reſtored the ſcriptures, inſtructed the people in the law, brought the worſhip of God into due order, and proceeded, as long as his commiſſion laſted, to work a full reformation in all things elſe. And after his commiſſion was at an end, he gave not over his endeavours herein, but as a prieſt, as a skilful ſcribe in the law of God, and as preſident of the *Sanhedrim*, [p] he ſtill carried on the ſame work; and having a ſucceſſor equally zealous in the ſame deſign, he did as much in it under his authority, as formerly he did by his own. So that he hath been eſteemed as another *Moſes*, and deſervedly reckoned as the ſecond founder of the *Jewiſh* church and ſtate. And therefore the beginning of this work is a noble *Epocha*, from whence to begin the calculation of theſe weeks, and doth moſt agreeably accord with the intent and purpoſe of this propheſy in which they are predicted. For the whole intent and purpoſe of it is to foreſhew and ſet forth the age of the reſtored church of the *Jews*, how long it was to continue, and when to ceaſe and be aboliſh'd; and from whence is it more proper to reckon this, than from the time when the thorough reſtoration of it began? and this was then only begun, when *Ezra*, by virtue of the commiſſion granted to him by *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Perſia*, in the ſeventh year of his reign, did ſet about this work; and therefore from hence the computation of theſe weeks, according to the propheſy that predicts them, muſt begin. And that this figurative interpretation of the words, and none other, muſt be the true meaning of them, appears from hence, that they cannot be underſtood in a litteral ſenſe. For if they are ſo to be underſtood, they can be applicable to no other reſtoring and rebuilding of *Jeruſalem*, than that which was decreed and commanded by *Cyrus*, at the releaſe of the captivity. For this propheſy was revealed to *Daniel* before this releaſe, and therefore when it is ſaid therein, that the *Epocha* of theſe weeks was to begin from the going forth of the command or decree to reſtore and build *Jeruſalem*, of what decree can it be more properly underſtood, than of that which ſhould firſt be granted next after this propheſy for that purpoſe, and by virtue whereof this city was accordingly rebuilt after its having been deſtroyed by the *Babylonians*, and was again re-peopled, and inhabited by the ſame people who had been its former inhabitans? And that this was done by virtue of *Cyrus*'s decree appears from many places of ſcripture. We are told in *Iſaiah* (ch. xliv. 28.) that *it was* Cyrus, *that ſhould ſay to* Jeruſalem, *be thou built, and to the temple, thy foundations ſhall be laid.* And again, (ch. xlv. 13.) it is ſaid of the ſame *Cyrus*, that *God would raiſe him up, and direct him that he ſhould build his city, and releaſe his captives*; where it is to be obſerved, that he that releaſed God's captives, and laid the foundation of the temple, was to be the perſon that was to rebuild *Je-*

[p] Nehemiah viii.

ruſalem;

ruſalem; ſo that he is not only by name, but alſo by this character and deſcription, plainly pointed out to be the perſon that was to do this work. For that *Cyrus* did releaſe the captive *Jews* who were God's people, and that he did no more than lay the foundation of the temple (for it was not perfected till in an after-reign) is well known. And therefore, according to theſe paſſages of holy ſcripture, it muſt be he only that did reſtore and rebuild *Jeruſalem*. And ſo accordingly it was done by virtue of the decree, which he granted for the return of the *Jews* thither. For can it be imagined that *Cyrus* ſhould grant licenſe for the *Jews* to return to *Jeruſalem*, and rebuild the temple there, without allowing them to rebuild that city alſo? *Ezra* plainly tells us, that as ſoon as the *Jews* were returned into *Judea* by virtue of *Cyrus*'s decree, [q] they diſperſed themſelves into the ſeveral cities to which they belonged, and again dwelt in them; and can it be thought that they did not then again rebuild them? for without rebuilding of them how could they dwell in them? And if thoſe who belonged to the other cities of *Judah*, rebuilt and dwelt in them again, how can we think that thoſe who belonged to *Jeruſalem* did not do the ſame, and that eſpecially ſince it was the metropolis of the whole nation, the place where the temple ſtood, where all went up continually to worſhip, and where three times a year every male appeared before the Lord at the ſolemn feſtivals, and where alſo the governor dwelt, where the council ſat, and all matters of judgment were ultimately decided? The matter is beyond all diſpute; when the *Jews* on their return rebuilt their other cities, they muſt then moſt certainly have rebuilt *Jeruſalem* alſo. The great concourſe, which the reaſons I have mentioned conſtantly drew thither, muſt have neceſſitated this, had there been no other inducement for it. It is eaſier to ſuppoſe all the reſt of the cities of *Judah* to have been left ſtill in their rubbiſh, after the return of the *Jews* from their captivity, than that this city alone ſhould remain unbuilt. The rebuilding of it is not indeed expreſsly included in the commiſſion of *Cyrus*. As we have it recorded in the firſt chapter of *Ezra*, that only gives licence *to the* Jews *to return into* Judea, *and there rebuild the houſe of God, which is in* Jeruſalem. But the licence to rebuild the houſe of God, which is in *Jeruſalem*, muſt either imply a licence to rebuild *Jeruſalem* alſo, or elſe (which ſeems moſt probable) *Ezra* gives us, in the place mentioned, only an abſtract of the chief things granted by that licence, and not a recital of the whole, in which moſt likely many other things, and among them the rebuilding of *Jeruſalem*, and the other cities of *Judah*, might be fully and expreſsly mentioned. For it is certain, by virtue of that licence they had power ſo to do, and accordingly executed it. For the complaint of the neighbouring nations to the *Perſian* court, againſt them that were returned, was, [r] that *they builded* Jeruſalem, *that rebellious and bad city, and had ſet up the walls thereof, and joined the foundations of it*; and the order from King *Artaxerxes* (ſo the *Magian*, who then reigned, it ſeems called himſelf) was [ſ] *to cauſe the* Jews *to ceaſe, that this city be not builded.* However, from the firſt of *Cyrus* till the time of this order fourteen years having elapſed, the rebuilding of *Jeruſalem* had by that time gone a great way. For within two years after, we find the prophet *Haggai* complaining of the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*, [t] *that they dwelt in cieled houſes, while they let the houſe of God lie waſte.*

[q] Ezra ii. 1. *and* iii. 1. [r] Ezra iv. 12. [ſ] Ezra iv. 21. [t] Haggai i. 4.

From all this it plainly appears, that *Jeruſalem*, after its having been deſtroyed by the *Babylonians*, was again rebuilt by virtue of the decree, which *Cyrus* granted in the firſt year of his reign for the releaſe and reſtoration of the *Jews*. And therefore if theſe words of the propheſy, *To reſtore and build* Jeruſalem, are to be underſtood in a literal ſenſe, they can be underſtood of no other reſtoring and building of that city, than that which was accompliſhed by virtue of that decree, and the computation of the ſeventy weeks muſt begin from the granting and going forth thereof. But if the computation be begun ſo high, the four hundred and ninety years of the ſaid ſeventy weeks cannot come low enough to reach any of thoſe events which are predicted by this propheſy. For from the firſt of *Cyrus* to the death of *Chriſt* were five hundred ſixty eight years; and therefore if the ſaid four hundred and ninety years be computed from thence, they will be expired a great many years either before the cutting off, or the coming of the *Meſſiah*, which ought both to fall within the compaſs of them, according to the expreſs words of this propheſy. It evidently therefore follows from hence, that the words of this propheſy, *to reſtore and build* Jeruſalem, cannot be underſtood in a literal ſenſe. For the ſum of the whole argument is thus. If the words are to be underſtood in a literal ſenſe, they muſt be underſtood of that rebuilding of *Jeruſalem*, which was accompliſhed by virtue of *Cyrus*'s decree, and the computation of the ſeventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years thereof, muſt begin from the going forth or iſſuing out of that decree. But it cannot begin from thence for the reaſon mentioned, and therefore theſe words cannot be underſtood in a literal ſenſe, but muſt be interpreted to mean figuratively the reſtoring and rebuilding the church and ſtate of the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*. And this *Ezra* effected by virtue of the command or decree, which was granted to him for this purpoſe in the ſeventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and therefore here the beginning of theſe weeks muſt be placed; and this will be farther proved if we conſider,

2*dly*, THAT it can be placed no where elſe, ſo as to make the ending comport with the intent and purpoſe of the propheſy, and the accompliſhing of the events predicted by it. For there were four commandments or decrees iſſued out by the Kings of *Perſia* in favour of the *Jews*, from one of which, according to the expreſs words of the propheſy, the computation of theſe weeks is to be begun; the firſt [t] granted by *Cyrus* in the firſt year of his reign, the [u] ſecond by *Darius* about the fourth year of his reign, the third [v] by *Artaxerxes* to *Ezra* in the ſeventh year of his reign, and [w] the fourth by the ſame *Artaxerxes* to *Nehemiah* in the twentieth year of his reign. But this computation could not begin from that of *Cyrus*, nor from that of *Darius*, nor from that of the twentieth of *Artaxeres*, and therefore it muſt begin from this of the ſeventh of *Artaxerxes* granted to *Ezra*. That it could not begin from any of the other three I ſhall ſhew in their order.

AND 1*ſt*, As to the decree of *Cyrus*, the four hundred and ninety years of theſe weeks cannot be computed from thence for the reaſon already ſaid, that is, becauſe if they begin from thence they cannot by a great many years reach the events predicted by this propheſy, and therefore none, who underſtand this propheſy to relate either to the cutting off or

[t] Ezra i. [u] Ezra vi. [v] Ezra vii. [w] Nehemiah ii.

the

the coming of the *Meſſiah*, do begin them from hence. For according to this computation no chronology can ever reconcile them to either of them.

2dly, NEITHER can the computation of theſe weeks be begun from the decree granted by *Darius*. But there having been three *Darius*'s that reigned in *Perſia*, *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, *Darius Nothus*, and *Darius Codomannus*, it is to be firſt enquired, which of theſe three it was that granted this decree; and then ſecondly, it ſhall be ſhewn, that the computation of theſe weeks cannot be begun from it. And firſt of theſe three *Darius*'s, it's certain it could not be *Darius Codomannus*. For if the four hundred and ninety years of theſe weeks be reckoned from any part of his reign, they will overſhoot all the events predicted by this propheſy by many more years, than they will fall ſhort of them if reckoned from the firſt of *Cyrus*, and therefore no one hath ever ſaid, that he was the *Darius* that granted this decree. But *Scaliger*, and many others following his authority, have ſaid it of *Darius Nothus*. But there are invincible arguments againſt it, which unanſwerably demonſtrate, that it could not be *Darius Nothus*, but it muſt neceſſarily be *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, the firſt of theſe three that reigned in *Perſia*, and none other, by whom this decree was iſſued out. For he who according to *Ezra* granted this decree, is the ſame *Darius* of whom mention is made [x] in *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, but that *Darius* could not be *Darius Nothus*, but muſt neceſſarily be *Darius Hyſtaſpis*. For firſt from the deſtruction of the temple of *Jeruſalem* by the *Chaldæans* to the reign of *Darius Nothus* were one hundred ſixty and five years. But from the deſtruction of it to the time of the ſecond decree, by virtue of which the rebuilding of it was finiſhed, were no more than ſeventy years according to the prophet *Zechariah*. For we find [y] in the book of his propheſies, that in the fourth year of the ſame *Darius* who granted this decree to the *Jews*, (which was alſo the year in which it was publiſhed at *Jeruſalem*) the faſt of the fifth month, [z] in which they had mourned for the deſtruction of the temple, and the faſt of the ſeventh month, [a] in which they had mourned for the utter deſolation of the land, which had been brought upon it by the death of *Gedaliah*, had been obſerved juſt ſeventy years; and no one can doubt, who thoroughly conſiders that text, but that their mourning for theſe calamities, had been from the very time that they had ſuffered them; and that therefore it could not be *Darius Nothus*, but it muſt be ſome other *Darius* then reigning in *Perſia* within the reach of the ſaid ſeventy years, who granted this decree; and that ſince the fourth year of *Darius Hyſtaſpis* was juſt ſeventy years from the time, in which the city and temple of *Jeruſalem* were deſtroyed by the *Chaldæans*, (as hath been before obſerved) this other *Darius* muſt neceſſarily be *Darius Hyſtaſpis*. It muſt be acknowledged that the ſame prophet ſpeaks alſo in another place of the like number of ſeventy years in the ſecond of *Darius* two years before. But theſe were not the ſeventy years of mourning for the deſtruction of the city and temple

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[x] *See* Ezra v. 1. vi. 14. Haggai i. 1---15. Zech. i. 1---7. *and* vii. 1. [y] Zech. vii. 5.

[z] 2 Kings xxv. 8. Jerem. lii. 12. *The* Jews *obſerve this faſt on the ninth of* Ab, *which is their fifth month, even to this day.* [a] 2 Kings xxv. 25. Jerem. xli. 1. *The* Jews *obſerve this faſt on the third day of* Tiſri, *which is their ſeventh month, even to this day, and both theſe faſt days, that of the third of* Tiſri, *and the other of the ninth of* Ab, *are marked on thoſe days in all their kalendars.*

of

of *Jeruſalem*, but [b] *the ſeventy years in which God had expreſſed his indignation againſt* Jeruſalem *and the cities of* Judah, which are to be computed from the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* [c] came up againſt *Judah* and beſieged *Jeruſalem*, for which the *Jews* faſted in the tenth month, and this was two years before that city was taken and deſtroyed by him. For the taking and deſtroying of *Jeruſalem* was in the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, but the firſt beſieging of it was in the [c] ninth year of *Zedekiah*, and in the tenth month of that year. But [d] *Scaliger*, inſtead of being convinced by this argument, turns it to ſpeak for him, and his reaſonings upon it for this purpoſe are, that theſe faſts, which are ſpoken of in *Zechariah* [e] to have been obſerved on the fourth and fifth month, and on the ſeventh month, and the tenth month, could not be appointed but by the church of the *Jews*, (by which I ſuppoſe he meaneth the *Sanhedrim*, or ſome other convention of prieſts and elders repreſenting that church) but neither the *Sanhedrim*, nor any other convention repreſenting that church, could come together, or make any ſuch conſtitution after the calamities which theſe faſts commemorated, till the *Jews* were returned from their captivity, and again ſettled in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*. And therefore theſe faſts could not begin to be obſerved, nor the ſeventy years obſerving of them, which *Zechariah* ſpeaks of, commence till after that time. But ſeventy years from any time after the return of the *Jews* from the *Babyloniſh* captivity will carry us much beyond the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, and therefore it could not be the fourth year of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, but it muſt be the fourth year of the *Darius*, the next of that name reigned after him in *Perſia*, (and that was *Darius Nothus*) in which theſe faſts were ſpoken of by that prophet. But the anſwer to all this is, that there was no need of any ſuch formal conſtitution of the whole *Jewiſh* church for the obſerving of theſe faſts. The calamities which they commemorated, while freſh in memory, might be reaſon enough to introduce the uſe of them by common conſent. And if not, yet what ſhould hinder, but that the prieſts and elders might meet together in *Babylon* while there in captivity, and in that place, as well as if they had been at *Jeruſalem*, hold conventions for the making of ſuch a conſtitution? If the book of *Baruch* be to be credited in any thing, [f] that tells us of ſuch a convention in *Babylon*, held there in the time of the captivity, and of a faſt appointed by it. And we find in the book of *Ezekiel*, which is of undoubted, becauſe of divine authority, that [g] the elders of *Iſrael* in *Babylon* met more than once to ask counſel of God from the mouth of the prophet. And when [h] *Sherezer* and *Regem-Melech* came to *Jeruſalem* to ask counſel of the prophets and prieſts there, in the name and behalf of the *Jews* of *Babylon*, about theſe faſts, can we think that they were ſent by any other, than a convention of the prieſts and elders in that place met together for this purpoſe? It's certain, that moſt of the conſtitutions that are now obſerved by the

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[b] Zech. i. 12. [c] 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jerem. xxxix. 1. *and* lii. 4. *The* Jews *obſerve this faſt on the tenth day of* Thebets, *(which is their tenth month) even to this day, and call it the faſt for the firſt ſiege of* Jeruſalem *in all their kalendars.* [d] De Emendatione Temporum, lib. 6. p. 602.
[e] Zech. vii. 5. *and* viii. 19. [f] Baruch i. *Altho' perchance this book be no more than a religious romance, yet ſuch romancers do uſually ſo accommodate their fables to the uſages and cuſtoms of the people, and times, of which they treat, as not to aſcribe any other to them, than ſuch as have been of known uſe and practice in them; and therefore theſe books may be of ſome authority for uſages and cuſtoms, altho' not for hiſtory.* [g] Ezek. vii. 1. *and* xiv. 1. [h] Zech. vii. 1, 2, 3.

Jews,

Jews, [i] were made in the land of *Babylon* by conventions of their elders after the laſt deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, (for all that are in the *Babyloniſh Gemara* were there made.) And why then might not a conſtitution for theſe faſts be made there alſo by a like convention, after the firſt deſtruction of that city? And why there might not be a *Sanhedrim* in *Babylon* during the captivity of the *Jews* I cannot ſee. The temple ſervice was indeed confined to *Jeruſalem*, but the *Sanhedrim* was no part of it. That was a national council, which might be aſſembled wherever the nation was. And therefore when the whole nation of the *Jews* was removed into the land of *Babylon*, who can give a reaſon why this national council ſhould not be there alſo, and there meet and conſult together for the common intereſt of the nation in that land, as well as they did when they were in their own? We are told by the *Jewiſh* writers, that from the time of *Alexander the Great* there was [k] a *Sanhedrim* in *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, for the ſake only of a colony of the *Jews* that was there planted, even while *Judea* and *Jeruſalem* were fully inhabited. And how much more then might there have been one at *Babylon*, when the whole nation was removed thither during their captivity in that land? It's plain from hence, that in every part of this argument *Scaliger* begs his principles, and therefore they can be of no force for the proof of any thing that he would infer from them. But, ſecondly, That the *Darius* who granted this ſecond decree could not be *Darius Nothus*, but muſt neceſſarily be *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, will farther appear from the part which *Jeſhua* the high-prieſt and *Zerubbabel* the governor acted in it. For they [l] were the perſons who were ſent to *Jeruſalem* with the firſt decree, that which was granted by *Cyrus*, and they alſo [m] executed the ſecond decree, that which was granted by *Darius*. But if this *Darius* were *Darius Nothus*, ſuppoſing *Jeſhua* to have been forty years old at the granting of *Cyrus*'s decree, (and leſs at that time he could not be, he having then [n] ſons in the work of the temple of twenty years old and upward) and ſuppoſing *Zerubbabel* to be thirty years old, (and a leſs age could not comport with his office) the former muſt have been one hundred fifty ſeven, and the other one hundred forty ſeven years old, when this ſecond decree granted by *Darius* was executed by them, which is utterly improbable. [o] *Scaliger* to make out the probability of it, brings inſtances of ſeveral long-livers. I deny not, it's poſſible one in a century may be found, who may have reached the firſt of theſe ages, that is, that of one hundred fifty ſeven. For we have had [p] a *Par* who hath come nigh it, and a *Jenkinſon* who hath outlived it. But that two together, and collegues in the ſame work and buſineſs, ſhould live ſo long is not likely. But, thirdly, the improbability of this will appear much farther, if we conſider the words ſpoken by God himſelf in the ſecond year of this *Darius*, which we have in the ſecond chapter of *Haggai*, ver. 3. *Who is left among you that ſaw this houſe in its firſt glory? And how do you ſee it now? is it not in your eyes in compariſon of it as nothing?* For

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[i] *The* Jews *had in the land of* Babylon *three univerſities*, Sora, Naherda, *and* Pombeditha, *where they had their publick ſchools and publick conventions of their principal doctors and learned men, and in theſe the conſtitutions that are in the* Babyloniſh Gemara *were all made.* [k] Gemara Hieroſol. in Succah, fol. 55. Gemara Babylonica in Succah, fol. 51. [l] Ezra ii. 2. *and* iii. 8, *&c.* [m] Ezra v. 6. Haggai i. 2. Zech. iii. *and* iv. [n] Ezra iii. 8, 9. [o] De emendatione temporum, lib. 6. p. 603. & in Animadverſionibus ad Chronologica Euſebii ſub anno 1497. p. 97. [p] Par *lived to the age of* 152, *and* Jenkinſon *to that of* 169. *See Sir* William Temple's *Tracts.*

this

this text doth plainly expreſs, that ſome were then alive who had ſeen the firſt temple, and well remembred the beauty and glory of it; and therefore if this *Darius* were *Darius Nothus*, they muſt have been of an age much more beyond belief, than either that of *Jeſhua*, or that of *Zerubbabel* above-mentioned. For from the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, in which the temple was deſtroyed, to the ſecond of *Darius Nothus*, had paſſed an hundred ſixty ſix years; and therefore ſuppoſing theſe perſons, who are here ſaid to have ſeen the firſt temple, and remembred the glory of it, had been then ſeven years old, (which is the loweſt that can be allowed for ſuch a remembring) they muſt have been of the age of one hundred ſeventy three in the ſecond year of *Darius Nothus*. And who can think it likely, that many (as the text ſeems to expreſs) or any at all, among the people, ſhould then be found of ſo great an age? *Scaliger* himſelf thinks this improbable, and therefore to evade the ſtrength of the argument, which is from hence brought againſt him, [q] he would turn the words of the ſacred text to ſpeak thus, *Oh! if any among you had ſeen the glory of the firſt houſe*, &c. But the text will not bear this interpretation. *4thly*, The ſeries of the Kings of *Perſia*, as mentioned in *Ezra*, plainly makes the *Darius*, who granted this ſecond decree in favour of the *Jews*, to be the fourth that reigned in that empire, and the fourth King therein, all agree, was *Darius Hyſtaſpis*. For after *Cyrus*, who was the firſt, ſucceeded *Cambyſes* the ſecond, and after him was the *Magian* the third, and then was *Darius Hyſtaſpis* the fourth. And in the ſame order are theſe Kings mentioned in *Ezra*, in reſpect to the temple and the rebuilding of it. For [r] he tells us, that during the reign of *Cyrus*, though he had granted a decree for the rebuilding of the temple at *Jeruſalem*, yet the work was diſcouraged all his reign through the fraud of his officers, corrupted by the bribes of the *Samaritans*; that in the beginning of the reign of *Ahaſuerus*, who next ſucceeded (i.e. *Cambyſes*) the King himſelf, being wrote to, diſcouraged the work, but made no decree againſt it, out of reſpect, it's ſuppoſed, to his father's decree, which was for it. But *Artaxerxes*, the next that reigned, *(i. e.* the *Magian)* having no ſuch regard to what *Cyrus* had ordered, made a decree againſt the work, whereon it wholly ceaſed (which it had not done before) for the ſpace of [r] two years, until the ſecond year of *Darius*. This *Darius* therefore muſt be *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, and none other. For he it was, that was the fourth of thoſe Kings that reigned over the *Perſian* empire. And the propheſy of *Daniel* (chap. xi.) helps to make this out. For there (ver. 2.) the words are, *There ſhall ſtand up yet three Kings in* Perſia, *and the fourth ſhall be far richer than they all, and by his ſtrength, through his riches, he ſhall ſtir up all againſt the realm of* Grecia. By which it appears, that the four Kings here ſpoken of, were thoſe who were to reign in *Perſia*, after him that was then reigning. And he that was King of *Perſia*, at that time was *Cyrus*. And it is from the ſame words moſt manifeſt, that the fourth was *Xerxes*, and therefore ac-

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[q] De emendatione temporum, lib. 6. p. 603.

[r] Ezra iv. 5, 6, 7.

[r] *So ſaith the writer of the firſt apocryphal book of* Eſdras, ver. 73. *And although he be an apocryphal writer, and is in moſt things, where he doth not tranſlate from the canonical book of* Ezra, *very fabulous; yet in this particular he may well be ſuppoſed to deliver himſelf according to the received tradition of the age in which he lived, and the hiſtories then extant, and this was very ancient. For it's certain he wrote before* Joſephus, *and an ancienter evidence than this we cannot have from any writer, ſince the ſcriptures of the* Old Teſtament, *concerning this matter.*

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cording to this place of ſcripture, there were between *Cyrus* and *Xerxes* three Kings in *Perſia*; and *Herodotus*, and other hiſtorians ſay the ſame, and thus name them, 1. *Cambyſes*, 2. *Smerdis* the *Magian*, and 3. *Darius Hyſtaſpis*; and therefore ſince the ſcripture doth name in the ſame order after *Cyrus* theſe three as Kings of *Perſia*, 1. *Ahaſuerus*, 2. *Artaxerxes*, and 3. *Darius*, no doubt they were the ſame perſons, and this *Darius*, the third of them, was he that granted the ſecond decree for the rebuilding of the temple at *Jeruſalem*. But againſt all this, the ſhort time that was between the granting of the firſt decree by *Cyrus*, and the ſecond year of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, is made an objection; and they being men of great name, who have thought it of weight, it muſt not be paſſed over without an anſwer, although otherwiſe it ſeems not worthy of any. They urge it thus: From the time of the granting of *Cyrus*'s decree to the ſecond of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, were no more than ſixteen years; and therefore if it were then, that the reſuming of the work of the temple gave occaſion [a] for the ſearching of the records for this decree, and it were that *Darius*, who on the finding of the decree granted a confirmation of it, there would then have been no reaſon for any ſuch ſearch to have been made at all. For, ſay they, what need was there of ſearching of the records for this decree, before its confirmation, after ſo ſhort a time as that of ſixteen years? The thing might then have been well enough remembred, without going to the records for the proof of it. *Darius Hyſtaſpis* was himſelf (they proceed to argue) bred in *Cyrus*'s court, and therefore might himſelf well enough have remembred this thing, without ordering the records to be ſearched for it; and if not, yet many of his counſellors and courtiers might. And therefore from hence they infer, that it could not be *Darius Hyſtaſpis* that granted this decree, but it muſt neceſſarily have been another *Darius* reigning after him, in whoſe time the granting of *Cyrus*'s decree was grown to be a thing paſt the memory of man, and that could be none other than *Darius Nothus*. The whole therefore of this argument goes upon this ſuppoſition, That publick records are never to be appealed to, but for things paſt the memory of man; than which, what can be more abſurd? Can any that attend the *Chancery* here in *England* remember all the grants and decrees that have paſſed the ſeals for ſixteen years paſt? Can the chancellor himſelf do this, if he hath been ſo long in office? Or if any decree be to be made upon the foundation of a former decree, though paſſed but ſixteen days before, will any chancellor, upon memory only, ſeal the latter decree, or paſs any thing in it, without having the former firſt laid before him? Although ſome may have a confuſed remembrance in general of ſome things there tranſacted, even for ſixteen years paſt, yet amidſt the variety and multiplicity of buſineſs which paſs in ſuch a court, and where the quick ſucceſſion of new matters frequently crowd out of the mind all thoughts of thoſe that preceded; whoſe memory can be ſufficient to be depended upon for an exact account of any thing there decreed, without having recourſe to the records, where all is exactly ſet down and regiſtred? And how can any thing be there rightly ſettled without it? And if this cannot be done for ſo ſmall a realm as this of *England*, how could it be done for ſo large and vaſt an empire as that of *Perſia*, [b] which was

[a] Ezra vi. [b] *The ſcriptures tell us that it reached from* India *to* Æthiopia, *and contained in the time of* Cyrus *an hundred and twenty provinces, and afterwards ſeven more were added to them. See* Daniel vi. 1. *and* Eſther i. 1.

above forty times as large, and therefore muſt have afforded occaſion for grants and decrees forty times as many. It's ſcarce poſſible to conceive how ſuch a multitude of things, as muſt in this caſe have been decreed and granted for all that empire, could have been all diſtinctly remembred by any one after a week paſt; and how much leſs after ſixteen years? As to the memory of *Darius* himſelf, *Herodotus* [u] tells us, he was but twenty years old when *Cyrus* died, and therefore could not have been above fourteen when his decree was granted for the return of the *Jews*; and what could he know or obſerve of it at that age? And as to the courtiers of *Darius*, the argument is not at all ſtronger. For is every courtier called to be witneſs of all the public acts and decrees of the kingdom? Do all ſuch know whatever paſſeth the royal ſignature! Or rather are they not the feweſt of all that obſerve or take notice of ſuch matters? And if otherwiſe, yet doth not ſixteen years uſually make great revolutions in King's courts, eſpecially in thoſe of arbitrary princes, where not only mens places, but alſo their lives, depend wholly upon will and pleaſure, as was moſt notoriouſly the caſe of the *Perſian* court at that time? *Cambyſes*, who ſucceeded *Cyrus*, [v] cruelly and wantonly, upon freak, humour, and very trivial occaſions only, deſtroyed a great many of his father's officers. And after him reigned the *Magian*, who no doubt upon that uſurpation provided himſelf with ſuch a new ſett of officers and attendants, as would beſt ſerve to ſupport him in it, and conceal the impoſture by which he reigned. And on his death there being a new revolution, and a new King choſen, moſt likely this produced another change of officers and miniſters at the court, and by that time many muſt have gone off the ſtage by natural death; ſo that whether any at all, that had been officers in *Cyrus*'s court, when he granted his decree in favour of the *Jews*, were in *Darius*'s court in the ſecond year of his reign then to remember it, and give evidence thereof, is at beſt very uncertain; but it's moſt likely, that none of them were. And therefore nothing that is ſaid from this head, for the proving that it could not be *Darius Hyſtaſpis* that granted the decree above-mentioned, can amount to as much as an argument of the loweſt probability for it. But on the contrary, they who, for the ſake of this argument, put the granting of this decree as low as the time of *Darius Nothus*, do thereby afford a much ſtronger argument againſt themſelves than this can be for them. For this will put the finiſhing of the ſecond temple at the diſtance of one hundred and eighteen years from the beginning of it. Whereon it may be asked, when it was that the decree of *Artaxerxes* made it ceaſe? If they allow this *Artaxerxes* to be the third *Perſian* King, as he is reckoned [w] in ſcripture, that is, the *Magian* who reigned next after *Cambyſes*, then from the ceaſing of the work to the reſuming of it again will be full one hundred years; and in ſo long a time of intermiſſion, how could they ſo preſerve the beams from being rotten, and the whole building from being ſo damaged and decayed, as not to be forced to begin all again anew from the very foundation? which it is certain they did not; for after the granting of the decree for the proceeding of the work, all was finiſhed in a little more than three years time. But if they ſay it was not the *Magian*, who was the *Artaxerxes* in the ſcriptures, that cauſed the work to ceaſe,

[u] Herodot. lib. 1. non longè a fine. [v] Herodot. lib. 3. [w] Ezra iv. 7.

but

but he that is firſt named in the catalogue, which we have of the *Perſian* Kings in prophane hiſtorians, that is, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; then from the beginning of the work to that ceaſing of it will be ſeventy one years. And in this caſe it may be asked, how came it to paſs, if they had ſo long been permitted to have gone on with the work, that in all that time it had not been finiſhed? Neither of theſe queſtions can be anſwered, and therefore taking either of theſe ways, the argument worketh ſtrong againſt them, and farther proves that it could not be *Darius Nothus*, but that it muſt neceſſarily be *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, who granted the decree, whereby the rebuilding of the ſecond temple was finiſhed. And upon this ſuppoſition all will be eaſy, and free of difficulty, and the whole proceeding of the matter will be thus. *Cyrus*, in the firſt year of his reign over the whole *Perſian* empire, granted his decree to the *Jews* for the rebuilding of the temple at *Jeruſalem*; the next year after they begun the work, and went on with it for about thirteen years, till the *Magian* cauſed it to ceaſe. But two years after, in the ſecond year of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, who ſlew the *Magian* and ſucceeded him in the throne, it was on the preaching of the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah* again reſumed, and about a year and half after they obtained a decree from *Darius* to authorize them therein; and then in a litte more than three years time after they finiſhed the whole work. And thus far having ſhewn that the *Darius*, who granted the ſecond decree in favour of the *Jews*, by virtue of which the rebuilding of the temple at *Jeruſalem* was finiſhed, could be none other than *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, the remaining part of the argument is, that therefore the ſeventy weeks of this prophecy could not have their beginning from this decree, which is demonſtrated by the ſame reaſon, whereby it hath been above ſhewn that they could not begin from the decree of *Cyrus*, that is, becauſe the four hundred and ninety years of theſe weeks, reckoned from the granting of this decree, cannot reach the chief events which are by this propheſy predicted to fall within the compaſs of them, that is, the coming and the cutting off of the *Meſſiah*. For this decree, I reckon, was brought to *Jeruſalem* in the fourth year of *Darius*. The *Jews* indeed began again with the rebuilding of the temple in the latter end of the ſecond year of *Darius*, but they had no decree to warrant them herein till the beginning of the fourth year of his reign. But from the fourth year of *Darius Hyſtaſpis* to the death of *Chriſt* were five hundred and fifty years, and therefore reckoning the ſeventy weeks, or their four hundred and ninety years from thence, they will expire ſixty years before the death of *Chriſt*, and twenty four years before the birth of *Chriſt*, and therefore can reach neither the cutting off of the *Meſſiah*, nor the coming of the *Meſſiah*, in any ſenſe whatſoever that his coming can be taken in. And theſe two are the grand events predicted by this propheſy, and it can never be rightly interpreted but in the accompliſhing of them. And it may be farther added on this head, that this decree of *Darius* ſeems not to accord or agree with the deſcription of that commandment or decree which is mentioned in the propheſy. For the words of the text are, *From the going forth of the commandment to reſtore and build* Jeruſalem, which plainly imply an original decree, which this of *Darius* was not. For it was no more than an [x] exemplification and confirmation of that, which was before granted by *Cyrus*.

[x] Ezra vi.

And if it be not ſuch a decree as the prophecy intended, it's certain the ſeventy weeks, or their four hundred and ninety years cannot begin from thence.

3*dly*, NEITHER can the computation of theſe weeks be begun from the decree granted to *Nehemiah* by *Artaxerxes*, in the twentieth year of his reign. And in the clearing of this particular I muſt take the ſame method as in the former. For as there were three *Darius's*, ſo alſo were there three *Artaxerxes's*, which according to ancient hiſtorians reigned over the empire of the *Perſians*, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ochus*. And therefore firſt it muſt be enquired, which of theſe three it was that granted this decree, and then ſecondly it ſhall be ſhewn, that the computation of theſe weeks cannot begin from it. And firſt, as to which of theſe three *Artaxerxes's* it was, that granted this decree to *Nehemiah*, it's certain it muſt be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, who reigned immediately after *Xerxes* over the *Perſian* empire. For it was that *Artaxerxes*, who was contemporary with *Eliaſhib* the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, he being high-prieſt at the time when *Nehemiah* came to *Jeruſalem* with this decree, which was in the twentieth year of that King. But no other *Artaxerxes*, but he that was called *Longimanus*, could be contemporary with *Eliaſhib*, and therefore none other but he could be the *Artaxerxes* that granted this decree. For the age, which *Joiakim* the father of *Eliaſhib* muſt then have been of at the time of his death, makes it utterly improbable that it ſhould be *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and it would make it much more ſo, as to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, who ſucceeded him. For ſuppoſing *Eliaſhib*, who was high-prieſt in the twentieth year of that *Artaxerxes* who granted this decree to *Nehemiah*, had then been twenty years in that office, his father *Joiakim*, if this *Artaxerxes* were *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, muſt then upon this ſuppoſition have died in the laſt year of *Darius Nothus*, at which time *Joiakim* muſt have been at leaſt one hundred fifty one years old, which is utterly improbable. For we find in *Ezra*, that *Jeſhua*[z] the father of *Jeoiakim*, at the firſt return of the *Jews* to *Jeruſalem* after the *Babyloniſh* captivity[a] had ſons of twenty years old and upward, employed in the work of the temple. And ſince the high-prieſthood among the *Jews* went by ſucceſſion according to the primogeniture, and *Joiakim* ſucceeded *Jeſhua* in it, it cannot be doubted but that *Joiakim* was one of thoſe his ſons who were thus employed, and the eldeſt of them. And if he were twenty years old at this time, he muſt then have been one hundred fifty one in the laſt of *Darius Nothus*. For[b] from the firſt of *Cyrus* to the laſt of *Darius Nothus* were one hundred thirty one years. The improbability of this ſufficiently proves that it could not be *Artaxerxes Mnemon* who granted this decree to *Nehemiah*. And the improbability would be much greater, if we ſhould ſuppoſe it to be *Artaxerxes Ochus* who ſucceeded him, becauſe then *Joiakim* muſt have been forty ſix years older. Beſides, there is this farther argument that *Artaxerxes Ochus* could not be the perſon, becauſe in ſcripture there is mention made of the[c] thirty ſecond year of that *Artaxerxes* who granted this decree to *Nehemiah*, but *Artaxerxes Ochus* reigned[d] only twenty one years in all. And if it were not *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, nor *Artaxerxes Ochus*, it muſt then

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[z] Nehem. iii. 1. [z] Nehem. xii. 10, 22. [a] Ezra iii. 8, 9. [b] Can. Ptol.
[c] Nehem. xiii. 6. [d] Can. Ptol.

neceſſarily

neceſſarily follow that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and none other, that granted the decree to *Nehemiah* in the twentieth year of his reign. And thus far the firſt part of the argument being cleared, the ſecond is, That the computation of the ſeventy weeks cannot be begun from this decree, which will fully be manifeſted by the calculation of the years. For reckoning from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the death of *Chriſt*, there will be no more than four hundred ſeventy ſeven years; and therefore if the four hundred and ninety years of the ſeventy weeks be computed from thence, they will overſhoot the death of *Chriſt* thirteen years; which being the grand event to be brought to paſs, at the concluſion of theſe weeks, it is certain they can never there have their beginning, from whence they cannot be brought to this ending.

BUT ſeveral great and learned men having a particular fancy to begin the computation of theſe weeks from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, notwithſtanding this objection, they have deviſed ſeveral ways and methods for the removal of it, and the reconciling the ending of theſe weeks, as calculated from this beginning, with the time of the events predicted.

THE firſt way, which hath been propoſed for this purpoſe, is to reckon the ſeventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years of this propheſy, by lunar years; and this hath been of a very ancient date, for it hath *Africanus* for its author, who flouriſh'd in the beginning of the third century; and he is followed by *Theodoret*, *Beda*, *Zonaras*, *Rupertus*, and others; and the generality of the *Romiſh* doctors ſtrike in with this opinion; into which they are chiefly led by the vulgar *Latin* tranſlation, which they have decreed in their *Trentine* council to be authentic. For inſtead of what we read in the beginning of the propheſy, *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people*, &c. this tranſlation renders it, *Septuaginta hebdomades abbreviatæ ſunt ſuper populum tuum*, i. e. *Seventy weeks are abbreviated upon thy people*; from whence they argue, this abbreviation of the years muſt be either in their number or their quality. It cannot be in their number; for the text abſolutely determines that to ſeventy weeks of years, that is, four hundred and ninety years; and therefore it muſt be in their quality or form, that is, they muſt be lunar years, which are ſhort years, and not ſolar years, which are long years. But the *Hebrew* word *Nechtac* in the text will not bear this interpretation. For the true meaning or ſignification of it in that place is, *are decided or determined*, as in our *Engliſh* verſion; and in this ſenſe it is uſed in the [c] *Chaldee* paraphraſe, and no where in any other. I confeſs the word doth not occur any where elſe in the whole *Hebrew* bible, or any other word of that root, and in the *Septuagint* it is rendred συνετμήθησαν. But this is not ſufficient to juſtify either the meaning which they would put upon the word, or the inference which they would deduce from it; and if it could, the difficulty would not be removed by it. For lunar years would carry us beyond the mark, as well as ſolar years fall ſhort of it. For whereas the four hundred and ſeventy ſeven ſolar years, which were from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to the death of *Chriſt*, fall thirteen years ſhort of the four hundred and ninety years, at the end of which this propheſy doth put it; the ſame four hundred and ſeventy ſeven years, when converted into lunar years,

[c] *In* Eſther iv. 5.

making

making four hundred ninety one years, and two hundred forty ſix days over, do carry us one year and two hundred forty ſix days (which is a great part of another year) beyond the ſaid four hundred and ninety years. And therefore this way of computation doth by no means adjuſt the difference, but ſtill leaves it wide of an agreement, altho' not ſo wide as it was before. Beſides, when *Daniel* had this propheſy revealed unto him by the angel *Gabriel*, there was not any form of a year purely lunar then any where in uſe. The *Chaldean* year at that time was moſt certainly the *Nabonaſſarean* year [f] conſiſting of three hundred and ſixty five days, and the [g] *Egyptian* year was the ſame, and ſo was alſo [h] the *Perſian*. The [i] *Jews* indeed had their common years purely lunar conſiſting of twelve lunar months, and ſo had [k] the *Greeks*, only with this difference, that whereas the *Jews* lunar months were ſtrictly lunar, as being obſerved by the phaſis, the *Greeks* miſtaking a lunar month to conſiſt exactly of thirty days, in compounding of their year of twelve of them made it amount to three hundred and ſixty days, which exceeded its true aſtronomical meaſure almoſt ſix days. But beſides the common years they had alſo intercalated years intermixed with their common years, which reduced all to the ſolar form. For what was defective of it in the common years was reſtored in the intercalated years. And this the *Jews* as well as the *Greeks* were neceſſitated to by their feſtivals. For the *Niſan* of the *Jewiſh* year, [l] which begun their eccleſiaſtical year, being pinn'd down by their paſſover (which was always celebrated [m] in the middle of it) to the [n] time of the beginning of their harveſt; and the month of *Tiſri*, [o] which begun their civil year, being likewiſe pinn'd down by the feaſt of *Tabernacles*, (which was always celebrated [p] in the middle of that month) to the time [q] of the ending of their vintage, this neceſſitated them [r] to fling in an intercalary month, whenever their year fell ſhort of theſe ſeaſons. And the *Greeks* were likewiſe neceſſitated to do the ſame thing for the ſake of their feſtivals, eſpecially for the ſake of their *Olympiads*. For the fixed time for their celebrating of thoſe games, being [s] the firſt full moon after the ſummer ſolſtice, it always fell within the compaſs of one lunar month, either ſooner or later in the ſolar year, and there being juſt four years between *Olympiad* and *Olympiad*, this neceſſarily made theſe years to be ſolar years; and cycles and rules of intercalation were invented of purpoſe to bring them to it, and the ſame is to be ſaid of all other nations which uſed the like form. Although they might meaſure their months by the motion of the moon, they always regulated their years according to that of the ſun. The *Arabs* indeed, from the time of *Mahomet*, have uſed a year purely lunar, and the *Turks*

[f] Vide Scaligerum, Petavium, 'alioſque. [g] Vide Marſhami Canonem Chronicum, p. 245. Edit. Lipſ. [h] Q. Curtius, lib. 3. cap. 3. [i] Talmud in Roſh Haſhanah. Maimonides in Kiddoſh Hachodeſh. Marſhami Canon Chron. p. 290, 291. Edit. Lipſ. [k] Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 1. cap. de Anno. Marſhami Canon Chron. 657, 658, 659. [l] Maimonides, ibid. Exod. xii. 2. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 4. [m] Exod. xii. 18. Levit. xxiii. 5. Numb. xxviii. 16. [n] Levit. xxiii. 10. Deuteron. xvi. 9. [o] Exod. xxiii. 16. Talmud in Tract. Roſh Haſhanah. [p] Levit. xxiii. 34, 39. Numb. xxix. 12. [q] Exod. xxiii. 16. Levit. xxiii. 39. Deuteron. xvi. 9. [r] Talmud in Roſh Haſhanah. Maimonides in Kiddoſh Hachodeſh. Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 2. cap. de Anno veterum Hebræorum Autummali. Joſeph. lib. 1. cap. 4. Marſhami Canon Chron. p. 190. Edit. Lipſ.

[s] Vide Scaligerum de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 1. cap. de Anno & cap. de Periodo Olympicâ; & Petavium de Doctrinâ Temporum in Paralip. p. 830. Et Rationar. Temp. Part. 2. lib. 3. cap. 1.

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do the ſame in imitation of them, and ſo do all others of their ſect. But of the ancients we find none that followed this form. All among them that had lunar years, had alſo intercalated years to make amends for their defects; and therefore whatſoever any of their years might be in their ſingular numbers, they were always ſolar in their collective ſums. And who can think then that in the collective ſum of ſeventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years of them, the Angel ſhould intend a computation, which was then no where in practice the whole world over. This propheſy concerning principally the *Jews*, and being written to them, (for it is in the *Hebrew*, which was the *Jews* language, and not in the *Chaldee*, as ſome other parts of *Daniel* are) it is moſt likely that the computation of the time mentioned therein, ſhould be according to the *Jewiſh* form and none other. And there is one argument, which I think undeniably proves it to be ſo. The weeks of years, by which the time of this propheſy is computed, are plainly and manifeſtly the ſame with the ſabbaths of years mentioned *Leviticus* xxv. 8. and therefore muſt be reckoned by the ſame ſort of years; but it's certain, that thoſe ſabbaths of years were reckoned by ſolar years, and therefore theſe weeks of years muſt be ſo too. That theſe ſabbaths of years were reckoned by ſolar years is manifeſt. For they all begun from the firſt of *Tiſri*, which was pinn'd down by the feaſt of tabernacles, (which was always celebrated in the middle of that month) to a certain ſeaſon of the year, (as hath been already obſerved) and from that ſeaſon in one year to the ſame ſeaſon in another, can only be meaſured by the courſe of the ſun. And all this put together ſufficiently ſhews, that lunar years are not the years which this propheſy is to be computed by.

ANOTHER way taken for the reconciling of this difference, is by beginning the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* nine years ſooner than where it is above placed, and ending the ſaid ſeventy weeks three years and a half later, that is, by putting the death of *Chriſt* into the middle of the laſt week, and continuing the remainder of that week beyond it. For according to this account, the firſt year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* will fall in the year of the *Julian* period 4241, and his twentieth year in the year of the *Julian* period 4260, from which numbering ſixty nine weeks and an half, it will carry down the computation to the year of the *Julian* period 4746, which was the very year in which *Chriſt* ſuffered. And thus far *Petavius* and archbiſhop *Uſher* agree, as to the time both of the beginning and ending of the propheſy; but they differ in one circumſtance about the beginning, that is, whether this twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whence they both reckon this beginning, and which they both put in the ſame year of the *Julian* period, were his twentieth from the death of *Xerxes* his father, or his twentieth year from the time when it's ſuppoſed he was admitted to reign in copartnerſhip with him nine years before.

FOR [t] *Petavius* ſuppoſeth, that *Xerxes*, nine years before his death, admitted his ſon *Artaxerxes* to reign in copartnerſhip with him, and that from this admiſſion is to be computed the twentieth year of his reign, in which he iſſued out the decree, from whence the firſt year of this prophe-

[t] Rationar. Temp. Part 2. lib. 3. cap. 10. p. 154. Et de Doctrinâ Temporum, lib. 12. c. 32. & ſeqq.

ſy did commence. And he builds this ſuppoſition chiefly upon the authority of *Thucydides*, [v] who tells us, that *Themiſtocles* in his flight into *Perſia* addreſſed himſelf to *Artaxerxes* then newly reigning. But *Diodorus Siculus* [w] tells us, that *Themiſtocles* fled into *Perſia* in the ſecond year of the ſeventy ſeventh olympiad, ſeveral years before the death of *Xerxes*; and therefore to reconcile theſe two authors *Petavius* infers, that *Artaxerxes* muſt have been admitted to reign with his father ſeveral years before his death, and theſe years he determines to nine, becauſe this will beſt ſerve his purpoſe. And to ſupport this ſuppoſition, he inſiſts on the uſage anciently in practice among the *Perſian* Kings of naming their ſucceſſors, before they went to any dangerous war, and will have it, that when *Xerxes* [x] again renewed the war againſt the *Greeks* after the death of *Pauſanias*, he then named *Artaxerxes* according to this uſage, in the ſame manner as his father had named him on the like occaſion, and took him into copartnerſhip with him in the government of the empire. But there is nothing in the hiſtory of thoſe times, that can give any countenance to this conjecture. [y] *Herodotus* indeed tells us of ſuch a uſage among the *Perſians*, as is above mentioned; but this was only to name a ſucceſſor, not to take a partner into the government, and this according to that uſage was then only to be done, when there was a controverſy about the ſucceſſion, as was the caſe when *Darius* named *Xerxes* his ſucceſſor in his life time. But we are told of no ſuch controverſy about the ſucceſſion in *Xerxes*'s time. And it is plain from the paſſage in *Thucydides*, where the words are, on which the main ſtreſs of *Petavius*'s opinion is laid, that he there ſpeaks of *Artaxerxes*, as then newly reigning after his father's death; and till his father's death he could ſcarce be of an age proper for the receiving of ſuch an addreſs as *Themiſtocles* is ſaid then to have made unto him. For he was but a [z] lad when his father died, and therefore muſt have been a mere child, when according to this reckoning *Themiſtocles* came into *Perſia*. And if he were admitted to be ſucceſſor, and alſo partner in the empire before his elder brother *Darius*, upon the ſame reaſon that *Xerxes* was before his elder brother *Artabaſanes*, that is, becauſe he was born after his father came to be King, and the other before, it muſt follow then, that in the ſecond year of the ſeventy ſeventh olympiad, when *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, *Themiſtocles* came to the *Perſian* court, he could be at the moſt but fourteen years old. For [a] *Xerxes* began his reign but fourteen years before. And there are beſides many other inconſiſtencies in this opinion, but what hath been ſaid is ſufficient to ſhew, that it can afford no ſure foundation for the ſolution of any part of this propheſy upon it.

AND therefore [b] archbiſhop *Uſher* takes the other way, and although he placeth the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in the ſame year that *Petavius* doth, in order to the ſolution of this propheſy, yet he doth not compute it any otherwiſe than from the death of *Xerxes* his father; ſo that he anticipates the true twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in the ſame manner as *Petavius* doth, tho' not by joyning him in copartnerſhip with his father, but by putting him in due ſucceſſion after him nine years ſooner, than either *Ptolemy* or any other author doth; and the

[v] Lib. 1. [w] Lib. 11. [x] Juſtin. lib. 2. c. 15. Thucydides, liy. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Cimone. [y] Lib. 7. in initio libri. [z] Juſtin. lib. 3. c. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. [a] Canon Ptolemæi. [b] In Annalibus veteris Teſtamenti ſub Anno J. P. 4259.

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ſame teſtimony of *Thucydides*, which is above mentioned, is the ground which he goes upon for it. And therefore to reconcile this teſtimony with the time aſſigned by *Diodorus Siculus* for the flight of *Themiſtocles*, which is above mentioned, he puts the death of *Xerxes*, and the ſucceſſion of his ſon *Artaxerxes* nine years higher up, than any other writer doth; and to patch this up, takes nine years from the reign of *Xerxes*, and adds them to the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* his ſon, contracting the former to twelve years, and enlarging the latter with that of his ſon [c] *Xerxes* to fifty. In allowing no other beginning to the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than from the death of his father, the moſt learned archbiſhop is moſt certainly in the right. For all thoſe among the ancients, who put the flight of *Themiſtocles* in the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, ſuppoſe it to be after the death of his father, but in no other particular can this opinion be juſtified. For, 1ſt, in contracting the reign of *Xerxes* to twelve years, and enlarging that of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* and his ſon *Xerxes* to fifty, he goes contrary to all that have wrote of thoſe times, whether ancients or moderns; and eſpecially to *Ptolemy*, who in his canon aſſigns twenty one years to *Xerxes*, and no more than forty and one to *Artaxerxes*, [c] including the ſhort reigns of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* his ſons in the laſt of them. And altho' the authority of *Thucydides* be great, and [d] *Plutarch* tells us, that he hath *Charon* of *Lampſacus* alſo on his ſide, yet the ſame *Plutarch* from a great number of other ancient writers, and of as good authority, concludes the contrary. But, 2dly, although the authority of *Thucydides* and *Charon* of *Lampſacus* ſhould be allowed to be unconteſtable, and all other authorities muſt be ſet aſide to make place for theirs; yet this will not infer, that the beginning of the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* muſt therefore be put nine years higher than all others have put it, ſince the matter may be as well adjuſted by bringing the flight of *Themiſtocles* nine years lower; and this way [e] Mr. *Dodwell* hath followed, and it is much the better of the two. For this only lays aſide the authority of *Diodorus Siculus*, who fixeth the flight of *Themiſtocles* to the year above mentioned; whereas the other runs counter to that of all others that have wrote of the matter which it relates to. But that which looks hardeſt in this opinion, is for the ſake of any hiſtorical writer to lay aſide the authority of *Ptolemy*'s canon, which is built upon aſtronomical demonſtrations. Although *Thucydides* be a grave author, and of unconteſtable authority in thoſe matters of the *Peloponneſian* war, which he writes of, (for they were done in his time, and he was near at hand to be well informed of them, and he himſelf was an accurate obſerver) yet it's poſſible he might be miſtaken in what he tells us of the *Perſian* affairs, which were done at a diſtance, (as this was) and before his time. For he was juſt born [f] when this flight of *Themiſtocles* hapned. But *Ptolemy*'s canon being fixed by the

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[c] Xerxes *the ſon of* Artaxerxes Longimanus *reigned after his father's death only* 45 *days, and* Sogdianus, *another of* Artaxerxes's *ſons, who ſucceeded his brother, reigned no more than ſix months and fifteen days, ſo the time of both their reigns amounting to no more than eight months, they are in the canon of* Ptolemy *caſt into the laſt year of* Artaxerxes, *and neither of them is therein made mention of.*

[d] Plutarchus in Themiſtocle. [e] In Annalibus Thucydidis. [f] *According to* Aulus Gellius, Thucydides *was forty years old when the* Peloponneſian *war began* (A. Gellius, lib. 15. c. 23.) *And the* Peloponneſian *war beginning towards the end of the firſt year of the eighty ſeventh Olympiad, reckoning forty years upward from thence, the firſt of them will end in the very year, in which* Diodorus *tells us* Themiſtocles *made his flight*, i. e. *in the ſecond year of the ſeventy ſeventh Olympiad.*

eclipſes, the truth of it may at any time be demonſtrated by aſtronomical calculations; and no one hath ever calculated thoſe eclipſes, but hath found them fall right in the times where placed; and therefore this being the ſureſt guide which we have in chronology, and it being alſo verified by its agreement every where with the holy ſcriptures, it is not, for the authority of any other human writing whatſoever, to be receded from.

AND as theſe two great men have been thus far out in placing the beginning of theſe ſeventy weeks, ſo have they been no leſs miſtaken in fixing the end of them. For to make up the thirteen years which this reckoning fell ſhort of, they have not only anticipated the beginning of theſe weeks nine years, but have alſo cut them ſhort three years and an half in the ending, by placing the death of *Chriſt* in the middle of the laſt week, and there concluding this part of the propheſy three years and an half before theſe ſeventy weeks are fully completed, which hath this great objection againſt it, that it drops the latter half part of the laſt week as void, and of no ſignificancy. But no word of God is given in vain; every part of it hath its ſignificancy, and every word of propheſy therein contained muſt have its completion. For what our [g] Saviour ſaith of the law is alſo true of the prophets; and as not one jot or tittle of the former was to paſs without being fulfilled, ſo neither can any one jot or tittle of the latter ever paſs away without being accompliſhed. And therefore every part of the laſt week of this propheſy, that is, the laſt half part, as well as the firſt half part, muſt have its ſignificancy, and alſo its completion, and accordingly, every part of it had, as well as the reſt, as ſhall be hereafter ſhewn.

BY all this it appears, that none of thoſe ways which have been taken for the computing of thoſe ſeventy weeks from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, can make it agree with the propheſy, and therefore it cannot be begun from thence. That which hath made ſo many fond of beginning the computation of theſe weeks from the twentieth year of this King, and the iſſuing out of the commiſſion then granted by him to *Nehemiah*, is the agreeableneſs which they think is between the propheſy and this commiſſion, beyond what they find in any of the three other grants or commiſſions above mentioned. For the propheſy placeth the beginning of the ſeventy weeks at the going forth of the commandment to reſtore and build *Jeruſalem*, and afterwards makes mention of the building of the ſtreets and the walls thereof, and both theſe, ſay they, were rebuilt by *Nehemiah*, by virtue of the grant made to him in the twentieth year of this *Artaxerxes*. To this I anſwer, 1ſt, That *Ezra*, thirteen years before this grant made to *Nehemiah*, [h] ſpeaks of a wall in *Jeruſalem* given to the *Jews* by the favour of the King of *Perſia*; and therefore this, if literally taken, may imply, that the grant made to *Ezra* included a licence or commiſſion to build ſuch a wall, as well as that made to *Nehemiah*. But if it be ſaid, that the wall mentioned by *Ezra* in the place which I refer to, is to be taken figuratively, (as I acknowledge it is) my reply hereto is: And why may not then the word *wall* in the propheſy be taken figuratively alſo, there being as much reaſon for it in the one place, as there is in the other? But, 2dly, There is no ſuch word as the *wall* to be found in the original text of the propheſy. For what we there render in our *Engliſh* tranſlation

[g] Matth. v. 18. [h] Ezra ix. 9.

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the wall is in the *Hebrew* original *the ditch*. 3dly, That tho' *Nehemiah* did much enlarge *Jeruſalem* by bringing new colonies of the *Jews* thither out of the countrey, and obliging them to build themſelves houſes and dwell there, yet this enlarging of the city cannot be called the reſtoring and rebuilding of it: For it was reſtored and rebuilt long before, and had many ſtreets and [i] cieled houſes again erected in it by virtue of the decree granted by *Cyrus*, as hath been above ſhewn. And after that, from time to time, many more were added to them by virtue of the ſame decree confirmed by *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, many years before *Nehemiah* came to be governor of *Judea*. 4thly, The rebuilding or repairing of the walls of *Jeruſalem*, accompliſhed by *Nehemiah*, was a work [k] but of fifty two days, and the enlarging of *Jeruſalem* with new colonies [l] was within a year after, but the reſtoring and rebuilding of *Jeruſalem*, predicted by the propheſy, was to be a work of ſeven weeks, or forty nine years, and ſo long firſt *Ezra*, and after *Nehemiah*, laboured ſucceſſively in the work of reſtoring and rebuilding the church and ſtate of the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*, as will hereafter be ſhewn. And therefore of this reſtoring and rebuilding only can the propheſy be underſtood.

AND thus far having ſhewn that the commandment or decree mentioned in the propheſy, for the reſtoring and rebuilding of *Jeruſalem*, cannot be underſtood either of the decree of *Cyrus*, or of that of *Darius*, or of that granted to *Nehemiah* in the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes*, it remains, that it muſt then be underſtood of that granted to *Ezra* by the ſame *Artaxerxes*, in the ſeventh year of his reign, and of none other. For beſides the three commandments or decrees above-mentioned, there was no other commandment or decree ever granted by any of the Kings of *Perſia*, for the reſtoration of the *Jews* in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, but this only, that was granted to *Ezra*. And therefore, if it cannot be underſtood of any of the other three, it muſt then neceſſarily be this fourth, and none other. And from thence to the death of *Chriſt*, are exactly four hundred and ninety years to a month. For in the month *Niſan* was the decree granted to *Ezra*, and * in the middle of the ſame month *Niſan Chriſt* ſuffered, juſt four hundred and ninety years after.

VI. AND thus much being ſaid for the fixing of the beginning and ending of theſe ſeventy weeks, it remains that for the fuller explication of all other particulars, that are in this propheſy contained, I farther obſerve that the whole of it, as delivered to us in the 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th verſes of the ixth chapter of *Daniel*, contains three branches or parts. The firſt foretels events to be accompliſhed within ſeventy weeks in general, and to be fully completed and brought to paſs at the end of them; the ſecond, events to be accompliſhed preciſely at the end of three particular periods, into which the ſaid general number of ſeventy weeks is divided; and the third, events to be brought to paſs after the expiration of the ſaid ſeventy weeks, in the times immediately following thereupon.

I. THE firſt branch or part of this propheſy, is that which is contained in the 24th verſe, and foretells the ſix events above-mentioned, which were

[i] Haggai i. 4. [k] Nehem. vi. 15. [l] Nehem. vii. * *For Chriſt was crucified in the beginning of the* Jewiſh *paſſover, and that always began in the middle of the month* Niſan.

to be accompliſhed within the ſaid ſeventy weeks in general, and to be fully completed and brought to paſs at the end of them.

II. THE ſecond branch, or part of this propheſy, is that which is contained in the 25th verſe, and in the former part of the 26th verſe, and in the former part of the 27th verſe. This divides the general number of ſeventy weeks into three particular periods, and aſſigns particular events to be preciſely accompliſhed at the end of each of them. Theſe three particular periods are ſeven weeks, ſixty two weeks, and one week, that is, forty nine years, four hundred thirty four years, and ſeven years. And the particular events to be accompliſhed at the end of each of them, are, 1ſt, The reſtoring and building of the ſtreet and ditch of *Jeruſalem* in troublous times; 2dly, The coming of the *Meſſiah*; and 3dly, His confirming of the covenant of the goſpel with many of the *Jews* for one week, his cauſing ſacrifice and oblation to ceaſe in the half of that week, and his being cut off at the end thereof. And therefore applying theſe particular events to their proper periods, the propheſy will be clearly thus: That numbring the ſaid ſeventy weeks from the going forth of the commandment or decree to reſtore and build *Jeruſalem*, (that is, to reſtore and eſtabliſh the church and ſtate of the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*) there ſhould be firſt ſeven weeks of that number, that is, forty nine years, and then the ſaid church and ſtate (here figuratively expreſſed by the ſtreets of the city) ſhould be thoroughly reformed and reſtored, and all ſuch † good conſtitutions and eſtabliſhments (here figuratively expreſſed by the ditch) ſhould be made and ſettled, as ſhould be neceſſary for the fortifying and preſerving of the ſame, and that all this ſhould be done in troublous times, and amidſt great oppoſition from enemies. That after ſixty and two weeks from the end of the ſaid ſeven weeks, that is, four hundred and thirty four years, the *Meſſiah* ſhould come. And that after this, having for one week, the laſt of the ſaid ſeventy weeks, (that is, for the ſpace of ſeven years,) confirmed the covenant of the goſpel with many of the *Jews*, he ſhould in the half part of that week (that is, in the latter half part of it) cauſe the ſacrifices and oblations of the temple to ceaſe; and in the concluſion of the whole, that is, in the preciſe ending of the ſaid ſeventy weeks, be cut off and die. And accordingly all this was exactly fulfilled and brought to paſs.

1ſt, AS to the period of ſeven weeks, it muſt be acknowledged, that the particular event of reſtoring and building of *Jeruſalem*, with its ſtreets and ditch, in troublous times, (by which I underſtand the reſtoring and ſettling of the church and ſtate of the *Jews*) is not diſtinctly applied thereto in the propheſy. For in the end of the 25th verſe, both the two firſt periods being mentioned together, *i. e.* that of the ſeven weeks, and that of the ſixty two weeks, the event of reſtoring and building of *Jeruſalem* with its ſtreet and ditch is ſubjoined to both of them without any diſtinct application to either; but the words immediately following in the next verſe appropriating the time of the *Meſſiah* to the period of ſixty two weeks, this neceſſarily leaves the other, that is, the reſtoring and building

† *It is a celebrated ſaying among the* Jews, *and of ancient date among them, (for it is in* Pirke Aboth, *which is one of the tracts in their* Miſhna) That the conſtitutions of their elders are an hedge to the law, *that is, to fence, preſerve, and keep it from being broken in upon, and violated. But a ditch is as much made uſe for a fence, as is an hedge; and therefore the conſtitutions, which ſence the law from being violated, may be figuratively expreſſed by the one, as well as by the other.*

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of *Jeruſalem*, with its ſtreets and ditch, to be appropriated to the period of ſeven weeks. And accordingly within the compaſs of the ſaid period of ſeven weeks, or forty nine years, this event was accompliſhed, in the full reſtoring and eſtabliſhing of the church and ſtate of the *Jews* in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* after the *Babyloniſh* captivity. For this was begun by *Ezra*, by virtue of that commandment or decree which was granted to him for it in the ſeventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Perſia*, and afterwards carried on by *Nehemiah*, by virtue of another decree granted to him for this purpoſe by the ſame *Artaxerxes*, in the twentieth year of his reign. And from the beginning of this reſtoration of the church and ſtate of the *Jews* by *Ezra*, to the ending and perfecting of it by *Nehemiah*, in that laſt act of this reformation which is ſpoken of in the xiii^th^ of *Nehemiah*, (that is, from the 23^d^ verſe to the end of the chapter) were forty nine years, as will be clearly made out in its proper place, in the ſequel of this hiſtory. For during all that time this work was a carrying on, and the great oppoſition which theſe two good men met with herein, not only from the *Samaritans*, and other enemies abroad, but alſo from falſe brethren and wicked men at home, who hated all reformation, was the true cauſe that it was ſo long a doing; and that there were ſuch oppoſitions in the doing of it, this ſufficiently verifieth the propheſy in its prediction, that it was to be done in troublous times. And it is obſervable, that at the ſame juncture of time, where the reſtoration of the *Jewiſh* church and ſtate ended, there the holy ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament do end alſo. For this laſt reformation of *Nehemiah*, which I have mentioned, and where I place the full completion of the ſaid reſtoration, is the laſt act which is recorded therein, and therefore this ending of the period is of ſufficient remark for this reaſon, as well as the other, to be taken notice of in the propheſy, which can ſcarce be ſaid of any other that is aſſigned for it. And

2^dly^, FROM theſe ſeven weeks, or forty nine years, reckoning ſixty two weeks, or four hundred thirty four years more, (which is the term of the ſecond period) this will lead us down to the coming of *Chriſt the Meſſiah*, who is here in the propheſy predicted to come at the end of the ſaid ſixty two weeks. For the words of the propheſy are, *From the going forth of the commandment to reſtore and to build* Jeruſalem *unto the* Meſſiah *the Prince, ſhall be ſeven weeks, and threeſcore and two weeks*, that is, there ſhall be ſeven weeks for the completing and finiſhing of the work, for which that commandment or decree was granted, and from thence ſixty two weeks more to the coming of *Chriſt*, the *Meſſiah* here intended, that is, to the time of his firſt appearance on the miniſtry of the goſpel. For his coming, here predicted, muſt be interpreted either of his coming at his birth, or of his coming on his miniſtry. No one ſaith it of the former, neither will the term of years predicted of it ever meet it there; and therefore it muſt be underſtood of the latter, that is, his coming, and firſt appearing in his miniſtry; and here the years predicted in the propheſy will exactly find it. For the ſeventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whence theſe weeks do begin, being coincident with the year of the *Julian* period 4256, if we reckon from thence ſeven weeks and ſixty two weeks, that is, ſixty nine weeks, or four hundred eighty three years; this will lead us down to the year of the *Julian* period 4739, which was the very year in which the miniſtry of the goſpel firſt began. This *Chriſt* executed

cuted at firſt, and therein made his appearance as the *Meſſiah*, by his forerunner *John the Baptiſt*, for the ſpace of three years and a half, and after that by himſelf in his own perſon for three years and an half more. And theſe two being put together make up the laſt week of this propheſy, which begun exactly at the ending of the ſaid ſixty two weeks. And therefore here this propheſy concerning the coming of the *Meſſiah* had its completion. St. *Luke*[m] tells us, *The word of God firſt came to* John *in the fifteenth year of* Tiberius Cæſar, Emperor of *Rome*. And from the coming of that word to *John*, and his preaching of it to the *Jews*, [n] was the beginning of the goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the firſt appearance of his kingdom here on earth. And this *Chriſt* himſelf tells us. For his words are, (Luke xvi. 16.) *The Law and the Prophets were until* John, *ſince that the kingdom of God is preached*. That is, the *Jewiſh* œconomy under the law and the prophets laſted until the coming of *John*, and his preaching of the baptiſm of repentance for the remiſſion of ſins. But from the time of his coming on this miniſtry, which was the miniſtry of the goſpel, the kingdom of the *Meſſiah* began. For as in the goſpel of St. *Matthew* by the kingdom of heaven, ſo here by the kingdom of God, [o] is meant the kingdom of the *Meſſiah*, the church of *Chriſt*, which he hath here eſtabliſhed among us. And therefore this kingdom thus beginning with the preaching of *John*, there muſt we neceſſarily place the firſt coming of that King, *Chriſt our Lord*, who founded this his kingdom here among us. And this was, as hath been ſaid, in the fifteenth year of the reign of *Tiberius Cæſar*. But here it is to be obſerv'd, that this fifteenth year of *Tiberius* could not be his fifteenth year from the death of *Auguſtus* his predeceſſor. For then there would have been but four years for the miniſtry of *John the Baptiſt*, and the perſonal miniſtry of *Jeſus Chriſt* put both together, which time would have been too narrow a ſpace for the actings which are recorded of them in the goſpel. Beſides, in ſo ſhort a time, as muſt be allowed to the miniſtry of *John* in this caſe, it is not likely that he could have acquired that great fame, as appears not only [p] by goſpels, but alſo from the writing [q] of *Joſephus* the hiſtorian, that he had obtained, not only in *Judea* and *Galilee*, but alſo through all the circumjacent regions before his death. The fifteenth year therefore of the reign of *Tiberius*, [r] in which *John the Baptiſt* began to preach, muſt be reckoned from that time, when he began to reign jointly with *Auguſtus*, and was, according to [s] *Velleius Paterculus* and [t] *Suetonius*, admitted by him into copartnerſhip with him in the empire; and by a law (which *Auguſtus* cauſed to be propoſed and enacted by the conſuls) had conferred on him an equal power in the government of the provinces with *Auguſtus* himſelf. For from that time the publick acts went in his name, as well as in that of *Auguſtus*, eſpecially in the imperial provinces, [v] of which *Syria* was one. And therefore from that time the years of his reign were reckoned in thoſe provinces. And this hapned, [w] as

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[m] Ch. iii. 1, 2. [n] Mark i. 1. [o] Vide Grotii Annotationes in ſecundum caput Matthæi, & Lightfooti Horas Hebraicas ad eundem locum. [p] Matth. iii. & xiv. 5. & xxi. 26. [q] Antiq. lib. 18. c. 7. [r] Luke iii. 1. [s] Lib. 2. cap. 121. ubi verba faciens de Tiberio hæc habet: *Senatus populuſq; Romanus, poſtulante patre ejus* (ſc. Auguſto) *ut æquum ei jus in omnibus Provinciis exercitibuſq; eſſet, quam erat ipſi, Decreto complexus eſt.* [t] In Tiberio, c. 21. ubi de Tiberio dicit--- *Lege per Conſules latâ, ut Provincias cum Auguſto communiter adminiſtraret, ſimulq; cenſum ageret, condito luſtro in Illyricum profectus eſt.* [v] Dio Caſſius. [w] In Annalibus ſub Anno J. P. 4725.

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the moſt learned archbiſhop *Uſher* obſerves, in the year of the *Julian* period 4725, and the fifteenth year from thence brings us to the year of the *Julian* period 4739, in which (as is above noted) the word of God came to *John the Baptiſt*, and the preaching of the goſpel firſt began. And then it was, that *Chriſt* by this his fore-runner manifeſted his coming, and made his firſt appearance in that great work of our ſalvation, on which he was ſent. And from the ſeventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, when the commandment went forth from that King for the reſtoring of the church and ſtate of the *Jews*, to this time were juſt ſeven weeks and ſixty two weeks, that is, ſixty nine weeks, or four hundred and eighty three years in all, exactly as this propheſy predicted.

3^dly, FROM this coming of our Saviour began the third period of theſe ſeventy weeks, that is, the one week which is ſpoken of in the 27^th verſe, the events whereof, as there predicted, are, that *for that week the Meſſiah ſhould confirm the covenant with many, and in the half part thereof* (for *thus it ought to be rendred, where in our *Engliſh* tranſlation we read *the midſt) ſhould cauſe the ſacrifice and the oblation to ceaſe*; and ſo accordingly it came to paſs. For during theſe ſeven years of his evangelical miniſtry, he did firſt by his fore-runner, [y] the meſſenger whom he had ſent before him, and then by himſelf in his perſonal miniſtry confirm the covenant of the goſpel with many of the *Jews*, who were converted, and admitted thereto; and then in the half part of the ſaid week, that is, in the laſt half part thereof, when he appeared in his own perſon in the ſame miniſtry, on which *John* was ſent before him, he cauſed the ſacrifices and the oblations of the temple to ceaſe, that is, firſt by his preaching of the goſpel, which was to ſuperſede them, and then, laſtly, by that great ſacrifice of himſelf, which he once offered for all in his death upon the croſs at the end of this week, whereby they were all abſolutely and finally extinguiſhed for ever. For all other ſacrifices and oblations till then being only antetypes, and figurative repreſentations of this great ſacrifice after to be offered, and of no virtue or efficacy, but as they referred to it; when this was offered all others vaniſhed of courſe, as the repreſentative doth at the appearance of the principal, or the type or figure at the preſence of the thing that is typified or expreſſed by it; and the virtue and propitiation of this one ſacrifice hath ſufficed for all ever ſince. The whole latter part of the laſt week being the time of *Chriſt*'s perſonal miniſtry here on earth, as the whole of it was employed in the preaching of the goſpel, which was to cauſe the law to ceaſe, ſo the whole of it may very properly be ſaid to be employed in cauſing all thoſe ſacrifices and oblations to ceaſe, which the law enjoyned, tho' the whole was not completed, till at the end of this half part by his death and paſſion. For then at the offering up of this great ſacrifice, the virtue and efficacy of all others ceaſed for ever. But here it may be objected, that my placing the death of Chriſt at the end of this laſt period, is againſt the expreſs words of the propheſy. For that placeth the cutting off of the *Meſſiah* at the end of the ſecond period, that is, of the ſixty two weeks. For the words of it are, (ver. 26.) *After threeſcore and two weeks ſhall Meſſiah be cut off.* To this I anſwer, the word *after* in this place cannot be underſtood to mean ſtrictly the time immediately af-

* *The word in the original* Hebrew *is* Chatzi, *which ſignifieth the half part and not the* midſt.
[y] Malachi iii. 1. Matth. xi. 10. Luke i. 76. *and* vii. 27.

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ter, but in a large and indefinite ſenſe to denote the whole next week which after followed. For otherwiſe his coming and his cutting off muſt have happened at the ſame time both together, and no intermediate ſpace would have been left for his miniſtry. For in the verſe preceding it is poſitively ſaid, *that from the going forth of the commandment to reſtore and build* Jeruſelem *unto the Meſſiah the Prince, ſhould be ſeven weeks and threeſcore and two weeks*; and therefore if at the end of the ſame ſixty two weeks he ſhould be cut off alſo, then his coming and his cutting off muſt have happened both together at the ſame time, and the conſequence which I have mentioned muſt neceſſarily follow, *i. e.* that no intermediate ſpace would have then been left for his miniſtry, which cannot be ſaid. The word *after* muſt therefore mean the whole week after, at the end of which *Chriſt*, the *Meſſiah* named in that propheſy, was cut off by his death on the croſs. And there is no need of expreſſing it otherwiſe in that place, becauſe the cutting off and death of the *Meſſiah* had been exactly determined to that time, by what was ſaid before in the 24th verſe. For it is manifeſt, that according to the true intent and meaning of that part of the propheſy his death muſt be there placed. For according to that it muſt be there placed, where it placeth the events that were to be accompliſhed and brought to paſs by it; but the events which were to be accompliſhed and brought to paſs by the cutting off of *the Meſſiah*, are by that part of the ſaid propheſy (ver. 24.) placed at the end of the ſeventy weeks, and conſequently at the end of the laſt of them, and therefore the cutting off of the *Meſſiah* muſt there be placed alſo, and there it accordingly hapned in the death and paſſion of *Chriſt* our Saviour, and this part of the propheſy was exactly fulfilled by it.

THE whole therefore of this ſecond part or branch of the propheſy is thus; the ſeventy weeks being divided into three periods, that is, into ſeven weeks, ſixty two weeks, and one week, the firſt reacheth from the time of the going forth of the commandment to *Ezra* for the reſtoring of the church and ſtate of the *Jews* in the ſeventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the finiſhing of that work by *Nehemiah* forty nine years after; the ſecond from the end of that period to the coming of the *Meſſiah* four hundred and thirty four years after; and the laſt from that his coming to his cutting off by his death on the croſs, which was one week or ſeven years after. And all theſe put together fully make up the ſeventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years of this propheſy, and according to this computation every particular of it hath been fully verified in a completion exactly agreeable thereto, and the whole number of years pointed out thereby exactly anſwered to a month. For as the going out of the commandment to *Ezra*, from whence they began, was in the month of *Niſan*, ſo the crucifixion of *Chriſt* was alſo in the ſame month juſt four hundred and ninety years after.

III. AFTER what is predicted of theſe three periods follows the third branch, or part of the propheſy, which is contained in the latter end of the 26th, and in the latter end of the 27th verſe, and foretells events to be brought to paſs after the expiration of the ſaid ſeventy weeks in the times immediately following thereupon, that is, *the deſtruction of the city and ſanctuary by the people of the prince that was to come*, who with their armies and deſolating abominations ſhould invade *Judea*, as with a flood, and by a terrible and conſuming war bring utter ruine and deſolation upon it, and

and all the people of the *Jews* that ſhould dwell therein, and conſummate the ſame upon them in an abſolute deſtruction. All which accordingly came to paſs, and did in a very ſignal manner verify the propheſy in a full completion of every particular hereof. For on the end of theſe ſeventy weeks, which were determined upon that people, and their holy city, they having ſlain the Lord of life, they were thereon caſt off by God from being his peculiar people, and the Gentiles were called in their ſtead, ſo that thenceforth they were no more his people, nor their city *Jeruſalem* any longer holy unto him, but both were given up and deſtined to utter ruin and deſtruction. For immediately on their having executed the ſentence of death upon *Chriſt* our Lord, this [a] ſentence of condemnation paſſed upon them, and from that time all ſecond cauſes operated towards the haſtening the execution of it, till at length the *Roman* armies, *the people that were to come*, under the command of *Titus their Prince*, invaded them as with a torrent, and begirt *Jeruſalem* with their enſigns, *the abomination of deſolation*, [b] which our Saviour from this propheſy forewarns his diſciples of. For [c] they were idolatrous images [c] abominated by the *Jews*, under which thoſe people marched againſt them, invaded their land, beſieged their holy city, and by a moſt calamitous war brought utter deſolation upon both; which according to the relations of *Joſephus*, (who was an hiſtorian of their own nation, and preſent in all the actions of the war) they executed in the moſt terrible and tragical manner of deſtruction that was ever brought upon any nation, and conſummated it to ſuch a degree upon them, that they have never been able to recover themſelves ever ſince even to this day, though now one thouſand ſix hundred forty five years have paſſed, ſince theſe judgments were by the juſt hand of God thus executed upon them.

BUT for the full clearing of all that hath hitherto been ſaid in the explication of this propheſy, there ſtill remains one great objection to be anſwered. For it is urged, that the *Artaxerxes* who granted the commiſſion to *Ezra* in the ſeventh year of his reign, from whence we begin the computation of the ſeventy weeks, was the ſame *Artaxerxes* who in the twentieth year of his reign granted another commiſſion to *Nehemiah*. For the ſcriptures [d] making *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* contemporary, render this beyond diſpute. But that this *Artaxerxes* ſhould be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, the age, which *Nehemiah*, and *Sanballat* muſt then have lived to, makes it, they ſay, wholly improbable. For *Nehemiah*, in the book of holy ſcripture called by his name, (which all acknowledge to have been written by him) [e] ſpeaking of the reign of *Darius Codomannus* King of *Perſia*, and of the days of *Jaddua* the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, as of times paſt, he muſt

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[a] *Chriſt foreknowing the wickedneſs, foretells that this ſentence ſhould be thereon paſſed upon them for it, and accordingly be executed.* Matt. xiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi. [b] Matth. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14. [c] Vide Grotii Annotationes ad 24 cap. Matthæi com. 15.

[c] Joſephus *tells us*, (Antiq. lib. 18. c. 7.) *That when* Vitellius, *governor of* Syria, *was going to paſs through* Judæa *with a* Roman *army, to make war againſt the* Arabians, *the chief of the* Jews *met him, and earneſtly entreated him to lead his army another way. For they could not bear the ſight of thoſe images which were in the enſigns under which they marched, they were ſo abominated by them. Theſe enſigns therefore for the ſake of thoſe images in them were abominations to the* Jews, *and by reaſon of the deſolations which were wrought under them by the* Roman *armies in conquered countries, they were called deſolating abominations, or abominations of deſolation; and they were never more ſo, than when under them the* Roman *armies beſieged, took and deſtroyed* Jeruſalem. [d] Nehemiah viii.

[e] *Chap.* xii. 22.

have been alive after the death of both of them, but *Jaddua* not dying till two years after the death of *Alexander the Great*, in the year of the *Julian* period 4392, from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to that time had paſſed one hundred twenty three years, to which, if we add thirty years more for the age of *Nehemiah*, when he came to be governor of *Judea*, (which is the leaſt that can be allowed to qualify him for ſuch a truſt) he muſt have been at the leaſt an hundred and fifty three years old when he wrote that book, if the *Artaxerxes* from whom he had his commiſſion, were *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. And tho' we ſuppoſe the writing of this book to have been while *Darius Codomannus* and *Jaddua* were both alive, and put it up as high as we can, that is, into the firſt year of the reign of that *Darius*, yet this will not much mend the matter. For on this ſuppoſition *Nehemiah* muſt have been an hundred and forty years old when he wrote that book, which is ſtill a very improbable age in thoſe times, and conſequently infers the ſuppoſal, on which it is built, (*i. e.* that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus* from whom he had his commiſſion) to be very improbable alſo. And the age of *Sanballat*, upon the ſame ſuppoſal, will not only be as improbable, but alſo much more ſo. For when *Nehemiah* came into *Judea*, in the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes*, he found him[t] governor of *Samaria* under the King of *Perſia*, and he was alive, as *Joſephus* tells us,[s] till the beſieging of *Gaza* by *Alexander the Great*, in the fourth year of *Darius Codomannus*, at which time he died. And therefore if that *Artaxerxes* were *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Sanballat* at the time of that ſiege could not be leſs than an hundred and forty eight years old. For from the twentieth of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to the fourth of *Darius Codomannus*, according to *Ptolemy*'s canon, were one hundred and thirteen years; and when *Nehemiah* came to *Jeruſalem*, *Sanballat* having been for ſome time, perchance for ſeveral years, fixed in the government of *Samaria*, he cannot be well ſuppoſed to have been leſs than thirty five years old at that time, and putting both theſe numbers together they make an hundred and forty eight years; and both theſe ages, that is, that of *Nehemiah*, and this of *Sanballat*, it muſt be acknowledged, ſeem very improbable, and moſt eſpecially that of the latter. For as to *Nehemiah*, an extraordinary bleſſing upon that good man may be alledged for ſuch an extraordinary age in him, but this cannot be ſaid of the other. Each of theſe inſtances apart look very improbable, but coming both together are much more ſo. And therefore, as we have argued above, that the *Darius* who granted the decree for the finiſhing of the temple, could not be *Darius Nothus*, becauſe of the great and improbable age which *Jeſhua* and *Zerubbabel* muſt have been of at the executing of that decree; ſo it is argued here in the ſame manner, that the *Artaxerxes*, from whom *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* had their commiſſions, could not be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, becauſe of the great and improbable age which *Nehemiah* and *Sanballat* muſt then have been of at the time of their death. And therefore as we have ſaid of the former difficulty, that it can be no otherwiſe ſolved, but by making the *Darius*, who granted the decree for the finiſhing of the temple to be another *Darius*, that is, *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, who reigned ninety eight years before that *Darius* who was called *Nothus*; ſo in like manner it is ſaid of this latter

[t] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8. Chronicon Alexandrinum. [r] Nehem. iv. 2.
[s] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

difficulty,

difficulty, that it can be no otherwiſe cleared but by making the *Artaxerxes*, who in the ſeventh and in the twentieth years of his reign granted his commiſſions to *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, to have been another *Artaxerxes*, that is, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, whoſe ſeventh year, and whoſe twentieth year of his reign, were juſt ſixty years after the ſeventh year and the twentieth year of the reign of the other *Artaxerxes*, that was called *Longimanus*. Thus far the objection, and if it holds good, I muſt acknowledge it overthrows the computation, on which hath been built all which I have hitherto ſaid for the explication of this propheſy.

IN anſwer hereto it hath been ſaid by ſome, 1ſt, As to *Nehemiah*, that in that paſſage of his book *(chap.* xii. 22.) where the reign of *Darius* the *Perſian*, and the days of *Jaddua* the high-prieſt of the *Jews* are mentioned, that reign of *Darius* was the reign[h] of *Darius Nothus*, and thoſe days of *Jaddua*[i] were his days from his birth, which might very well have happened in the reign of the ſaid *Darius Nothus*. And 2dly, As to *Sanballat*, that[k] there were two of that name, the firſt of which was the *Sanballat* ſpoken of by *Nehemiah*, and the ſecond the *Sanballat* ſpoken of by *Joſephus*; but neither of theſe anſwers can poſſibly hold good. For,

1ſt, IT's manifeſt, that the text of *Nehemiah (chap.* xii. 22.) where the *Levites* are ſpoken of that were in the days of *Eliaſhib*, *Joiada*, *Johanan*, and *Jaddua*, cannot be underſtood to mean any other days than thoſe wherein they were high-prieſts. For the high-prieſt among the *Jews* was the head of the prieſts and *Levites*, and after the captivity, when there was no King in *Judah*, he had the abſolute ſupremacy over them in all affairs relating to their office. And therefore it was then as proper for them to reckon all ſuch affairs by the times of their high-prieſts, as it is now with us to reckon all actions in the ſtate by the times of our Kings; and conſequently, when any thing is ſaid to have been done in ſuch an high-prieſt's time, it is altogether as improper to underſtand it of any other time than that of his high-prieſthood, as it would be, when any thing is ſaid to have been in ſuch a King's time, to underſtand it of any other time than that of his reign. And therefore to refer what is here ſaid of the days of *Jaddua*, as far back as to his days from his birth, is a very forced ſenſe which the text cannot naturally bear. When ſuch a thing is ſaid to have been in the time of King *Henry* VIII, will any one underſtand it of the time before his reign, or think it any other than an abſurdity ſo to conſtrue it? And is it not altogether as abſurd to underſtand what is here ſaid of the *Levites* to have been in the days of *Jaddua*, of any other days than of thoſe wherein he was high-prieſt? And it is to be here obſerved, that the text joins with the days of *Jaddua*, the days of *Eliaſhib*, *Joiada*, and *Johanan*. For it is ſaid [l] *In the days of Eliaſhib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua*, &c. And therefore if it ſhould be here asked, whether the days of *Eliaſhib*, *Joiada*, and *Johanan*, are to be underſtood of the days of their high-prieſthood, or of the days of their life from their birth, no doubt it will be anſwered by every body, of the days of their high-prieſthood. And why then muſt not the days of *Jaddua* be underſtood ſo too? It may farther be added, what need is there in this caſe to name *Jaddua*'s days at all? Becauſe if they be underſtood of thoſe before he was high-prieſt, they were co-incident with

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[h] Uſſerius in Annalibus ſub anno J. P. 4298. [i] Uſſerius, ibid. [k] Iſaacus Voſſius in Chronologia ſacra, p. 149. [l] Nehem. xii. 22.

the days of *Joiada* and *Johanan*, which were nam'd before. And therefore if we underſtand thoſe days of *Jaddua* in the text, of any other days, than of thoſe wherein he was high-prieſt, they muſt have been named twice in the ſame text, which would be ſuch a faulty repetition as it muſt not be charg'd with. Nothing ſeems more plain, than that the text ſpeaks of the days of theſe four men, as in ſucceſſion one after another, and therefore we muſt not run the days of one into the days of the other. Beſides, the whole deſign of interpreting the days of *Jaddua*, in this text, of the days before he was high-prieſt, is to ſupport a notion that the ſaid text was written before he was high-prieſt, and ſo far back as the time immediately after his birth, about the latter end of the reign of *Darius Nothus*, they who are the patrons of this notion having no other way to make them contemporary. But then to name his days with the days of the other high-prieſts, ſo many years before he came to be high-prieſt, and when it muſt be on [m] many reſpects uncertain, whether he would ever be ſo or no, is what all the writings in the world beſides cannot give us an inſtance of. From all this it plainly follows, that thoſe days of *Jaddua* in the text above-mentioned, can be meant of no other days than the days of his high-prieſthood, and that therefore he muſt have been in that office before this text was written. And alſo it is as evident, that the *Darius* in the ſame text mentioned, can be none other than *Darius Codomannus*, [n] in whoſe reign *Jaddua* was high-prieſt. For the [o] text bringing down the reckoning through the ſucceſſion of ſeveral high-prieſts, terminates the whole in the days of *Jaddua*, and the reign of *Darius the Perſian*, which clearly makes them contemporary. And therefore *Darius the Perſian*, in that next mentioned, could be none other than *Darius Codomannus*, becauſe no other *Darius* but he was King of *Perſia* while *Jaddua* was high-prieſt at *Jeruſalem*. And if ſo, it muſt be in the reign of this *Darius*, of the ſooneſt, that this text was written, and conſequently *Nehemiah*, if he were the writer of it, muſt then have been living. And ſuppoſing it to have been in the reign of this *Darius*, and in the firſt year of it, *Nehemiah*, if then living, muſt have been an hundred and forty years old; but if it were after the death both of *Darius* and *Jaddua*, as the obvious ſenſe of the text ſeems to imply, he muſt then have been much older, that is, one hundred fifty three at the leaſt, as I have above-ſaid, but neither of theſe is likely, and therefore it muſt be acknowledged, that this anſwer doth not remove the difficulty. Neither,

2^dly, CAN the other anſwer remove that which ariſeth from the age of *Sanballat*. For to ſolve that objection by making two *Sanballats* is plainly giving up the cauſe, it being only a ſhift, which can never go down with any one that duly conſiders the matter. For it is not to be doubted but that the *Sanballat*, who is ſaid in the laſt chapter of *Nehemiah* to have married his daughter to one of the ſons of *Joiada* the high-prieſt, is the ſame *Sanballat* who is mentioned ſo often in the former part of that book, as the great oppoſer of *Nehemiah* in all his undertakings for the welfare of the children of *Iſrael*. For he is in this laſt place called by [p] the ſame proper name of *Sanballat* as in the former places of that book, and hath there

[m] *It was uncertain not only from the uncertainty of life, but alſo becauſe he might in the interim have incurred an incapacity by being maimed, or otherwiſe, and alſo might be excluded by the* Perſian *King.*

[n] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xi. c. 8. [o] Nehem. xii. 22. [p] Nehem. xiii. 28.

alſo

alſo given unto him the ſame additional name of the *Horonite*, taken from the name of *Horonaim* [t] a city of *Moab*, whereof it's ſuppoſed he was a native. And it is not likely that both theſe names ſhould concur in any other, within the time of the ſame governor of *Judea*, but in the ſame perſon only. And that this ſame *Sanballat the Horonite* is the ſame *Sanballat*, which *Joſephus* treateth of, is as evident. For the *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah* [u] was governor of *Samaria*, and [x] ſo was the *Sanballat* of *Joſephus*; the *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah* [y] was a great enemy of the *Jews*, and [z] ſo was the *Sanballat* of *Joſephus*; the *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah* [w] married his daughter to one of the ſons of an high-prieſt of the *Jews*, and [a] ſo did the *Sanballat* of *Joſephus*; and who then is there, that will not from hence conclude that they were both the ſame perſon?

AND thus far I have ſhewn, that neither part of the objection above-mentioned is removed by either of theſe anſwers. And I have been the longer herein, becauſe they have been men of great name, and great learning, who have been the authors of them, and others as great have acquieſced in them as ſufficient. But to come to the truth of the matter, I anſwer,

1ſt, AS to the age of *Nehemiah*, that the text from whence this objection is made doth not infer it. For notwithſtanding what is ſaid therein, *Nehemiah* might have been dead, as no doubt he was, a great number of years before it was written. For all that is contained in the ſaid xiith chapter of *Nehemiah*, from the beginning of it to the 27th verſe of the ſame, was never written by *Nehemiah*, but is an interpolation there inſerted long after his death, by thoſe who received this book into the canon of ſcripture. For [x] as *Ezra*, as far as he went in that collection which he made of the holy ſcriptures, inſerted in ſeveral places ſuch interpolations as he thought neceſſary for the clearer underſtanding of them, ſo they who laboured after him, in the perfecting of the ſaid collection, did the ſame in the books which they afterwards added to it, till they had completed the whole about the time of *Simon the Juſt*. For he being the laſt of thoſe whoſe labours were employed in the ſettling of the canon of the ſcriptures of the *Old Teſtament*, and this book being the laſt that was received into it, as being the laſt that was written, it's juſtly reckoned to have been in his time, that it was firſt thus received into the number of the ſacred books, and then this interpolation was added by him, and thoſe who were aſſiſting to him in this work. Of all which particulars a fuller account will be hereafter given in their proper places. And that this is an interpolation, the interruption which is made thereby, in the ſenſe and connection of that part of the book, doth ſufficiently ſhew, and [y] moſt learned men that have conſidered this matter, are now convinced that it is ſo.

BUT 2dly, AS to the other objection which is drawn from the age of *Sanballat*, the anſwer is much eaſier. For here there is no oppoſition between ſcripture and ſcripture, but only between ſcripture and the writings of a prophane author. *Nehemiah* placeth *Sanballat the Horonite* in the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; [z] *Joſephus* makes him live down to the

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[t] Iſaiah xv. 5. Jer. xlviii. 3, 5, *and* 34. [u] Nehem. iv. 2. [x] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xi. c. 7, *and* 8. [y] Nehem. ii, iv, vi. [z] Joſeph. ibid. [w] Nehem. xiii. 28.

[x] *See below, in the ſequel of this hiſtory.* [y] Iſaacus Voſſius in Chronologia ſacra, cap. 16. p. 149. Cary's *Chronology, part* 2. *book* 2. *chap.* 6. *p.* 197. [z] Antiq. lib. xi. c. 8.

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time of *Alexander the Great* above an hundred years after. Here there is no neceſſity of reconciling one with the other. For if both cannot conſiſt together (as the great age which *Sanballat* in this caſe muſt have lived to doth ſufficiently prove they cannot) the prophane writer muſt give place to the ſacred. And therefore the true anſwer in this matter is, *Joſephus* was miſtaken. The ſacred writ, as being dictated by the holy ſpirit of God, muſt ever be of infallible truth, which cannot be ſaid of the writings of *Joſephus*. For they have in them many great and manifeſt miſtakes, and no part of them more than the eleventh book of antiquities, in which is written what gives the ground for this objection. For therein he frequently varies from ſcripture, hiſtory, and common ſenſe, which manifeſtly proves it to have been the leaſt conſidered, and the worſt digeſted, of all that he has written. Therein [a] he makes *Cambyſes*, who was the firſt that reigned after *Cyrus*, to have been the *Perſian* King, that by his decree forbad the going on with the rebuilding of the temple, whereas [b] the ſcripture plainly tells us it was *Artaxerxes*, who is there named in the third place after *Cyrus*. He [c] inſerts into this book, out of the *apocryphal Eſdras*, the fabulous and abſurd ſtory of the three chamberlains contending before *Darius Hyſtaſpis* about what was ſtrongeſt; and making *Zerubbabel* to be one of them, and to obtain the victory. In this conteſt, he introduceth *Darius* giving him for the reward of this victory, a decree for another return of the captive *Iſraelites* to *Judea*, which is neither ſpoken of in ſcripture, nor conſiſting with it, and placeth at the head of thoſe, who he ſaith then returned, *Zerubbabel* the governor, and *Jeſhua* the high-prieſt, whereas it's certain from *Ezra*, *Haggai*, and *Zechariah*, that they were then both at *Jeruſalem*, and there on the exhortations of the two prophets laſt mentioned ſetting forward the rebuilding of the temple. And then he goes on out of the ſame romance, to relate, as conſequential to this ſecond return, (which is wholly fictitious) all that which the ſcriptures tell us was done after the firſt, and in ſome particulars very much exceeds the fictions of the romancer himſelf. For he makes thoſe who came from *Babylon* to *Judea* in this fictitious return, to be four millions eight thouſand ſix hundred eighty four men, a monſtrous number! and the women and children that belonged to them to be no more than forty thouſand ſeven hundred forty and two, a diſproportion which is utterly incredible, eſpecially among thoſe who had plurality of wives. And [d] he makes *Xerxes*, who ſucceeded *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, to have been that *Artaxerxes* of the holy ſcriptures, who ſent *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* to *Jeruſalem*, whereas [e] the thirty ſecond year of that *Artaxerxes* is mentioned in ſcripture, and it's certain the reign of *Xerxes* did not exceed [f] one and twenty. He brings not *Nehemiah* to *Jeruſalem* [g] till the twenty fifth year of that *Artaxerxes*, whereas the ſcriptures [h] tell us, he came thither in the twentieth; and he makes him to be employed there three years and an half in the building of the walls of the city, whereas we read in the ſacred text, [i] that it was done in fifty two days. And ſince *Joſephus* hath in this book made all theſe miſtakes,

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[a] Antiq. lib. 11. c. 3. [b] Ezra iv. 6, 7. *For there he makes* Ahaſuerus *to be the firſt after* Cyrus; *and* Artaxerxes, *who forbad the going on with the rebuilding of the temple and city of* Jeruſalem, *to be the ſecond.* [c] Antiq. lib. 11. c. 4. [d] Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5. [e] Nehem. xiii. 6 [f] Canon. Ptol. [g] Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5. [h] Nehem. ii. 1. [i] Nehem. vi. 15.

beſides

beſides many more which it would be too long to relate, I hope it will not be thought ſtrange, that I aſſert what he ſaith in this ſame book in reference to *Sanballat*, is a miſtake alſo. For "therein he tells us of him, "That being made governor of *Samaria* for the laſt *Darius*, he married "his daughter to one whoſe father had been high-prieſt of the *Jews*, "and that this ſon-in-law having for this marriage, as being contrary to the "*Jewiſh* law, been deprived of his prieſthood and driven out of *Jeruſalem*, he obtained from *Alexander* (to whom he revolted while at the "ſiege of *Tyre*) licence to build on mount *Gerizim* near *Samaria* a temple like that at *Jeruſalem*, and to make his ſon-in-law high-prieſt of it, "and that after having attended *Alexander* at this ſiege of *Tyre*, and alſo "at that of *Gaza* with eight thouſand men, about the time of the taking "of the laſt of theſe he died." Thus far this hiſtorian. That *Sanballat* thus married his daughter to a ſon of an high-prieſt of the *Jews*, and built a temple on mount *Gerizim* for him, I readily acknowledge; but that he built this temple by licence from *Alexander*, or lived down to thoſe times, is as great a miſtake in the relator as any that I have above-mentioned. That he ſhould build this temple by licence from *Alexander* is inconſiſtent with what *Joſephus* himſelf tells us of the matter. For according to him *Sanballat* did not revolt to *Alexander* till he was ſet down before *Tyre*, and that ſiege and the ſiege of *Gaza* both together laſted only nine months. And therefore if we ſuppoſe *Sanballat* to have obtained this licence from *Alexander* in the very beginning of theſe nine months, he could have had but nine months wherein to build a temple like that at *Jeruſalem*, which coſt the labour of many years, and the work of a multitude of hands to erect it. And how is it poſſible ſuch a ſtructure could be built in ſo ſhort a time, and that eſpecially, ſince all that while neither *Sanballat* himſelf could be preſent to attend it, nor thoſe by whoſe hands and help the work was to be effected? for during all that time *Joſephus* tells us, *Sanballat* attended *Alexander* in the camp, and had eight thouſand of his *Samaritans* there with him, who being the main ſtrength and flower of that people, it is wholly improbable, that in their abſence thoſe who were left behind ſhould have capacity enough to undertake, or hands enough to go thorough with ſuch a work, eſpecially when the chief projector *Sanballat* himſelf, by whoſe direction all was to be done, was abſent alſo. It being therefore utterly improbable, if not altogether impoſſible, that this temple could have been built by a licence from *Alexander* in the life-time of *Sanballat*, it muſt follow, that if it were built at all by virtue of ſuch a licence from *Alexander*, it muſt have been built by the *Samaritans* after *Sanballat* was dead. But the ill circumſtances on which the *Samaritans* were with *Alexander* immediately after the time, when *Joſephus* ſaith *Sanballat* died, and the great misfortunes which they thereon fell into, make this as improbable as the former. For *Alexander* was no ſooner gone into *Egypt*, where he immediately marched after his taking of *Gaza*, but the *Samaritans*[l] riſing in a mutiny againſt *Andromachus*, a favourite of his, whom he had left governor of *Syria*, ſet fire to the houſe where he was, and burnt him to death; which juſtly provoked *Alexander* to ſo ſevere a revenge againſt them, that on his return he put a great number of them to death, expelled all the reſt

[k] Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 7, & 8. [l] Euſebii Chronicon ad annum 1687. In Lat. Hieronymi, p. 137. in Græcis, p. 56. & p. 177. Edit. ult. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 8.

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of them out of their city, and gave it to be inhabited by a colony of his *Macedonians*, and [n] added their countrey to that of the *Jews*. And as to the eight thouſand men which had followed his camp, [n] he ſent them into *Thebais*, the remoteſt province of *Egypt*, and there ſettled them on ſuch lands as he cauſed to be diſtributed among them in that province, without ſuffering them any more to return into their own countrey. The remainder that ſurvived this ruine, were permitted to dwell in *Sechem*, a ſmall village near *Samaria*, which hath from that time been the head ſeat of that people, and there they have remained ever ſince, even unto this day. And whether a people, who had in ſo high a degree provoked *Alexander*, ſhould be allowed to build ſuch a temple by his favour, or if they had, could at all be in a capacity, when thus broken and ruined, to accompliſh it, is an eaſy queſtion to anſwer. Whoever ſhall conſider this in both its branches, will no doubt think it in each of them improbable, and that with a licence from *Alexander*, neither before the death of *Sanballat* nor after it, could any ſuch temple have been built by the *Samaritans*. However, I deny not but that, as hath been already ſaid, ſuch a temple was built by *Sanballat* upon mount *Gerizim*, and upon the occaſion mentioned, that is, of the marriage of his daughter with a ſon of the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, but this was done long before the time of the laſt *Darius*, who was called *Codomannus*, in the time of a former *Darius* ſirnamed *Nothus*, who was King of *Perſia* eighty eight years before him. For it appears from ſcripture, that this marriage was conſummated [o] while *Joiada* the ſon of *Eliaſhib* was high-prieſt of the *Jews*, and he entered on his office in the eleventh year of this *Darius*; and four years afterwards (that is in the fifth year of the high-prieſthod of the ſaid *Joiada*, and in the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus*) was it, that his ſon was thus married to the daughter of *Sanballat*, as will be hereafter ſhewn in its proper place. And upon this marriage followed all the reſt, which *Joſephus* relates of the building of the temple upon mount *Gerizim* by *Sanballat*, and the making of his ſon-in-law high-prieſt of it. So that all this was done, not in the time of *Darius Codomannus* in the laſt year of his reign, or by licence from *Alexander*, but in the time of *Darius Nothus*, and by licence from him only granted in the fifteenth year of his reign to *Sanballat* for this purpoſe; and this clears the whole objection. For *Darius Nothus* in *Ptolemy*'s canon immediately ſucceeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, in whoſe twentieth year *Sanballat* is firſt made mention of, and ſuppoſing him to have been then thirty five years old, he would in the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus* be no more than ſeventy one, which is an age that more than the tenth part of mankind commonly arrive unto, if we may make a judgment hereof from the bills of mortality in *London*, where commonly the aged make a tenth part of the burials, and none that die there uſe to be put into thoſe bills under that title, unleſs they out-live ſeventy. That which led *Joſephus* into this error, I take it, was the common notion, which hath long obtained among his countrey men, [p] that the *Darius* whom *Alexander* conquered, was the ſon of *Ahaſuerus* by *Eſther*; and therefore on his making *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to be *Ahaſuerus*, he makes the *Darius* that ſucceeded him, that

[n] Joſeph. contra Apionem, lib. 2. p. 1063. [n] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.
[o] Nehem. xiii. 28. [p] R. Abraham Levita in Hiſtorica Cabala. David Gantz in Zemach David. Abraham Zacutus in Juchaſin, &c.

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is, *Darius Nothus*, to be that laſt *Darius*, who was ſubdued by that conqueror. And that this was his opinion appears plainly from his hiſtory. For having therein given us an account of all the Kings of *Perſia* from *Cyrus* to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, in that exact ſeries of ſucceſſion, in which they reigned one after the other, without omitting ſo much as the *Magian* uſurper, tho' he reigned only ſeven months; after *Artaxerxes Longimanus* he names none other but that laſt *Darius*, in whom the *Perſian* empire ended. Which is a plain argument that he took that laſt *Darius* to have been the *Darius* that ſucceeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and if ſo, the age of *Sanballat* will then put no difficulty upon us. But [q] *Iſaac Voſſius*, by an emendation of the text of *Joſephus*, introduceth thereinto another *Artaxerxes*, as mentioned by him to reign in *Perſia*, between *Artaxerxes Longimanus* and the laſt *Darius*. For whereas in the ſeventh chapter of the eleventh book of his *Antiquities*, in all the printed copies we read of *Bagoſes*, that he was general τῦ λαῦ Ἀρταξέρξυ, that is, *of the people of Artaxerxes*; he would have it to be τῦ ἄλλυ Ἀρταξέρξυ, which may be rendred in *Engliſh* either *of the other Artaxerxes*, or *of another Artaxerxes*. And to juſtify the emendation, he brings the authority of *Ruffinus*, who, in his verſion of *Joſephus*, tranſlates this place as if the copy which he uſed had it τῦ ἄλλυ Ἀρταξέρξυ. But *Ruffinus*'s *Latin* verſion is no ſufficient ſtandard, whereby to judge of the original, ſince in many places he phantaſtically varies from it. And ſince there were two *Artaxerxes's*, that reigned in *Perſia* after *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, that is, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ochus*, whether by this ἄλλῳ Ἀρταξέρξης we underſtand the *other Artaxerxes* or *another Artaxerxes*, the true propriety of ſpeech will bear neither of them in that place; and if it could, a long received reading ought in no ancient author to be varied from, without the authority of ſome good manuſcript to juſtify the emendation, and there is none alledged in this caſe. So that all that *Voſſius* ſaith about it can amount to no more than a conjecture, which we can build nothing certain upon; and to alter old authors, upon conjectures only, is never to be allowed, eſpecially where the context will bear the one reading as well as the other. For ſince the various fancies of men may lead to various conjectures, if there ſhould be ſuch a liberty allowed, whole books may be thus altered away, and utterly defaced by ſuch conjectural emendations, and many good authors have already too much ſuffered by it.

AND thus far I have explained this important propheſy in all its parts and branches, and fully ſhewn all thoſe events in which every particular of it had its completion. That there are ſeveral difficulties in it muſt be acknowledged. The perplexities, which many learned men have been led into in their explications of it, do ſufficiently prove it. And the underſtanding in a literal ſenſe, what is there meant in a figurative, hath not been the leaſt cauſe hereof. Not to be delivered in plain terms is what is common to all propheſies, there being none of them without their difficulties and obſcurities. There is too great an itch in mankind to look into futurities, which belong to God only to know. And although God hath been pleaſed ſo far to gratify our curioſity herein, as to give us propheſies for

[q] In Chronologia ſacra, cap. 10. p. 150.

the magnifying of his omniſcience among us, yet they are moſt of them delivered in ſuch dark and obſcure terms, as not to be thoroughly underſtood till after they are fulfilled. Then the events become ſure comments upon the text. And I hope when the reader hath fully conſidered all that is above propoſed, concerning this very important prophefy, he will be thoroughly ſatisfyed how every particular of it hath had its completion.

An. 457. Artaxerxes 8.

BUT to return again to our hiſtory. *Ezra* [e] having found in the ſecond year of his government, that many of the people had taken ſtrange wives contrary to the law, and that ſeveral of the prieſts and *Levites*, as well as other chief men of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, had tranſgreſſed herein, after he had in faſting and prayer deprecated God's wrath for it, he cauſed proclamation to be made for all the people of *Iſrael*, that had returned from the captivity, to gather themſelves together at *Jeruſalem*, under the penalty of excommunication and forfeiture of all their goods. And when they were met, he made them ſenſible of their ſin, and engaged them in a promiſe and covenant before God, to depart from it, by putting away their ſtrange wives, and all ſuch as were born of them, that the ſeed of *Iſrael* might not be polluted with ſuch an undue commixture; and thereon commiſſioners were appointed to enquire into this matter, and cauſe every man to do according to the law herein. And they ſat down the firſt day of the tenth month to examine hereinto, and made an end by the firſt day of the firſt month; ſo that in three months time, that is, in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth months of the *Jewiſh* year, a thorough reformation was made of this tranſgreſſion, which three months anſwer to *January*, *February*, and *March*, in our year.

ABOUT this time [f] *Bigthan* and *Tereſh*, two eunuchs of the palace, entered into a conſpiracy againſt the life of King *Artaxerxes*. Moſt likely they were of thoſe who had attended Queen *Vaſhti*, and being now out of their offices by the degrading of their miſtreſs, and the advancing of another into her place, took that diſguſt thereat, as to reſolve to revenge themſelves on the King for it; of which *Mordecai* having gotten the knowledge he made diſcovery hereof to Queen *Eſther*, and ſhe in *Mordecai*'s name to the King; whereon enquiry being made into the matter, and the whole treaſon laid open and diſcovered, the two traitors were both crucified for it, and the hiſtory of the whole matter was enter'd on the publick regiſters and annals of the kingdom.

MEGABYZUS and *Artabaſus*, who were appointed generals by *Artaxerxes*, for the *Egyptian* war [g] had drawn together into *Cilicia* and *Phœnicia* an army of three hundred thouſand men for that expedition; but wanting a fleet for the carrying of it on by ſea, they were forced to tarry there all this year, while it was a preparing for them in *Cilicia*, *Cyprus* and *Phœnicia*, and other maritime parts of the *Perſian* empire there adjoining, all which time they carefully employed in exerciſing their ſoldiers, and practiſing and inſtructing them in all military arts for the war, which conduced not a little to the victory which they afterwads obtained. In the interim, *Inarus* with his *Egyptians*, and the *Athenian* auxiliaries, preſſed hard their aſſaults upon the *White Wall* at *Memphis*, but the *Perſians* valiantly defending themſelves, the ſiege continued all this year without any ſucceſs.

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[e] Ezra ix. *and* x. [f] Eſther ii. 21. [g] Cteſias. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

BUT

BUT [v] the next year after, the *Perſian* fleet being ready, *Artabaſus* took the command of it, and ſet ſail for the *Nile*; and at the ſame time *Megabyzus* marched the army over land to *Memphis*, where on his arrival having raiſed the ſiege, and joined the beſieged, he gave battel to *Inarus* and all his forces, and overthrew them with a great ſlaughter, which fell chiefly upon the *Egyptian* revolters. After this defeat *Inarus*, though wounded in the fight by *Megabyzus*, made his retreat with the *Athenian* auxiliaries, and as many of the *Egyptians* as would follow him, to *Biblus*, a city ſtanding in the iſland *Proſopitis*, which being ſurrounded by the *Nile*, and the branches of that river encompaſſing it being both navigable, the *Athenians* drew up their fleet into one of them, in a ſtation where it was ſafe from the enemy, and endured a ſiege of an year and half in that iſland. In the interim, the reſt of the *Egyptians*, after that blow, all ſubmitted to the conquerors, and returned again to their obedience to King *Artaxerxes*, excepting *Amyrtæus*, who ſtill maintained a party againſt him in the fens, where he reigned many years; the *Perſians*, by reaſon of the difficulty of acceſs to thoſe parts, having been never able to reduce him. *An.* 456. Artaxerxes 9.

IN the mean time [w] the *Perſian* army at *Proſopitis* preſſed on the ſiege, but finding that they could make no work of it, by the uſual and common ways of war, by reaſon of the valour and reſolution of the defendents, at length had recourſe to craft and ſtratagem, whereby they ſoon accompliſhed what by open force they could not effect. For having by the making of many channels drained that branch of the *Nile*, in which the *Athenian* fleet had its ſtation, they laid it on dry ground, and made a paſſage open for all their army to paſs over into the iſland; whereon *Inarus*, ſeeing his caſe deſperate, with all his *Egyptians*, and about fifty of the *Athenian* auxiliaries, came to compoſition with *Megabyzus*, and yielded to him on terms of ſafety for their lives. But the reſt of the auxiliaries, being in number about ſix thouſand, put themſelves on their defence; and therefore having ſet their fleet on fire ſtood together in battel array, with reſolution to die with their ſwords in their hands, and in imitation of the *Lacedemonians*, that fell at *Thermopylæ*, ſell their lives as dear as they could; which the *Perſians* perceiving, and not being willing to engage with men ſo deſperately reſolved, offered them peace on terms, that they ſhould leave *Egypt*, and have a free paſſage home into their own countrey, which way they ſhould chuſe for their return thither; which being accepted of, they delivered the iſland with the city of *Biblus* to the conquerors, and marched to *Cyrene*, where they took ſhipping for *Greece*. But the major part of thoſe that went on this expedition periſh'd in it. *An.* 454. Artaxerxes 11.

AND this was not all the loſs which the *Athenians* ſuffered in this war. [x] For another fleet of fifty ſail being ſent by them, for the relief of thoſe who were beſieged in *Proſopitis*, they arrived at one of the mouths of the *Nile*, a little after the place was delivered, with intention to ſail up the *Nile* for the aſſiſtance of their countreymen, to the place where they were beſieged, not knowing the misfortune that had hapned to them. But they were no ſooner entered the river, but they were ſet upon by the *Perſian* fleet from the ſea, and aſſaulted with darts by their land-army from the ſhore, ſo that they all periſhed, excepting a very few of their ſhips, which

[v] Thucyd. lib. 1. Cteſias. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. [w] Ibid. [x] Thucyd. lib. 1.

broke thorough the enemy, and escaped. And here ended this unfortunate war, which the *Athenians* made in *Egypt*, in the sixth year after it was begun. And after this *Egypt* was again reduced under the *Persian* yoke, and so continued all the remaining time of the reign of *Artaxerxes*.

An. 453. Artaxerxes 12. *JOACHIM* the high-priest of the *Jews* being dead, was [y] succeeded by *Eliashib* his son, who bore that office forty years.

HAMAN an *Amalekite*, of the posterity of *Agag*, who was King of *Amalek* in the time of *Saul*, [z] growing to be the chief favourite of King *Artaxerxes*, all the King's servants were commanded to pay reverence unto him, and bow before him; and all of them obeyed the royal order herein, excepting *Mordecai* the *Jew*, who sitting in the King's gate, according to his office, paid not any reverence to *Haman* at such times as he passed by into the palace, neither bowed he at all to him; of which being told he was exceeding wroth, but scorning to lay hands on one man only, and being informed that he was a *Jew*, he resolved in revenge of this affront to destroy not only him, but also his whole nation with him; and to this, perchance, he was not a little excited, by the ancient Enmity which was between them, and the people of whom he was descended. And therefore for the accomplishing of this design, on the first day of the first month, that is, the month *Nisan*, he called together his diviners, to find out what day would be the most lucky for the putting of it in execution; whereon they having, according to the way of divination then in use among those eastern people, cast lots first upon each month, and after upon each day of the month, did thereby determine for the thirteenth day of the twelfth month following, called *Adar*, as the day which they judged would be the most lucky for the accomplishing of what he purposed. Whereon he forthwith went in unto the King, and having insinuated to him, that there was a certain people dispersed all over his empire, who did not keep the King's laws, but followed laws of their own, diverse from the laws of all other people, to the disturbance of the good order of his kingdom, and the breach of that uniformity whereby it ought to be governed; and that therefore it was not for the King's profit that they should be any longer suffered, he proposed and gave counsel that they should be all destroyed, and extirpated out of the whole empire of *Persia*, and urged it as that which was necessary for the establishing of the peace and good order of his government. To which having obtained the King's consent, and an order, that on the thirteenth day of *Adar* following, according as was determined by the divination of the lots, it should be put in execution, he called the King's scribes together to write the decree; and it being drawn according as he proposed, on the thirteenth day of the same month of *Nisan*, copies thereof were written out and sent into all the provinces of the empire, commanding the King's lieutenants, governors, and all other his officers in every one of them, to destroy, kill, and cause to perish, all *Jews* both young and old, little children and women, in one day, even on the thirteenth day of *Adar* following, and to take the spoil of them for a prey; which day being full eleven months after the date of the decree, the lot which pointed out that day seems to have been directed by the special providence of God, that so long a space intervening there might be

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[y] Chronicon Alexandrinum. Nehem. xii. 10. Joseph. Antiq. l. 11. c. 5. [z] Esther iii.

time

time enough to take ſuch meaſures as might be proper to prevent the miſchief intended.

BUT an objection being like to ariſe againſt this from thoſe who had the management of the King's treaſury, becauſe the deſtroying of ſo great a number of the King's ſubjects, as the *Jews* through the whole empire amounted to, muſt neceſſarily cauſe a great diminution of the publick taxes, he offered [a] ten thouſand talents of ſilver out of his own purſe to make the King amends for it; which ſum, if computed by *Babyloniſh* talents, amounts to two millions one hundred and nineteen thouſand pounds of our ſterling money; but if by *Jewiſh* talents, it will be above twice as much; a prodigious ſum for a private man to be owner of! As this ſhews the greatneſs of his riches, ſo doth it alſo the greatneſs of his malice towards the *Jews*, that he could be content to give ſo great a price for the executing of his revenge upon them. But the King's favour was then ſo great toward him, [b] that he remitted to him all that ſum, and granted him all that he deſired without it; though the damage, which the King would have ſuffered by it in his revenue, would have been much greater than all that the enemy was able to give [c] could have been ſufficient to countervail. We are not to wonder that private men had then ſuch vaſt riches. There are inſtances to be given of much greater ſums in the hands of ſuch men in thoſe ancient times. I ſhall at preſent make mention only of two of them, *Pythius the Lydian*, and *Marcus Craſſus the Roman*. The former, when *Xerxes* paſſed into *Greece*, [d] was poſſeſſed of two thouſand talents in ſilver, and four millions of darics in gold, which together amounted to near five millions and an half of our ſterling money. And the latter, [e] after he had conſecrated the tenth of all that he had to *Hercules*, feaſted all the people of *Rome* at ten thouſand tables, and had given them in a donative of corn to every citizen as much as would laſt him three months, found the remainder of his eſtate to be ſeven thouſand one hundred *Roman* talents, which amounts to above a million and an half of our money. This may ſeem much to us at preſent; but the wonder will ceaſe, when we conſider that from the time of *David* and *Solomon*, and for above fifteen hundred years afterwards, gold and ſilver was in much greater plenty in the world, than either of them is at preſent. The immenſe riches [f] which *Solomon* had in gold and ſilver, the prodigious quantities of both theſe, [g] which *Alexander* found in the treaſuries of *Darius*, and [h] the vaſt loads of them, which we find often to have been carried in triumph before *Roman* generals, when they returned from conquered provinces; and the exceſſive ſums [h] which ſome of the *Roman* Emperors expended in their luxurious and phantaſtical enjoyments, and in donatives to their ar-

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[a] Eſther iii. 9. [b] Eſther iii. 10. [c] Eſther vii. 4. [d] Herodot. lib. 7.
[e] Plutarchus in Craſſo. [f] *The gold wherewith he overlaid the* Sanctum Sanctorum *only, a room in the temple, of thirty foot ſquare and thirty foot high, beſides what was expended on other parts of the temple, and in the utenſils and veſſels of it, amounted to ſix hundred talents, which, reduced to our money, is four millions three hundred and twenty thouſand pounds ſterling; and the gold which he had in one year from* Orphir *amounted to four hundred and fifty talents, which, reduced to our money, is three millions two hundred and forty thouſand pounds; and his annual tribute in gold, beſides ſilver, was ſix hundred ſixty and ſix talents, which amounts to four millions, ſeven hundred ninety five thouſand, two hundred pounds, of our ſterling money.* [g] *See* Diodor. Sic. Atrian, *and* Q. Curtius.
[h] *See the* Roman *hiſtorians.*

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mies, and many † other instances in the histories of the times I have mentioned sufficiently prove this. But at length the mines which furnished this plenty, especially those of the southern *Arabia* (where we suppose was the *Ophir* of the ancients) being exhausted; and the burning of cities, and great devastations of countries, which after followed from the eruptions of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Huns* and other barbarous nations in the west, and of the *Saracens*, *Turks*, and *Tartars* in the east, having wasted and destroyed a great part of the gold and silver which the world afore abounded with, this induced that great scarcity of both, which afterwards ensued, and which the mines of *Mexico*, *Peru*, and *Brasil*, have not as yet been able fully to repair.

IT's hard to find a reason for *Mordecai*'s refusing to pay this respect to *Haman*, which may be sufficient to excuse him for thus exposing himself and all his nation to that destruction, which it had like to have drawn upon them. That which is commonly said, is, that it was the same adoration which was paid to the King of *Persia*, and that [i] consisting in the bowing of the knee, and the prostration of the whole body, even to the ground, it was avoided by *Mordecai* upon a [k] notion which he had of its being idolatrous. But this being the common complement, which was constantly paid to the Kings of *Persia* by all that were admitted into their presence, it was no doubt paid to this very King by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, when they had access unto him, and after also by *Mordecai* himself. For otherwise he could not have obtained that admission into his presence, and that advancement in his palace which was afterwards there granted unto him. And if it were not idolatrous to pay this adoration to the King, neither could it be idolatrous to pay it to *Haman*. The *Greeks* would not pay this respect to the King of *Persia* out of pride; and excepting *Themistocles*, and [l] two or three more, [m] none of them could ever be brought to it. I will not say that this was the case of *Mordecai* in respect of *Haman*. It seems most probable, that his refusing to pay him this reverence, was from a cause that was personal in *Haman* only. Perchance it was because *Haman* being of the race of the *Amalekites*, he looked on him as under the curse [n] which God had denounced against that nation, and therefore thought himself obliged not to give such honour unto him. And if all the rest of the *Jews* thought the same, this might seem reason enough to him to extend his wrath against the whole nation, and to meditate the destruction of them all in revenge hereof. But whatsoever was the cause that induced *Mordecai*

† *One of these instances may be in* Lucullus *a* Roman *Senator. For in one of his halls, which he called* Apollo, *he expended fifty thousand* Roman Denarii *every time he supped there, (which is near sixteen hundred pound of our money) and there he supped as often as any of the better sort supped with him. The words of* Plutarch, *who tells us this in the life of* Lucullus, *express no more than that the supper cost him five* Myriads; *but this, in strict propriety of speech, can in that author be meant of no other* Myriads *but of* Denarii. *If we carry the valuation down to that of* Sestertii, *five* Myriads (*that is, fifty thousand*) *of them will amount to a quarter the sum above-mentioned, that is, four hundred pound of our money; and this is prodigious enough to be spent in a supper for the entertainment of two* Roman *senators, (for no more were present at the supper particularly mentioned by that author) and is a great instance of the prodigious wealth of the entertainer.*

[i] Vide Brissonium de Regno Persarum, lib. 1. §. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. [k] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 6. [l] *One of these was* Timagoras *an* Athenian, *on whom the people of* Athens *passed sentence of death for it, thinking the honour of their whole city debased by this mean submission of one of their citizens to him, that was then the greatest King of the whole earth.* Valer. Max. lib. 6. cap. 3. [m] Vide Plutarchum in Themistocle & Pelopida & Artaxerxe. Herodotum, lib. 7. Justinum, lib. 6. cap. 2. & Cornelium Nepotem in Conone. [n] Exod. xvi. 14. 1 Sam. xv. 2, 3.

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to refuſe the payment of this reſpect to the King's favourite, this provoked that favourite to obtain the decree above-mentioned, for the utter extirpation of the whole *Jewiſh* nation in revenge for it.

WHEN * *Mordecai* heard of this decree, he made great lamentation, as did alſo all the *Jews* of *Shuſhan* with him; and therefore putting on ſackcloth he ſat in this mournful garb without the King's gate, (for he might not enter within it in that dreſs) which being told *Eſther*, ſhe ſent to him to know what the matter was; whereon *Mordecai* acquainted her with the whole ſtate of the caſe, and ſent her a copy of the decree, that thereby ſhe might fully ſee the miſchief that was intended againſt her people, abſolutely to deſtroy them and root them out from the face of the earth; and therefore commanded her forthwith to go in unto the King, and make ſupplication for them. At firſt ſhe excuſed herſelf becauſe of the law, whereby it was ordained, that whoſoever, whether man or woman, ſhould come in unto the King into the inner court, who was not called for, ſhould be put to death, excepting ſuch only to whom the King ſhould hold out the golden ſceptre in his hand, that he might live, and ſhe was afraid of hazarding her life in this caſe. Whereon *Mordecai*, ſending to her again, told her, that the decree extended univerſally to all of her nation, without any exception, and that if it came to execution, ſhe muſt not expect to eſcape more than any other of her people; that providence ſeemed to have advanced her of purpoſe for this work, but if ſhe refuſed to act her part in it, then deliverance ſhould come ſome other way, and ſhe and her father's houſe ſhould periſh. For he was fully perſuaded, God would not ſuffer his people to be thus totally deſtroyed. Whereon *Eſther* reſolving to put her life to hazard for the ſafety of her people, deſired *Mordecai*, that he and all the *Jews* then in *Shuſhan* would faſt three days for her, and offer up prayer and humble ſupplication to God to proſper her in the undertaking; which being accordingly done, on the third day *Eſther* put on her royal apparel, and went in unto the King, where he was ſitting upon his throne in the inner part of the palace. And as ſoon as he ſaw her ſtanding in the court he ſhewed favour unto her, and held out his golden ſceptre towards her, and *Eſther* going near and touching the top of it had thereby her life ſecured unto her. And when the King asked her, what her petition was, at firſt ſhe only deſired, that he and *Haman* would come to a banquet which ſhe had prepared for him. And when *Haman* was called, and the King and he were at the banquet, he asked her again of her petition, promiſing it ſhould be granted her, even to the half of his kingdom; but then ſhe deſired only, that the King and *Haman* would come again the next day to the like banquet, intimating, that then ſhe would make known her requeſt unto him. Her intention, in deſiring thus to entertain the King twice at her banquets before ſhe made known her petition unto him, was, that thereby ſhe might the more endear herſelf to him, and diſpoſe him the better to grant the requeſt which ſhe had to make unto him.

HAMAN being proud of the honour of being thus admitted alone with the King to the Queen's banquet, went home to his houſe much puffed up here-with. But in his returning thither, ſeeing *Mordecai* ſitting at the

* Eſther iv. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xi. c. 6.

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gate of the palace, and ſtill refuſing to bow unto him, this moved his indignation to ſuch a degree, that on his coming to his houſe, and calling his friends about him to relate to them the great honour that was done him by the King and Queen, and the high advancement which he had obtained in the kingdom, he could not forbear complaining of the diſreſpect and affront offered him by *Mordecai*. Whereon they adviſed him to cauſe a gallows to be built of fifty cubits height, and next morning to ask the King to have *Mordecai* to be hanged thereon. And accordingly he ordered the gallows immediately to be made, and went early next morning to the palace for the obtaining of a grant from the King to hang *Mordecai* on it. But [p] that morning the King awaking ſooner than ordinary, and not being able to compoſe himſelf again to ſleep, he called for the book of the records and chronicles of the kingdom, and cauſed them to be read unto him; wherein finding an account of the conſpiracy of *Bigthan* and *Tereſh*, and that it was diſcovered by *Mordecai* the *Jew*, the King enquired what honour had been done to him for the ſame; and being told that nothing had been done for him, he enquired who was in the court, and being told that *Haman* was ſtanding there, (for he attended early to ſpeak to the King for the purpoſe I have mentioned) he ordered him to be called in, and asked of him, what ſhould be done to the man whom the King delighted to honour. Whereon *Haman*, thinking this honour was intended for himſelf, gave advice, That the royal apparel ſhould be brought which the King uſed to wear, and the horſe which was kept for his own riding, and the crown royal which uſeth to be ſet upon his head, and that this apparel and horſe ſhould be delivered into the hands of one of the King's moſt noble princes, that he might array therewith the man whom the King delighted to honour, and bring him on horſeback through the whole city; and proclaim before him, Thus ſhall it be done unto the man whom the King delighteth to honour. Whereon the King commanded him forthwith to take the apparel and horſe, and do all this to *Mordecai* the *Jew*, who ſat in the King's gate, in reward for his diſcovery of the treaſon of the two eunuchs. All which *Haman* having been forced to do in obedience to the King's command, he returned with great ſorrow to his houſe, lamenting the diſappointment and great mortification he had met with, in being thus forced to pay ſo ſignal an honour to his enemy, whom he intended at the ſame time to have hanged on the gallows which he had provided for him. And on his relating of this to his friends, they all told him, that if this *Mordecai* were of the ſeed of the *Jews*, this bad omen foreboded, that he ſhould not prevail againſt him, but ſhould ſurely fall before him. While they were thus talking, one of the Queen's chamberlains came to *Haman*'s houſe to haſten him to the banquet, and ſeeing the gallows which had been ſet up the night before, fully informed himſelf of the intent for which it was prepared. On the King and *Haman*'s ſitting down to the banquet, [q] the King asked again of *Eſther*, what was her petition, with like promiſe as before of granting of it to her, even to the half of his kingdom. Whereon ſhe humbly prayed the King, that her Life might be given her at her petition, and her people at her requeſt; for a deſign was laid for the deſtruction of her and all her kindred and nation;

[p] Eſther vi. [q] Eſther vii. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 6.

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at which the King asking, with much anger, who it was that durſt do this thing ſhe told him that *Haman* then preſent was the wicked author of the plot, and laid the whole of it open to the King. Whereon the King roſe up in great wrath from the banquet, and walked out into the garden adjoyning, which *Haman* perceiving fell down before the Queen upon the bed, on which ſhe was ſitting, to ſupplicate for his life; in which poſture the King having found him on his return, ſpoke out in great paſſion; What will he force the Queen before me in the houſe? At which words the ſervants preſent immediately [r] covered his face, as was then the uſage to condemned perſons, and the chamberlain, who had that day called *Haman* to the banquet, acquainting the King of the gallows which he ſaw at his houſe, there prepared for *Mordecai*, who had ſaved the King's life in detecting the treaſon of the two eunuchs, the King ordered that he ſhould be forthwith hanged thereon; which was accordingly done; and all his houſe, goods and riches were given to Queen *Eſther*, and ſhe appointed *Mordecai* to be her ſteward to manage the ſame. [s] On the ſame day the Queen acquainted the King of the relation which *Mordecai* had unto her; whereon the King took him into his favour, and advanced him to great power, riches, and dignity in the empire, and made him the keeper of his ſignet in the ſame manner as *Haman* had been before.

BUT [t] ſtill the decree for the deſtruction of the *Jews* remaining in its full force, the Queen petitioned the King the ſecond time to put away this miſchief from them. But according to the laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, [u] nothing being to be reverſed which had been decreed and written in the King's name, and ſealed with the King's ſeal; and the decree procured by *Haman* againſt the *Jews* having been thus written and ſealed, it could not be recalled. All therefore that the King could do in compliance with her requeſt, was to give the *Jews*, by a new decree, ſuch a power to defend themſelves againſt all that ſhould aſſault them, as might render the former decree ineffectual; And for that end he bid *Eſther* and *Mordecai* draw ſuch a decree in words as ſtrong as they could deviſe, that ſo the former might be hindered from being executed, though it could not be annull'd. And therefore the King's ſcribes being again called on the twenty third day of the third month, a new decree was drawn juſt two months and ten days after the former, wherein the King granted to the *Jews*, which were in every city of the *Perſian* Empire, full licence to gather themſelves together, and ſtand for their lives, and to deſtroy, ſlay, and cauſe to periſh, all the power of the people and province, that ſhould aſſault them, with their little ones and women, and to take the ſpoil of them for a prey. And this decree being written in the King's name, and ſealed with his ſeal, copies hereof were drawn out, and eſpecial meſſengers were diſpatched with them into all the provinces of the empire.

IN the interim [w] *Megabyzus* having reduced the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, except the fenny part held by *Amyrtæus*, and there ſettled all matters again under the dominion of King *Artaxerxes*, he made *Sartamas* governor of that countrey, and returned to *Suſa*, carrying with him *Inarus* and his *Grecian* Priſoners. And having given the King an account of the articles he had granted them of life and ſafety, he obtained of him a ratifi-

[r] Vide Briſſonium de Regno Perſarum. lib. 11. cap. 6. [s] Eſther viii. [t] Eſther viii. Joſeph. [u] Dan. vi. 8, 15. Eſther i. 19, *and* viii. 8. [w] Cteſias.

cation of the ſame, although with difficulty, becauſe of the King's anger againſt them for the death of *Achæmenides* his brother, who was ſlain in battel againſt them. But *Hameſtris*, the mother of both theſe brothers, was ſo eagerly ſet for the revenging of the death of her ſon, that ſhe not only demanded that *Inarus* and his *Greeks* ſhould be delivered up to her to be put to death for it, contrary to the articles given them, but alſo required that *Megabyzus* himſelf, though her ſon-in-law, ſhould undergo the ſame puniſhment, for granting them ſuch articles as ſhould exempt them from that juſt revenge, which in this caſe ſhe ought to execute upon them. And it was with difficulty that ſhe was for this time put off with a denial.

An. 452. Artaxerxes 13. THE thirteenth day of *Adar* drawing near, [x] when the decree obtained by *Haman* for the deſtruction of the *Jews* was to be put in execution, their adverſaries every where prepared to act againſt them according to the contents of it. And the *Jews*, on the other hand, by virtue of the ſecond decree above-mentioned, which was obtained in their favour by *Eſther* and *Mordecai*, gathered themſelves together in every city where they dwelt, throughout all the provinces of King *Artaxerxes*, to provide for their defence; ſo that on the ſaid thirteenth of *Adar*, through the means of theſe two different and diſcordant decrees, a war was commenced between the *Jews* and their enemies throughout the whole *Perſian* Empire. But the rulers of the provinces, and the lieutenants, and deputies, and other officers of the King, knowing in what power *Eſther* and *Mordecai* were then with him, through fear of them ſo favoured the *Jews*, that they prevailed every where againſt all thoſe that roſe up againſt them, and on that day throughout the whole empire ſlew of their enemies ſeventy five thouſand perſons, and in the city of *Shuſhan*, on that day and the next, eight hundred more, among which were the ten ſons of *Haman*, whom by a ſpecial order from the King they cauſed all to be hanged, perchance upon the ſame gallows on which *Haman* their father had been hanged before.

THE *Jews* being thus delivered from this dangerous deſign, which threatned them with no leſs than utter extirpation, they made great rejoicing for it on the two days following, that is, on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the ſaid month of *Adar*. [y] And by the order of *Eſther* and *Mordecai*, theſe two days, with the thirteenth that preceeded them, were ſet apart and conſecrated to be annually obſerved for ever after in commemoration hereof; the thirteenth as a faſt, becauſe of the deſtruction on that day intended to have been brought upon them; and the other two as a feaſt, becauſe of their deliverance from it. And [z] both this faſt and this feaſt they conſtantly obſerve every year, on thoſe days, even to this time. The faſt they call the faſt of *Eſther*, and the feaſt the feaſt of *Purim*, from the *Perſian* word *Purim*, (which ſignifieth lots) becauſe it was by the caſting of lots that *Haman* did ſet out this time for their deſtruction. This feaſt is the *Bacchanals* of the *Jews*, which they celebrate with all manner of rejoicing, mirth, and jollity; and therein indulge themſelves in all manner of luxurious exceſſes, eſpecially in drinking of wine even to drunkenneſs; which they think part of the duty of the ſolemnity, becauſe it was by the

[x] Eſther ix. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6. [y] Eſther ix. 20, 21, 22. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6. [z] Talmud in Megillah. Maimonides in Megillah. Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica, c. 29.

means of the wine-banquet (they ſay) that *Eſther* made the King's heart merry, and brought him into that good humour, which inclined him to grant the requeſt which ſhe made unto him for their deliverance; and therefore they think they ought to make their hearts merry alſo when they celebrate the commemoration of it. During this feſtival the book of *Eſther* is ſolemnly read in all their ſynagogues, from the beginning to the end, at which they are all to be preſent, men, women, children, and ſervants, becauſe all theſe had their parts in this deliverance which *Eſther* obtained for them. And as often as the name of *Haman* occurs in the reading of this book, their uſage is for them all to clap with their hands, and ſtamp with their feet, and cry out, *Let his memory periſh*. This is the laſt feaſt of the year among them. For the next that follows is the paſſover, which always falls in the middle of the month, which begins the *Jewiſh* year.

THE *Athenians* having provided themſelves with another fleet, after the loſs of that in *Egypt*, [a] ſent *Cimon* with two hundred ſail again into *Cyprus*, there to carry on the war againſt the *Perſians*, where he took *Citium* and *Malum*, and ſeveral other cities, and ſent ſixty ſail into *Egypt* to the aſſiſtance of *Amyrtæus*. At the ſame time *Artabaſus* was in thoſe ſeas with a fleet of three hundred ſail; and *Megabyzus*, the other general of King *Artaxerxes*, had a land-army of three hundred thouſand men on the coaſts of *Cilicia*, but neither of them had the ſucceſs in this war which they had in the laſt. For *An.* 450. Artaxerxes 15.

CIMON, [a] on the return of his ſhips from *Egypt*, fell on *Artabaſus*, and having taken an hundred of his ſhips, and deſtroyed ſeveral others, purſued the remainder to the coaſts of *Phœnicia*; and being fluſh'd with this ſucceſs, on his return landed upon *Megabyzus* in *Cilicia*, and overthrew him alſo, making a very great ſlaughter of his numerous army, and then ſailed back again to *Cyprus* with a double triumph. *An.* 499. Artaxerxes 16.

ARTAXERXES hearing of theſe great loſſes, ſuſtained both at ſea and land, [b] became weary of ſo deſtructive a war, and therefore upon thorough advice taken with his counſellors and miniſters, came to a reſolution of putting an end to the calamities of it, by coming to an accommodation with the enemy; and accordingly ſent to his generals and commanders, who had the charge of the *Cyprian* war, to make peace with the *Athenians* on the beſt terms they could. Whereon *Megabyzus* and *Artabaſus* ſending embaſſadors to *Athens* to make the propoſal, plenipotentiaries were appointed of each ſide to treat of the matter, and they came to an agreement on theſe terms: 1ſt, That all the *Grecian* cities in *Aſia* ſhould have their liberty, and be left free to live according to their own laws; 2dly, That no *Perſian* ſhip of war ſhould any more appear on any of thoſe ſeas, which lie from the *Cyanean* to the *Chelidonian* iſlands, that is, from the *Euxine* ſea to the coaſts of *Pamphylia*; 3dly, That no *Perſian* commander ſhould come with an army by land, within three days journey of thoſe ſeas; 4thly, That the *Athenians* ſhould no more invade any of the territories of King *Artaxerxes*. Which articles being ratified and ſworn to on both ſides, Peace was concluded. And ſo this war ended, after it had continued from the time that the *Athenians* burnt *Sardis* (which was the firſt beginning of it) full one and fifty years; to the deſtruction of a vaſt num-

[a] Plutarchus in Cimone. Thucydid. lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. [b] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Cimone.

ber of men on both ſides. In the interim, *Cimon* died at *Citium*, and the *Athenians* returned with his corps to *Athens*, and after this came no more into thoſe ſeas.

An. 448. Artax-erxes 17. KING *Artaxerxes* [c] being continually ſollicited by his mother, to deliver to her *Inarus*, and the *Athenians* who were taken with him in *Egypt*, that ſhe might revenge on them the death of her ſon *Achæmenides*, after having for five years reſiſted her unwearied and reſtleſs importunities, was at laſt tired out by them to yield to her requeſt, and the priſoners were delivered to her; whereon the cruel woman, without having any regard to the publick faith which had been plighted for their ſafety, cauſed *Inarus* [d] to be crucified, and the heads of all the reſt to be ſtruck off, at which *Megabyzus* was exceedingly grieved and offended. For it being on his engagement for their ſafety that they had rendred themſelves, he thought it a great diſhonour done him, that he was thus violated, and therefore retired in diſcontent into *Syria*, the province of which he was governor, and to revenge the wrong there raiſed an army, and rebelled againſt the King.

An. 447. Artax-erxes 18. TO repreſs this rebellion [e] *Artaxerxes* ſent *Oſiris*, a prime nobleman of his court, with two hundred thouſand men into *Syria*. But *Megabyzus* having met him in battel, wounded him, and took him priſoner, and put his whole army to flight. But *Artaxerxes* having ſent a meſſenger to demand him, *Megabyzus* forthwith releaſed him, and as ſoon as his wounds were healed ſent him back again to the King.

An. 446. Artax-erxes 19. THE next year following the King [f] ſent another army againſt him, under the command of *Menoſtanes* ſon to *Artarius* governor of *Babylon*, and one of his brothers. But he had no better fortune this year than the former general had in the laſt; for being in the ſame manner vanquiſhed and put to flight, *Megabyzus* gained a great victory over him; whereby *Artaxerxes* perceiving that he could not prevail againſt him by force of arms, ſent *Artarius* his brother, and *Amytis* his ſiſter, who was wife to *Megabyzus*, with ſeveral other perſons of quality, to reconcile him unto him, and bring him by fair means to return to his duty, by whoſe interpoſition the difference being made up, the King granted him his pardon, and he returned again to court. But while the King was in hunting, a Lion having raiſed himſelf up upon his hinder legs againſt him, *Megabyzus*, who was then preſent, out of his zeal to extricate the King from this danger, threw a dart at the lion and ſlew him. But *Artaxerxes* laying hold of this light pretence to expreſs the bitter rancor which he ſtill retained againſt him for his late revolt, ordered his head to be ſtruck off for preſuming to ſtrike at the beaſt before him, and it was with difficulty that *Amytis* his wife, and *Hameſtris* her mother, with their joint petitions, prevailed ſo far in his behalf, that his ſentence of death was changed into that of baniſhment; whereon he was ſent to *Cyrta*, a place on the *Red Sea*, there to lead the reſt of his life under confinement. But after he had lived there five years, having made his eſcape from thence, and under the habit and diſguiſe of a leper got ſafe to his own houſe at *Suſa*, he was there by the means of his wife and her mother again reſtored to the King's favour, and continued in it ever after to the time of his death, which hapned ſome

[c] Cteſias. [d] Thucydid. lib. 1. Cteſias. [e] Cteſias. [f] Ibid.

years

years after, in the ſeventy ſixth year of his age, and was then very much lamented by the King and all his court. For he was the ableſt man both in council and war, that was in the whole empire, and to him *Artaxerxes* owed his life, as well as his crown, at his firſt acceſſion to the government. But it is a dangerous thing for a ſubject to have too much obliged his prince, and this was the cauſe of all the misfortunes that hapned unto him.

EZRA[g] continued in the government of *Judea* till the end of this year, and by virtue of the commiſſion he had from the King, and the powers granted him thereby, he reformed the whole ſtate of the *Jewiſh* church according to the law of *Moſes*, in which he was excellently learned, and ſettled upon that bottom, upon which it afterwards ſtood to the time of our Saviour. The two chief things which he had to do, were to reſtore the obſervance of the *Jewiſh* law, according to the ancient approved uſages which had been in practice before the captivity, under the directions of the prophets, and to collect together, and ſet forth a correct edition of the holy ſcriptures; in the performance of both which, the *Jews* tell us, he had the aſſiſtance of what they call the great ſynagogue;[h] which, they tell us, was a convention conſiſting of one hundred and twenty men, who lived all at the ſame time under the preſidency of *Ezra*, and were aſſiſting to him in both theſe two works; and among theſe they name *Daniel* and his three friends, *Shadrach*, *Meſach*, and *Abednego*, as the firſt of them, and *Simon the Juſt* as the laſt of them; though from the laſt mention which we have of *Daniel* in the holy ſcriptures to the time of *Simon the Juſt*, there had paſſed no leſs than two hundred and fifty years. But all this they reconcile by that abſurd and wretched account which they give of the hiſtory of thoſe times. For they tell us, that the whole *Perſian* empire laſted only fifty two years, (as hath been afore taken notice of) and that the *Darius* whom we call *Darius Hyſtaſpis* was the *Darius* whom *Alexander* conquered, and that the ſame was the *Artaxerxes* (which they will have to be the common name of all the Kings of *Perſia* in thoſe times) who ſent *Ezra* firſt, and afterwards *Nehemiah*, to *Jeruſalem*, to reſtore the ſtate of the *Jews*, and that *Simon the Juſt* was the ſame with *Jaddua* the high-prieſt, who received *Alexander* at *Jeruſalem*. And according to this account they might indeed all have lived together in the ſeventh year of this *Darius*, or *Artaxerxes* (as they would call him) when they ſay *Ezra* firſt went to *Jeruſalem*; for that was in the middle of the ſaid fifty two years, according to their computation, at which time *Jaddua* might very well have been of an age capable to aſſiſt in thoſe councils, and it is not impoſſible but *Daniel* might have lived down to it, for the ſcriptures give us no account of his death. The truth of this matter ſeemeth moſt likely to have been, that theſe one hundred and twenty men were ſuch principal elders, as lived in a continued ſucceſſion from the firſt return of the *Jews* after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, to the death of *Simon the Juſt*, and laboured in their ſeveral times, ſome after others, in the carrying on of the two great works above-mentioned, till both were fully completed in the time of the ſaid *Simon the Juſt*, (who was made high-prieſt of the *Jews* in the twenty fifth year after the death of *Alexander*

[g] Ezra viii, ix, x. Nehemiah ii.

[h] Vide Davidem Ganz, alioſque Judæorum hiſtoricos, & Buxtorfii Tiberiadem, cap. 10.

der the Great) and *Ezra* had the aſſiſtance of ſuch of them as lived in his time. But the whole conduct of the work, and the glory of accompliſhing it, is by the *Jews* chiefly attributed to him, under whoſe preſidency (they tell us) it was done. And therefore [a] they look on him as another *Moſes*. For the law, they ſay, was given by *Moſes*, but it was revived and reſtored by *Ezra*, after it had been in a manner extinguiſhed and loſt in the *Babyloniſh* captivity. And therefore they reckon him as the ſecond founder of it, and it is a common opinion among them, [b] that he was *Malachi* the prophet; that he was called *Ezra* as his proper name, and *Malachi* (which ſignifyeth an angel or meſſenger) from his office, becauſe he was ſent as the angel and meſſenger of God to reſtore again the *Jewiſh* religion, and eſtabliſh it in the ſame manner as it was before the captivity, on the foundation of the law and the prophets. And indeed, by virtue of that ample commiſſion which he had from King *Artaxerxes*, he had an opportunity of doing more herein than any other of his nation, and he executed all the powers thereof to the utmoſt he was able, for the reſettling both of the eccleſiaſtical and political ſtate of the *Jews*, in the beſt poſture they were then capable of, and from hence his name is in ſo high eſteem and veneration among the *Jews*, that it is a common ſaying among their writers, That if the law had not been given by *Moſes*, *Ezra* was worthy by whom it ſhould have been given.

As to the ancient and approved uſages of the *Jewiſh* church, which had been in practice before the captivity, they had by *Jeſhua* and *Zerubbabel*, with the chief elders their contemporaries, and by others that after ſucceeded them, been a gathering together from their firſt return to *Jeruſalem*, as they could be recovered from the memories of the ancients of their nation, who had either ſeen them practis'd themſelves before the captivity, or had been informed concerning them by their parents or others, who had lived before them. All theſe, and whatſoever elſe was pretended to be of the ſame nature, *Ezra* brought under a review, and having, after due examination, allowed ſuch of them as were to be allowed, and ſettled them by his approbation and authority, they gave birth to what the *Jews* now call their oral law. For they [c] own a twofold law, the firſt the written law, which is recorded in the holy ſcriptures, and the ſecond the oral law, which they have only by the tradition of their elders. And both theſe, they ſay, were given them by *Moſes* from mount *Sinai*, of which the former only was committed to writing, and the other delivered down to them from generation to generation by the tradition of the elders. And therefore holding them to be both of the ſame authority, as having both of them the ſame divine original, they think themſelves to be bound as much by the latter as the former, or rather much more. For the written law is, [d] they ſay, in many places obſcure, ſcanty, and defective, and could be no perfect rule to them without the oral law, which containing, according to them, a full, complete and perfect interpretation of

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[a] Vide Buxtorfii Tiberiadem, c. 10. [b] Abraham Zacutus in Juchaſin. David Ganz. Chaldæus Paraphraſtes in Malachiam. Buxtorfii Tiberias, cap. 3. [c] Vide Buxtorfium de Opere Talmudico, & Synagogam Judaicam ejuſdem, & Maimonidis præfationem ad Seder Zeraim. [d] Maimonidis Præfatio ad Seder Zeraim. Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica, cap. 3. & ejuſdem Recenſio operis Talmudici. Schickardi Bechinath Happeruſhim Diſp. 1. §. 1. Hottingeri Theſaurus, lib. 2. cap. 3. §. 3. Lightfoot's *Harmony of the four evangeliſts*, Sect. 23.

all

all that is written in the other, ſupplies all the defects, and ſolves all the difficulties of it. And therefore they obſerve the written law no otherwiſe, than according as it is expounded and interpreted by their oral law. And hence it is a common ſaying among them, that the covenant was made with them, not upon the written law, but upon the oral law. And therefore they do in a manner lay aſide the former, to make room for the latter; and reſolve their whole religion into their traditions, in the ſame manner as the *Romaniſts* do theirs, having no farther regard to the written word of God, than as it agrees with their traditionary explications of it, but always preferring them thereto, though in many particulars they are quite contradictory to it; which is a corruption that had grown to a great height among them even in our Saviour's time; for he chargeth them with it, and tells them, *Mark* vii. 13. That *they made the word of God of none effect through their traditions.* But they have done it much more ſince, profeſſing a greater regard to the latter than the former. And hence it is, that we find it ſo often ſaid in their writings, that the words of the *Scribes* are lovely above the words of the law; that the words of the law are weighty and light, but the words of the *Scribes* are all weighty; that the words of the elders are weightier than the words of the prophets, (where by the words of the *Scribes*, and the words of the elders, they mean the traditions delivered to them by their *Scribes* and elders.) And in other places; that the written text is only as water, but the *Miſhnah* and *Talmud* (in which are contained their traditions) are as wine and hippocras. And again, that the written law is only as ſalt, but the *Miſhnah* and *Talmud* as pepper and ſweet ſpices. And in many other ſayings, very common among them, do they expreſs the high veneration which they bear towards the oral or traditionary law, and the little regard which they have to the written word of God in compariſon of it, making nothing of the latter, but as expounded by the former, as if the written word were no more than the dead letter, and the traditionary law alone the ſoul, that gives the whole life and eſſence thereto. And this being what they hold of their traditions, which they call their oral law, the account which they give of its original, is as followeth.

FOR they tell us, that the ſame time • when God gave unto *Moſes* the law in mount *Sinai*, he gave unto him alſo the interpretation of it, commanding him to commit the former to writing, but to deliver the other only by word of mouth, to be preſerved in the memories of men, and to be tranſmitted down by them from generation to generation by tradition only; and from hence the former is called the written, and the other the oral law. And to this day, all the determinations and dictates of the latter, are term'd by the *Jews* conſtitutions of *Moſes* from mount *Sinai*, becauſe they do as firmly believe, that he received them all from God in his forty days converſe with him in that mount, as that he then received the written text it ſelf: That on his return from this converſe, he brought both of theſe laws with him, and delivered them unto the people of *Iſrael* in this manner. As ſoon as he was returned to his tent, he called *Aaron* thither unto him, and firſt delivered to him the text, which was to be the written law, and after that the interpretation of it, which was the oral

• Perke Avoth, cap. 1. Præfatio Maimonidis in Seder Zeraim in Pocockii Portæ Moſis, p. 5, 6, &c. Buxtorfii recenſio Operis Talmudici. David Ganz. Zacutus in Juchaſin, &c.

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law, in the ſame order as he received both from God in the mount. Then *Aaron* ariſing, and ſeating himſelf at the right hand of *Moſes*, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* his ſons went next in, and being taught both theſe laws at the feet of the prophet, in the ſame manner as *Aaron* had been, they alſo aroſe and ſeated themſelves, the one on the left hand of *Moſes*, and the other on the right hand of *Aaron*, and then the ſeventy elders, who conſtituted the *Sanhedrim*, or great ſenate of the nation, went in, and being taught by *Moſes* both theſe laws in the ſame manner, they alſo ſeated themſelves in the tent, and then entered all ſuch of the people as were deſirous of knowing the law of God, and were taught it in the ſame manner; after this *Moſes* withdrawing, *Aaron* repeated the whole of both laws, as he had heard it from him, and alſo withdrew, and then *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* repeated the ſame, and on their withdrawing the ſeventy elders made the ſame repetition to the people then preſent; ſo that each of them having heard both theſe laws repeated to them four times, they all had it thereby firmly fixed in their memories: And that then they diſperſed themſelves among the whole congregation, and communicated to all the people of *Iſrael* what had been thus delivered unto them by the prophet of God: That they did put the text into writing, but the interpretation of it they delivered down only by word of mouth to the ſucceeding generations: That the written text contained the ſix hundred and thirteen precepts, into which they divide the law, and the unwritten interpretations all the manners, ways and circumſtances, that were to be obſerved in the keeping of them: That after this, towards the end of the fortieth year from their coming up out of the land of *Egypt*, in the beginning of the eleventh month, (which fell about the middle of our *January*) *Moſes* calling all the people of *Iſrael* together, acquainted them of the approaching time of his death, and therefore ordered, that if any of them had forgot aught of what he had delivered to them, they ſhould repair to him, and he would repeat to them anew what had ſlipp'd their memories, and farther explain unto them every difficulty and doubt which might ariſe in their minds concerning what he had taught them of the law of their God: And that hereon they applying to him, all the remaining time of his life, that is, from the ſaid beginning of the eleventh month till the ſixth day of the twelfth month, was employed in inſtructing them anew in the text, which they call the written law, and in the interpretations of it, which they call the oral law: And that on the ſaid ſixth day having delivered to them thirteen copies of the written law, all copied out with his own hand, from the beginning of *Geneſis* to the end of *Deuteronomy*, one to each of the twelve tribes, to be kept by them throughout their generations, and the thirteenth to the *Levites*, to be laid up by them in the tabernacle before the Lord, and having moreover then anew repeated the oral law to *Joſhua* his ſucceſſor, he went on the ſeventh day up into mount *Nebo*, and there died: That after his death *Joſhua* delivered the ſaid oral law to the elders, who after ſucceeded him, and they delivered it to the prophets, and the prophets tranſmitted it down from each other till it came to *Jeremiah*, who delivered it to *Baruch*, and *Baruch* to *Ezra*, by whom it was delivered to the men of the great ſynagogue, the laſt of whom was *Simon the Juſt*: That by him it was delivered to *Antigonus* of *Socho*, and by him to *Joſe* the ſon of *Jochanan*, and by him to *Joſe* the ſon of *Joezer*, and by him to *Nathan* the *Arbelite*, and *Joſhua* the ſon of *Perachiah*, and

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by them to *Judah* the ſon of *Tabbai*, and *Simeon* the ſon of *Shatah*, and by them to *Shemaiah* and *Abtalion*, and by them to *Hillel*, and by *Hillel* to *Simeon* his ſon, who is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame that took our Saviour into his arms, when he was brought to the temple to be there preſented to the Lord at the time of his mother's purification, and by *Simeon* it was delivered to *Gamaliel* his ſon, (the ſame at whoſe feet *Paul* was brought up) and by him to *Simeon* his ſon, by him to *Gamaliel* his ſon, and by him to *Simeon* his ſon, and by him to *Rabbi Judah Hakkadoſh* his ſon, who wrote it into the book which they call the *Miſhnah*.

BUT all this is mere fiction, ſpun out of the fertile invention of the *Talmudiſts*, without the leaſt foundation, either in ſcripture, or in any authentic hiſtory for it. But ſince all this is now made a part of the *Jewiſh* creed, and they do as firmly believe their traditions to have thus come from God in the manner I have related, as they do the written word it ſelf, and have now, as it were, wholly reſolved their religion into theſe traditions, there is no underſtanding what their religion at preſent is without it. And it is for this reaſon that I have here inſerted it.

BUT the truth of the matter is this. After the death of *Simon the Juſt* [f] there aroſe a ſort of men, whom they call the *Tannaim* or the *Miſhnical* doctors, that made it their buſineſs to ſtudy, and deſcant upon thoſe traditions which had been received and allowed by *Ezra*, and the men of the great ſynagogue, and to draw inferences and conſequences from them, all which they ingrafted into the body of theſe ancient traditions, as if they had been as authentic as the other; which example being followed by thoſe who after ſucceeded them in this profeſſion, they continually added their own imaginations to what they had received from thoſe that went before them, whereby theſe traditions becoming as a ſnow ball, the farther they rouled down from one generation to another, the more they gathered, and the greater the bulk of them grew. And thus it went on to the middle of the ſecond century after Chriſt, when *Antoninus Pius* govern'd the *Roman* empire, by which time they found it neceſſary to put all theſe traditions into writing. For they were then grown to ſo great a number, and enlarged to ſo huge a heap, as to exceed the poſſibility of being any longer preſerved by the memory of men. And beſides, on the ſecond deſtruction which their countrey had undergone from the *Romans* a little before, in the reign of *Adrian* the preceding emperor, moſt of their learned men having been cut off, and the chiefeſt of their ſchools broken up and diſſolved, and vaſt numbers of their people diſſipated and driven out of the land, the uſual method of preſerving their traditions had then in a great meaſure failed. And therefore there being danger, that under theſe diſadvantages they might be all forgotten and loſt, for the preventing hereof it was reſolved, that they ſhould be all collected together and put into a book; and *Rabbi Judah* the ſon of *Simeon*, who from the reputed ſanctity of his life was called *Hakkadoſh*, that is, the holy, and was then rector of the ſchool, which they had at *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, and preſident of the *Sanhedrim* that there ſat, undertook the work, and compiled it in ſix books, each conſiſting of ſeveral tracts, which all together make up the

[f] Zemach David. Juchaſin Shalſheleth Haccabbala. Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 2610, & 2611.

number of ſixty three; in which, under their proper heads, he methodically digeſted all that hitherto had been delivered to them of their law, and their religion, by the tradition of their anceſtors. And this is the book called the *Miſhnah*, which book was forthwith received by the *Jews* with great veneration throughout all their diſperſions, and hath ever ſince been held in high eſteem among them; for their opinion of it is, that all the particulars therein contained were dictated by God himſelf to *Moſes* from mount *Sinai*, as well as the written word it ſelf, and conſequently muſt be of the ſame divine authority with it, and ought to be as ſacredly obſerved. And therefore, as ſoon as it was publiſhed, it became the ſubject of the ſtudies of all their learned men, and the chiefeſt of them, both in *Judea* and *Babylonia*, employed themſelves to make comments on it, and theſe with the *Miſhnah* make up both their *Talmuds*, that is, the *Jeruſalem Talmud* and the *Babyloniſh Talmud*. Theſe comments they call the *Gemara*, *i. e.* The complement, becauſe by them the *Miſhnah* is fully explained, and the whole traditionary doctrine of their law and their religion completed. For the *Miſhnah* is the text, and the *Gemara* the comment, and both together is what they call the *Talmud*. That made by the *Jews* of *Judea* is called the *Jeruſalem Talmud*, and that made by the *Jews* of *Babylonia* is called the *Babyloniſh Talmud*. The former was completed about the year of our Lord three hundred, and is publiſhed in one large folio; the latter was publiſhed about two hundred years after, in the beginning of the ſixth century, and hath had ſeveral editions ſince the invention of printing; the laſt publiſhed at *Amſterdam* is in twelve folio's. And in theſe two *Talmuds* (the law and the prophets being in a manner quite juſtled out by them) is contained the whole of the *Jewiſh* religion that is now profeſſed among them. But the *Babyloniſh Talmud* is that which they chiefly follow. For the other, that is, the *Jeruſalem Talmud*, being obſcure and hard to be underſtood, is not now much regarded by them. But this and the *Miſhnah* being the ancienteſt books which they have, (except the *Chaldee* paraphraſes of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*) and both written in the language and ſtyle of the *Jews* of *Judea*, our countreyman Dr. *Lightfoot* hath made very good uſe of them in explaining ſeveral places of the *New Teſtament*, by parallel phraſes, and ſayings out of them. For the one being compoſed about the one hundred and fiftieth year of our Lord, and the other about the three hundredth, the idioms, proverbial ſayings, and praſeologies uſed in our Saviour's time, might very well be preſerved in them. But the other *Talmud* being written in the language and ſtyle of *Babylonia*, and not compiled till about the five hundredth year of our Lord, or as ſome will have it, much later, this cannot ſo well ſerve for this purpoſe. However it is now the *Alcoran* of the *Jews*, into which they have reſolved all their faith and all their religion, although framed (almoſt with the ſame impoſture as that of *Mahomet*) out of doctrines falſly pretended to be brought from heaven. And in this book all, that now pretend to any learning among them, place their ſtudies; and no one can be a maſter in their ſchools, or a teacher in their ſynagogues, who is not well inſtructed and verſed herein, that is, not only in the text, which is the *Miſhnah*, but alſo in the comment thereon, which is the *Gemara*. And this comment they ſo highly eſteem beyond the other, that the name of *Gemara* is wholly engroſſed by it; the *Gemara* of the *Babyloniſh Talmud* being that only which they now uſually underſtand by that word. For this, with

the *Miſhnah* to which it is added, they think, doth truly complete and make up the whole of their religion, as fully and perfectly containing all the doctrines, rules, and rites thereof, and therefore it is in their opinion the moſt deſerving of that name, which ſignifieth what completes, fills up, or perfects, for this is the meaning of the word in the *Hebrew* language. Out of this *Talmud Maimonides* hath made an abſtract, containing only the reſolutions or determinations made therein on every caſe, without the deſcants, diſputes, fables, and other traſh, under which they lay buried in that vaſt load of rubbiſh. This work is entituled by him *Tad Hachazakah*, and is one of the completeſt digeſts of law that was ever made; I mean not as to the matter, but in reſpect only of the clearneſs of the ſtyle and method in which it is compoſed, the filthy maſs of dirt from under which he dug it, and the comprehenſive manner in which he hath digeſted the whole. Others among them have attempted the like work, but none have been able to exceed or come nigh him herein. And for this and other of his writings he is deſervedly eſteemed the beſt author among them. They who profeſſed this ſort of learning, that is, taught and propagated theſe traditionary doctrines among them, have been diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral different titles and appellations, according to the different ages in which they lived. From the time of the men of the great ſynagogue to the publiſhing of the *Miſhnah*, they were called [g] *Tannaim*, and they are the *Miſhnical* doctors, out of whoſe doctrines and traditions the *Miſhnah* was compoſed. And from the time of the publiſhing of the *Miſhnah*, to the publiſhing of the *Babyloniſh Talmud*, they were called [h] *Amoraim*, and they are the *Gemarical* doctors, out of whoſe doctrines and traditions the *Gemara* was compoſed. And for about an hundred years after the publiſhing of the *Talmud* they were called [i] *Seburaim*, and after that [k] *Geonim*. And theſe were the ſeveral claſſes in which their learned men have been ranked, according to the ſeveral ages in which they formerly lived. But for theſe later times the general name of *Rabbi* is that only whereby their learned men are called, there being no other title whereby they have been diſtinguiſhed for near ſeven hundred years paſt. For about the year 1040, all their ſchools in *Meſopotamia*, where only they enjoyed theſe high titles, being deſtroyed, and all their learned men thence expelled and driven out by the *Mahometan* princes, who then governed in thoſe parts, they have ſince that with the greateſt number of their people flocked into theſe weſtern parts, eſpecially into *Spain*, *France*, and *England*. And from that time all theſe pompous titles, which they affected in the eaſt, being here dropp'd, they have retained none other for their learned men from that time, but that of *Rabbi*, excepting only that thoſe of them who miniſter in their ſynagogues are called [l] *Chacams*, *i. e.* wiſe men.

BUT the [m] great work of *Ezra* was, his collecting together and ſetting

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[g] *The word* Tannaim *hath its derivation from* Tanah, *which ſignifieth* to deliver by tradition, *and is the ſame in* Chaldee *with* Shanah *in the* Hebrew, *from whence the word* Miſhnah *is derived.*

[h] *i. e.* Dictators; *becauſe they dictated thoſe explications upon the* Miſhnah *which are contained in the* Gemara.

[i] *i. e.* Opinioniſts, *for they did not dictate any Doctrines, but only infer'd opinions by diſputation, and probable arguments, from what had been afore dictated and received in the* Miſhnah *and* Gemara.

[k] *i. e.* The ſublime or excellent doctors; *they were ſo called from the ſublimity and excellency of their learning.*

[l] Chacam *in the* Hebrew *language ſignifieth a wiſe man.*

[m] Vide Buxtorfii Tiberiadem, cap. 11.

forth a correct edition of the holy ſcriptures, which he laboured much in, and went a great way in the perfecting of it. This both Chriſtians and *Jews* give him the honour of, and many of the ancient fathers attribute more to him, in this particular, than the *Jews* themſelves. For they hold that all the ſcriptures were loſt and deſtroyed in the *Babyloniſh* captivity, and that *Ezra* reſtored them all again by divine revelation. Thus ſaith [a] *Irenæus*, and thus ſay [b] *Tertullian*, [c] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, [d] *Baſil* and [e] others. But they had no other foundation for it, than that fabulous relation which we have of it in the 14th chapter of the ſecond apocryphal book of *Eſdras*, a book too abſurd for the *Romaniſts* themſelves to receive into their canon. Indeed in the time of *Joſiah*, through the impiety of the two preceding reigns of *Manaſſeh* and *Ammon*, the book of the law was ſo deſtroyed and loſt, that beſides that copy of it [f] which *Hilkiah* found in the temple, there was then none other to be had. For the ſurprize which *Hilkiah* is ſaid to be in at the finding of it, and the grief which *Joſiah* expreſſed at the hearing of it read, do plainly ſhew, that neither of them had ever ſeen it before. And if the King, and the high-prieſt, who were both men of eminent piety, were without this part of holy ſcripture, it can ſcarce be thought that any one elſe then had it. But ſo religious a prince as King *Joſiah*, could not leave this long unremedied. By his order copies were forthwith written out from this original, and ſearch being made for all the other parts of holy ſcripture, both in the colleges of the ſons of the prophets, and all other places where they could be found, care was taken for tranſcripts to be made out of theſe alſo, and thenceforth copies of the whole became multiplied among the people; all thoſe who were deſirous of knowing the law of their God, either writing them out themſelves, or procuring others to do it for them. So that tho' within a few years after the holy city and temple were deſtroyed, and the authentic copy of the law, which was laid up before the Lord, was burnt and conſumed with them, yet by this time many copies both of the law and the prophets, and all the other ſacred writings, were got into private hands, who carried them with them into their captivity: That *Daniel* had a copy of the holy ſcriptures with him in *Babylon* it's certain; for he [g] quotes the law, and alſo makes mention [h] of the propheſies of the prophet *Jeremiah*, which he could not do had he never ſeen them. And in the vith chapter of *Ezra* it is ſaid, that on the finiſhing of the temple in the ſixth year of *Darius*, the prieſts and the *Levites* were ſettled in their reſpective functions, according as it is written in the law of *Moſes*; but how could they do this according to the written law, if they had not copies of that law then among them? And this was near ſixty years before *Ezra* came to *Jeruſalem*. And farther, in the viiith chapter of *Nehemiah*, when the people call'd for the law of *Moſes* to have it read to them, they did not pray *Ezra* to get it anew dictated unto him, but that he ſhould bring forth the book of the law of *Moſes*, which the Lord had commanded to *Iſrael*; which plainly ſhews that the book was then well known to have been extant, and not to need ſuch a miraculous expedient, as that of a divine re-

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[a] Adverſus Hæreſes, lib. 3. cap. 25. [b] De habitu muljerum, cap. 3. [c] Strom. 1. [d] In Epiſtola ad Chilonem. [e] Hieronymus contra Helvidium. Auguſtinus de miraculis ſacræ ſcripturæ, lib. 2. Chryſoſtomus, hom. 8. in epiſt. ad Hebræos. [f] 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv. [g] Daniel ix. 11, 13. [h] Daniel ix. 2.

velation,

velation, for its reſtoration; and it would with many very much ſhock the faith of the whole, ſhould it be held, that it owed its preſent being to ſuch a revival, it being obvious for ſceptical perſons in this caſe to object, that he who ſhould be ſaid thus to revive it, then forged the whole. All that *Ezra* did in this matter, was to get together as many copies of the ſacred writings as he could, and out of them all ſet forth a correct edition, in the performance of which he took care of theſe following particulars.

I. HE corrected all the errors that had crept into theſe copies through the negligence or miſtakes of tranſcribers. For by comparing them one with the other, he found out the true reading, and ſet all at rights. Whether the [t] *Keri Cetib*, that are in our preſent *Hebrew* bibles, were of theſe corrections, I durſt not ſay; the generality [u] of the *Jewiſh* writers tell us, that they were, and others among them hold them much ancienter, referring them with abſurdity enough even as high up as the very times of the firſt writers of the books, in which they are found, as if they themſelves had deſignedly made theſe various readings for the ſake of ſome myſteries compriſed under them. It is moſt probable, that they had their original from the miſtakes of the tranſcribers after the time of *Ezra*, and the obſervations and corrections of the *Maſorites* made thereon. If any of them were of thoſe ancient various readings, which had been obſerved by *Ezra* himſelf in the comparing of thoſe copies he collated on this occaſion, and were by him annexed in the margin, as corrections of thoſe errors which he found in the text; it's certain thoſe could not be of that number, which are now in thoſe ſacred books, that were written by himſelf, or taken into the canon after this time. For there are *Keri Cetib's* in them as well as in the other books of the *Hebrew* ſcriptures.

II. HE collected together all the books of which the holy ſcriptures did then conſiſt, and diſpoſed them in their proper order, and ſettled the canon of ſcripture for his time. Theſe books he [w] divided into three parts; 1ſt, the law; 2dly, the prophets; and, 3dly, the *Cetubim* or *Hagiographa*, *i. e.* the holy writings; which diviſion our Saviour himſelf takes notice of *Luke* xxiv. 44. where he ſaith, *Theſe are the words which I ſpake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things might be fulfilled which are written in the law, and in the prophets, and in the Pſalms, concerning me.* For there by the Pſalms he means the whole third part called the *Hagiographa*. For that part beginning with the Pſalms, the whole was for that reaſon then commonly called by that name, as uſually with the *Jews* the particular books are named from the words with which they begin. Thus with them *Geneſis* is called *Bereſhith*, *Exodus Shemoth*, *Leviticus Vajikra*, &c. becauſe they begin with theſe *Hebrew* words. And *Joſephus* makes mention of this ſame diviſion. For he ſaith in his firſt book againſt *Apion*, *We have only two and twenty books which are to be believed as of divine authority, of which five are the books of* Moſes. *From the death of* Moſes *to the reign of* Artaxerxes, *the ſon of* Xerxes *King of* Perſia, *the pro-*

[t] *The* Keri Cetib *are various readings in the* Hebrew *bible.* Keri *ſignifieth that which is read, and* Cetib *that which is written. For where there are any ſuch various readings, the wrong reading is written in the text, (and that is called the* Cetib) *and the true reading is written in the margin, and that is called the* Keri.) [u] De Keri Cetib vide Arcanum punctationis Revelatum, lib. 1. cap. 7. Buxtorfii vindicias veritatis Hebraicæ, Part. 2. cap. 4. & Waltoni Prolegom. 8. §. 18, 19, &c. [w] Buxtorfii Tiberias, cap. 11. Schickardi Bechinath Happeruſhim, cap. 1. §. 6. Elias Levita in Maſoreth Hammaſoreth. Leuſdeni Præfatio ad Biblia Athiæ.

phets,

phets, who were the ſucceſſors of Moſes, *have written in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and documents of life for the uſe of men.* In which diviſion, according to him, the law contains, 1. *Geneſis*, 2. *Exodus*, 3. *Leviticus*, 4. *Numbers*, 5. *Deuteronomy*; the writings of the prophets, 1. *Joſhua*, 2. *Judges*, with *Ruth*, 3. *Samuel*, 4. *Kings*, 5. *Iſaiah*, 6. *Jeremiah* with his *Lamentations*, 7. *Ezekiel*, 8. *Daniel*, 9. the twelve minor prophets, 10. *Job*, 11. *Ezra*, 12. *Nehemiah*, 13. *Eſther*; and the *Hagiographa*, 1. the *Pſalms*, 2. the *Proverbs*, 3. *Eccleſiaſtes*, 4. the *Song of Solomon*, which all together make two and twenty books. This [x] diviſion was made for the ſake of reducing the books to the number of their alphabet, in which are two and twenty letters. But at preſent [y] they reckon theſe books to be twenty four, and diſpoſe of them in this order. *Firſt*, The law, which contains, 1. *Geneſis*, 2. *Exodus*, 3. *Leviticus*, 4. *Numbers*, 5. *Deuteronomy*; *Secondly*, The writings of the prophets, which they divide into the former prophets, and the latter prophets; the books of the former prophets are, 6. *Joſhua*, 7. *Judges*, 8. *Samuel*, 9. *Kings*; and the books of the latter prophets are, 10. *Iſaiah*, 11. *Jeremiah*, 12. *Ezekiel*, and 13. the twelve minor prophets; *Thirdly*, The *Hagiographa*, which are, 14. the *Pſalms*, 15. the *Proverbs*, 16. *Job*, 17. the *Song of Solomon*, which they call the Song of Songs, 18. *Ruth*, 19. the *Lamentations*, 20. *Eccleſiaſtes*, 21. *Eſther*, 22. *Daniel*, 23. *Ezra*, and, 24. the *Chronicles*. Under the name of *Ezra* they comprehend the book of *Nehemiah*. For the *Hebrews*, and alſo the *Greeks*, anciently reckoned *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* but as one book; but [z] this order hath not been always obſerv'd among the *Jews*, neither is it ſo now in all places. For there hath been great variety as to this, and that not only among the *Jews*, but alſo among the Chriſtians, as well *Greeks* as *Latins*. But no variation herein is of any moment. For in what order ſoever the books are placed, they are ſtill the word of God, and no change as to this can make any change in that divine authority which is ſtamped upon them. But all theſe books were not received into the canon of the holy ſcriptures in *Ezra*'s time. For *Malachi*, it's ſuppoſed, lived after him, and in *Nehemiah* mention is made of *Jaddua* as high-prieſt, and of *Darius Codomannus* as King of *Perſia*, who were at leaſt an hundred years after his time; and in the third chapter of the firſt book of *Chronicles*, the genealogy of the ſons of *Zerubbabel* is carried down for ſo many generations, as muſt neceſſarily make it reach to the time of *Alexander the Great*; and therefore this book could not be put into the canon, till after his time. It is moſt likely, that the two books of *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah* and *Eſther*, as well as *Malachi*, were afterwards added in the time of *Simon the Juſt*, and that it was not till then, that the *Jewiſh* canon of the holy ſcriptures was fully compleated. And indeed theſe laſt books ſeem very much to want the exactneſs and skill of *Ezra* in their publication, they falling far ſhort of the correctneſs which is in the other part of the *Hebrew* ſcriptures. The five books of the law are divided [a] into fifty four ſections. This diviſion many of the *Jews* hold to

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[x] Hieronymus in Prologo Galeato. [y] Buxtorfii Tiberias, cap. 11. Schickardi Bechinath Happeruſhim, cap. 1. §. 6. Leuſdeni præfatio ad Biblia Hebræa Athiæ. [z] Vide Hodium de Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus. [a] Buxtorfii Tiberias, cap. 11. & Tract. de Paraſhis & Synagoga Judaica, c. 16. & cap. 27. Schickardi Bechinath Happeruſhim, cap. 1. §. 6. Præfatio Leuſdeni ad Biblia Hebræa Athiæ. Elias in Tisbite.

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be one of the conſtitutions of *Moſes* from mount *Sinai*. But others with more likelihood of truth attribute it to *Ezra*. It was made for the uſe of their ſynagogues, and the better inſtructing of the people there in the law of God. For [b] every ſabbath day one of theſe ſections was read in their ſynagogues. And this, we are aſſured in the acts of the apoſtles, was done amongſt them [c] *of old time*, which may well be interpreted from the time of *Ezra*. They ended the laſt ſection with the laſt words of *Deuteronomy* on the ſabbath of the feaſt of tabernacles, and then begun anew with the firſt ſection from the beginning of *Geneſis* the next ſabbath after, and ſo went round in this cicle every year. The number of theſe ſections was fifty four, becauſe in their intercalated years (a month being then added) there were fifty four ſabbaths. On other years they reduced them to the number of the ſabbaths, which were in theſe years, by joyning two ſhort ones ſeveral times into one. For they held themſelves obliged to have the whole law thus read over in their ſynagogues every year. Till the time of the perſecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, they read only the law. [d] But then being forbid to read it any more, in the room of the fifty four ſections of the law, they ſubſtituted fifty four ſections out of the prophets, the reading of which they ever after continued. So that when the reading of the law was again reſtored by the *Maccabees*, the ſection which was read every ſabbath out of the law, ſerved for their firſt leſſon, and the ſection out of the prophets for their ſecond leſſon; and ſo it was practiſed in the time of the apoſtles. And therefore when *Paul* entered into the ſynagogue at *Antiochia* in *Piſidia*, it is ſaid, that [e] *he ſtood up to preach, after the reading of the law and the prophets*, that is, after the reading of the firſt leſſon out of the law, and the ſecond leſſon out of the prophets. And in that very ſermon which he then preached, he tells them, [f] *that the prophets were read at* Jeruſalem *every ſabbath-day*, that is, in thoſe leſſons which were taken out of the prophets.

THESE ſections were divided into verſes, which the *Jews* call *Peſukim*. They are marked out in the *Hebrew* bibles by two great points at the end of them, called from hence *Soph-Paſuk*, i. e. *The end of the verſe*. If *Ezra* himſelf was not the author of this diviſion, (as moſt ſay) it was not long after him that it was introduced; for certainly it was very ancient. It is moſt likely it was invented for the ſake of the *Targumiſts* or *Chaldee* interpreters. For after the *Hebrew* language had ceaſed to be the mother-tongue of the *Jews*, and the *Chaldee* grew up into uſe among them inſtead of it, (as [g] was their caſe after their return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity) their uſage was, [h] that in the publick reading of the law to the people, it was read to them firſt in the original *Hebrew*, and after that rendered by an interpreter into the *Chaldee* language, that ſo all might fully underſtand the ſame. And this was done period by period. And therefore, that theſe periods might be the better diſtinguiſhed, and the reader more certainly know how much to read at every interval, and the inter-

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[b] Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica, c. 16. [c] Acts xv. 21. [d] Elias in Tisbite, Buxtorfius & Schickardus, ibid. Hottingeri Theſaurus, lib. 1. c. 2. §. 5. n. 3. [e] Acts xiii. 15. [f] Acts xiii. 27. [g] David Kimchi in præfatione ad Michlol. Ephodæi Gram. c. 7. Elias Levita in Præfatione ad Methurgeman. [h] Waltoni Prolegom. 3. §. 24. Lightfoot, vol. 1. p. 215, 220, 357, & 1012. vol. 2. p. 545, & 803. Buxtorfii Diſſertatio de Linguæ Hebreæ conſervatione, p. 197. Morini Exercit. Bibl. p. 2. Exerc. 9. c. 5. §. 9. Hottingeri Theſaurus, lib. 1. c. 3. §. 3. q. 1. Mamonides in Tephillin, c. 12. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, cap. 2. §. 1.

preter

preter how much to interpret at every interval, there was a neceſſity that ſome marks ſhould be invented for their direction herein. The [i] rule given in their ancient books, is, that in the law the reader was to read one verſe, and then the interpreter was to render the ſame into the *Chaldee*; but that in the prophets the reader was to read three verſes together, and then the interpreter to render the ſame three verſes into *Chaldee*, in the ſame manner; which manifeſtly proves, that the diviſion of the ſcriptures into verſes muſt be as ancient, as the way of interpreting them into the *Chaldee* language in their ſynagogues; which was from the very time that ſynagogues were erected, and the ſcriptures publickly read in them after the *Babyloniſh* captivity. This was at firſt done only in the law, (for [k] till the time of the *Maccabees* the law only was read in their ſynagogues) but afterwards, in imitation hereof, the ſame was alſo done in the prophets, and the *Hagiographa*, eſpecially after that the prophets began alſo to be publickly read among them, as well as the law; and from hence the diviſion of the holy ſcriptures into verſes, it's moſt likely, was firſt made, but without any numerical figures annexed to them. The manner whereby they are now diſtinguiſhed in their common *Hebrew* bibles is by the two great points, called *Soph-Paſuk*, above mentioned. But whether this was the ancient way, is by ſome made a queſtion. The objection raiſed againſt it is this: If the diſtinction of verſes was introduced for the ſake of the *Chaldee* interpreters in their ſynagogues, and muſt therefore be held as ancient as that way of interpreting the ſcriptures in them, [l] it muſt then have place in their ſacred ſynagogical books. For none other were uſed, either by the readers, or their interpreters, in their publick aſſemblies. But it hath been [m] anciently held as a rule among them, that any points or accents written into theſe ſacred books, pollute and prophane them: and therefore no copy, either of the law or the prophets, now uſed in their ſynagogues, hath any points or accents written in it. To this I anſwer, Whatever may be the practice of the modern *Jews*, this is no rule to let us know what was the ancient practice among them, ſince in many particulars they have varied from the ancient uſages, as they now do from each other, according to the different parts of the world in which they dwell. The diviſion of the law and the prophets into verſes among the *Jews*, is certainly very ancient. For mention is made of them in [n] the *Miſhna*; and that the reaſon of this diviſion was for the direction of the readers, and the *Chaldee* interpreters, is alſo there implied. And therefore, ſuppoſing ſuch a diviſion for this uſe, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that there muſt have been ſome marks to ſet it out, otherwiſe it could not have anſwered the end intended. Thoſe [o] that ſay theſe verſes were diſtinguiſhed by a ſet number of lines of which they conſiſted, ſeem not to have conſidered, that a line often ends in an imperfect ſenſe, and in the middle of a ſentence. And therefore a diviſion into verſes this way could not ſerve the end for which the *Miſhna* makes mention of them, that is, for the direction of the readers and *Chaldee* interpreters in their ſynagogues. For

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[i] Miſhna in Tract. Megilla, c. 4. Tract. Sopherim, cap. 11. [k] Buxtorfius in bibliotheca Rabbinica, p. 283. [l] Morinus in Exercitationibus biblicis, *part* 2. Exercit. 15. cap. 1. §. 9. [m] Tract. Sopherim, cap. 3. Morini Exercit. bibl. *part* 2. Exercit. 15. c. 4. [n] Tract. Megilla, cap. 4. §. 4. ubi dicitur: *Qui legit in lege non leget minus quam tres verſus. Non leget interpreti plus quam unum verſum, & in prophetis tres.* [o] Morinus in Exercitationibus biblicis, *part* 2. Exercit. 15. cap. 2.

there

there could be no true reading, or true interpreting, if the ſtop were made otherwiſe than at the end of a full ſentence. And therefore if the diſtinction of verſes in their ſacred ſynagogical books were anciently diſcernable only by lines, it could be no otherwiſe according to the manner in which *Maimonides* ſays they were written, than by ending of the laſt line of the verſe in a break. For that [p] author out of the *Talmud* tells us, That the parchments on which they were written were to be of ſix hands breadth, and of as many in length, and the writing of them to be in ſix columns, each column being of an hands breadth; and that each line in theſe columns was to contain thirty of their letters. And therefore if a break were made where the laſt line of the verſe ended, and the next verſe were begun with a new line, this would, I acknowledge, be ſufficient to ſet out the diſtinction of theſe verſes, and make them fully anſwer the end intended; but there are two exceptions againſt it. The firſt is, that ſuch breaks could not always be made, becauſe ſometimes the verſe might be run out to the end of the laſt line, and ſo leave no ſpace at all for a break, and then there could no diſtinction at all be made this way, between that verſe and the next. And the ſecond is, [q] that thoſe who hold this opinion, that the verſes were to be reckoned by lines, allow only two of the lines above mentioned to a verſe; but there are many verſes which cannot be written in fewer than five or ſix of thoſe lines. It is moſt likely, that anciently the writing of thoſe books was in long lines, from one ſide of the parchment to the other, and that the verſes in them were diſtinguiſhed in the ſame manner, as the *Stichi* afterwards were in the *Greek* bibles. For [r] the manner of their writing thoſe *Stichi* at firſt was, to allow a line to every *Stichus*, and there to end the writing where they ended the *Stichus*, leaving the reſt of the line void in the ſame manner as a line is left at a break. But this loſing too much of the parchment, and making the book too bulky; for the avoiding of both theſe inconveniencies, the way afterwards was to put a point at the end of every *Stichus*, and ſo continue the writing, without leaving any part of the line void as before. And in the ſame manner, I conceive, the *Peſukim*, or verſes of the *Hebrew* bibles, were anciently written. At firſt they allowed a line to every verſe; and a line drawn from one ſide of the parchment to the other, of the length as above mentioned, was ſufficient to contain any verſe that is now in the *Hebrew* bible. But many verſes falling ſhort of this length, they found the ſame inconveniencies, that the *Greeks* after did in the firſt way of their writing their *Stichi*, and therefore came to the ſame remedy; that is, they did put the two points above-mentioned (which they call *Soph Paſuk*) at the place where the former verſe ended, and continued the writing of the next verſe in the ſame line, without leaving any void ſpace at all therein. And ſo their manner hath continued ever ſince, excepting only that between their ſections, as well the ſmaller as the greater, there is ſome void ſpace left to make the diſtinction between them. And I am the more inclined to think this to be the truth of the matter, that is, that anciently the verſes of the *Hebrew* bible were ſo many lines therein, becauſe among the ancients of other nations, about the ſame time, the lines in the writings of proſe authors, as well as of poets, were termed verſes;

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[p] Maimonides de libro legis, cap. 7. & cap. 9. Talmud in Bava Bathra, fol. 16.
[q] Morinus, ibid. [r] Vide Millii Prolegomena ad Græcum teſtamentum, p. 90.

and hence it is that we are told, [f] that *Zoroaſtres*'s works contained two millions of verſes, and [g] *Ariſtotle*'s four hundred forty five thouſand two hundred and ſeventy, tho' neither of them wrote any thing but in proſe; and ſo alſo we find the writings [u] of *Tully*, [v] of *Origen*, [w] of *Lactantius*, and [x] others, who were all proſe-writers, reckoned by the number of verſes, which could be no other than ſo many lines. And why then might not the bible verſes anciently have been of the ſame nature alſo? I mean when written in long lines as aforeſaid. But the long lines often occaſioning that in reading to the end of one verſe they loſt the beginning of the next, and ſo often did read wrong, either by skipping a line, or beginning the ſame again; for [y] the avoiding of this they came to the way of writing in columns, and in ſhort lines, as is above-mentioned. But all this I mean of their ſacred ſynagogical books. In their common bibles they are not tied up to ſuch rules, but write and print them ſo, as they may beſt ſerve for their inſtruction and convenience in common uſe. If the *Jews* at preſent, in their ſynagogical books, leave out the two points *Soph Paſuk* at the end of the verſes, it proceeds from their wreſting the rule above-mentioned, againſt putting points or accents into their ſacred books, to a too rigorous meaning. For by thoſe points therein mentioned ſeem to be underſtood no other points than the vowel points, and ſuch others as affect the text in the reading. But theſe two points at the end of every verſe only terminate the period, without affecting at all either the words or the letters. But it is no new thing for the *Jews*, out of an over ſuperſtitious interpretation of their traditions, to make innovations in their ancient uſages, eſpecially while they had their ſchools and univerſities in [z] *Meſopotamia*, and there held their ſynedrial and conſiſtorial aſſemblies of their Rabbi's, in which they hammer'd their law, and alſo their ancient traditions, by a vaſt number of new conſtitutions, and new determinations, into what form they pleaſed.

BUT the diviſion of the holy ſcriptures into chapters, as we now have them, is of a much later date. The *Pſalms* indeed were always divided as at preſent. For [a] St. *Paul*, in his ſermon at *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, quotes the ii[d] *Pſalm*. But as to the reſt of the holy ſcriptures, the diviſion of them into ſuch chapters as at preſent, is what the [b] ancients knew nothing of.

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[f] Plin. lib. 3. c. 1. [g] Diogenes Laertius in vita Ariſtotelis. [u] Aſconius Pedianus Ciceronis verba citat *verſu à primo octingenteſimo quinquageſimo*, &c. [v] Hieronymus in catalogo ſcriptorum eccleſiaſticorum, & alibi. [w] Hieronymus in epiſtola 124 ad Damaſum.

[x] Cornelius Nepos in Epaminonda. In hoc volumine vitas excellentium virorum complurium concludere conſtituimus, quorum ſeparatim multis millibus verſuum complures ſcriptores ante nos explicarunt. *And* Joſephus *tells us, in the concluſion of his Antiquities*, that this work of his contained twenty books, and ſixty thouſand στίχοι or verſes. *For the* Greek στίχος *is the ſame with the* Latin verſus, *and both the ſame originally with what we call a line in writing. For* verſus *properly is a line, whether in proſe or verſe, and is ſo called* à vertendo, *becauſe the writer, when he is got to the end of one line, turns back his hand and begins the next, and ſo doth the reader alſo his eye from the end of one line to the beginning of the next.* Vide Menagii obſervationes in Diogenes Laertii, lib. 2. n. 24. Jerom *alſo, in his preface before his* Latin *verſion of the book of* Daniel, *ſaith, that* Methodius, Euſebius, *and* Apollinarius *anſwered the objections of* Porphyry *againſt the ſcriptures*, multis verſuum millibus, *i. e.* by many thouſands of verſes; *that is*, lines, *for they all wrote in proſe.*

[y] Maimonides in libro legis, cap. 7. [z] *They had theſe ſchools at* Naerda, Sora, *and* Pombeditha *in* Meſopotamia, *till about the year of our Lord* 1040, *when they were driven out thence by the* Mahometan *princes that reigned in thoſe parts.* [a] Acts xiii. 33. [b] *The* Greek *bibles among chriſtians anciently had their* τίτλοι *and* κεφάλαια, *but the intent of them was rather to point out*

of. [c] Some attribute it to *Stephen Langton*, who was archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the reigns of King *John* and King *Henry* III. his ſon. But the true author of this invention was *Hugo de Sancto Caro*, who being from a *Dominican* monk advanced to the dignity of a cardinal, and the firſt of that order that was ſo, is commonly call'd *Hugo Cardinalis*. The whole occaſion and hiſtory of this matter, and the progreſs of it to the ſtate it is now in, is as followeth.

THIS [d] *Cardinal Hugo*, who flouriſhed about the year 1240, and died in the year 1262, had laboured much in the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, and made a comment on the whole of them. The carrying on of this work adminiſtred to him the occaſion of inventing the firſt concordance that was made of the holy ſcriptures, that is, that of the vulgar *Latin* bible. For conceiving that ſuch an *Index* of all the words and phraſes in the holy ſcriptures would be of great uſe, for the attaining of a better underſtanding of them, he projected a ſcheme for the making of it, and forthwith ſet a great number of the monks of his order on the collecting of the words under their proper claſſes, in every letter of the alphabet, in order to this deſign; and by the help of ſo many hands he ſoon brought it to what he intended. This work was afterwards much improved by thoſe who followed him, eſpecially by *Arlottus Thuſcus*, and *Conradus Halberſtadius*, the former a *Franciſcan*, and the other a *Dominican* friar, who both lived about the end of the ſame century. But the whole end and aim of the work being for the eaſier finding of any word or paſſage in the holy ſcriptures; to make it anſwer this purpoſe, the cardinal found it neceſſary in the firſt place to divide the books into ſections, and the ſections into under-diviſions, that by theſe he might the better make the references, and the more exactly point out in the *Index*, where every word or paſſage might be found in the text. For till then every book of the holy ſcriptures, in the vulgar *Latin* bibles, was without any diviſion at all; and therefore had the *Index* referred only to the book, the whole book perchance muſt have been read over, e'er that could be found which was ſought for. But by referring to it by this diviſion and ſub-diviſion, it was immediately had at firſt ſight. And theſe ſections are the chapters which the bible hath ever ſince been divided into. For on the publiſhing of this concordance, the uſefulneſs of it being immediately diſcerned, all coveted to have it, and for the ſake of the uſe of it, all divided their bibles in the ſame manner as *Hugo* had done. For the references in the concordance being made by theſe chapters, and the ſubdiviſions of them, unleſs their bibles were ſo divided too, the concordance would be of no uſe to them. And thus this diviſion of the ſeveral books of the bible into chapters had its original, which hath ever ſince been made uſe of in all places, and among all people, wherever the bible it ſelf is uſed in theſe weſtern parts of the world. But the ſub-diviſion of the chapters was not then by verſes as now. *Hugo*'s way of ſub-dividing them was by the letters A. B. C. D. E. F. G. placed in the margin at an equal diſtance from each other, ac-

out the ſum or contents of the text, than to divide the books; and they were vaſtly different from the preſent chapters. For many of them contained only a very few verſes, and ſome of them no more than one.

[c] Balæus cent. 3. p. 275.

[d] Buxtorfii præfatio ad Concordantias Bibliorum Hæbraicas. Morinus in Exercit. bibl. *part* 2. Exercit. 17. cap. 3. Gerebrardus in chronico ad annum Chriſti 1244. Sixtus Senenſis bibliothec. lib. 3. Hottingeri Theſaurus, lib. 3. c. 2. §. 5. Capelli Arcanum Punctationis, lib. 2. cap. 17. §. 8.

cording as the chapters were longer or ſhorter. In long chapters all theſe ſeven letters were uſed; in others fewer, according as the length which the chapters were of did require. For the ſub-diviſion of chapters by verſes, which is now in all our bibles, was not introduced into them till ſome ages after, and then it was from the *Jews* that the uſe hereof, as now among us, firſt had its original on this occaſion. About [e] the year 1430 there lived here among the weſtern *Jews* a famous Rabbi, called by ſome *Rabbi Mordecai Nathan*, by others *Rabbi Iſaac Nathan*, and by many by both theſe names, as if he were firſt called by one of them, and then by a change of it by the other. This *Rabbi* being much converſant with the chriſtians, and having frequent diſputes with their learned men about religion, he thereby came to the knowledge of the great uſe which they made of the *Latin* concordance compoſed by *Cardinal Hugo*, and the benefit which they had thereby, in the ready finding of any place in the ſcriptures, that they had occaſion to conſult; which he was ſo much taken with, that he immediately ſet about the making of ſuch a concordance to the *Hebrew* bible for the uſe of the *Jews*. He began this work in the year of our Lord 1438, and finiſhed it in the year 1445, ſo that he was juſt ſeven years in the compoſing of it. And the firſt publiſhing of it hapening about the time that printing [f] was firſt invented, it hath ſince that time undergone ſeveral editions from the preſs. That which was printed at *Baſil* by *Buxtorf the ſon*, *anno* 1632, is the beſt of them. For *Buxtorf the father* had taken great pains about it to make it more correct and complete; and *Buxtorf the ſon* added alſo his labours to thoſe of his father for the perfecting of it, and publiſhed it with both their improvements in the year I have mentioned; and by reaſon of the advantages it hath received herefrom, it deſervedly hath the reputation of being the perfecteſt and beſt book of its kind that is extant; and indeed is ſo uſeful for the underſtanding of the *Hebrew* ſcriptures, that no one who employs his ſtudies this way can well be without it, it being the beſt dictionary as well as the beſt concordance to them. In the compoſing of this book, *Rabbi Nathan* finding it neceſſary to follow the ſame diviſion of the ſcriptures into chapters, which *Hugo* had made in them, it had the like effect as to the *Hebrew* bibles, that *Hugo*'s had as to the *Latin*, that is, it cauſed the ſame diviſion to be made in all the *Hebrew* bibles, which were afterwards either written out, or printed for common uſe. For this concordance being found of excellent uſe among thoſe for whom it was made, they were forced to comply with this diviſion for the ſake of having the benefit of it. For the references in *Nathan*'s concordance being every where by chapters, according to *Hugo*'s diviſion, they could no otherwiſe have the benefit of finding in their bibles the places referred to, than by dividing them into the ſame chapters alſo. And from hence the diviſion of the ſcriptural books into chapters firſt came into the *Hebrew* bibles. But *Nathan*, tho' he followed *Hugo* in the diviſion of the ſcriptural books into chapters, yet did not ſo in the diviſion of the chapters by the letters A. B. C. &c. in the margin, but refined upon him in this matter by introducing a better uſage, that is, by

[e] Præfatio Buxtorfii ad Concordantias Bibliorum Hebraicas. Morinus Exercit. bibl. *part.* 2. Exercit. 17. cap. 3.

[f] *Printing was firſt invented at* Mentz *in* Germany, *by* John Fauſt, *and* John Guttenberg, Anno Domini 1440. *See* Calviſius *under that year, and* Pancirollus *with* Salmuth *on him*, part. 2. tit. 12.

uſing

uſing the diviſion which was made by verſes. This diviſion I have ſhewn was very ancient, but it was till now without any numbers put to the verſes. This was firſt done by *Rabbi Nathan* for the ſake of his concordance. For therein all his references being by the chapters and verſes, as there was a neceſſity, that thoſe who uſed this concordance, ſhould have their bibles thus divided into chapters and verſes alſo, ſo was it, that both ſhould be numbered in them. For it was by the numbers of the chapters and verſes that they were to find the places ſought for, in the ſame manner as is now practiſed in our *Engliſh* concordances, as in *Newman*'s, which is by much the beſt and perfecteſt of all that are extant. The numbering therefore of the verſes in the chapters, and the quoting of the paſſages in every chapter by the verſes, inſtead of doing it by letters at an equal diſtance in the margin, was *Nathan*'s invention; in all things elſe he followed the pattern which *Hugo* had ſet him. But it is to be obſerved, that he did not number the verſes any otherwiſe than by affixing the numerical letters in the margin at every fifth verſe. And this hath been the uſage of the *Jews* in all their *Hebrew* bibles ever ſince, till of late *Athias* a *Jew* of *Amſterdam*, in his two fair and correct editions of the *Hebrew* bible printed by him in that city, the firſt in the year 1661, and the other in the year 1667, hath varied herefrom in two particulars. For, 1ſt, he hath introduced into theſe editions the uſe of the *Indian* figures; and 2dly, hath placed them at every verſe, where the numerical *Hebrew* letters are not; ſo that continuing the numerical *Hebrew* letters as formerly, at every fifth verſe, he hath put the *Indian* figures at all the reſt. Before this we were to number from every fifth verſe, to find any intermediate verſe between that and the next fifth. Whether the *Jews* will follow this new way in their future editions I know not, but this I know, that this ſecond edition of *Athias*'s *Hebrew* bible is the moſt correct, as well as the moſt convenient and beſt fitted for uſe of any that have been as yet ſet forth. After *Rabbi Nathan* had brought in this uſe of numbering the verſes, and quoting by them what was in every chapter, this ſoon appeared to be a much better way, than the quoting of what is in them by the letters A. B. C. &c. ſet in the margin. And therefore [s] *Vatablus* having from this pattern publiſhed a *Latin* bible with the chapters ſo divided into verſes, and the verſes ſo numbered, this example hath been followed in all other editions, that have been ſince ſet forth. And all that have publiſhed concordances, as well as all other writers, have ever ſince that time quoted the ſcriptures by the number of chapters and verſes according to this diviſion. So that as the *Jews* borrowed the diviſion of the books of the holy ſcriptures into chapters from the Chriſtians, in like manner the Chriſtians borrowed that of the chapters into verſes from the *Jews*. And thus they have helped each other to make the preſent editions of the bible, much more convenient for common uſe than otherwiſe they would have been. And *Robert Stephanus*, taking an hint from hence, made a like diviſion of the chapters of the *New Teſtament* into verſes alſo, and for the ſame reaſon as *Rabbi Nathan* had done ſo before him as to the *Old Teſtament*, that is, for the ſake of a concordance, which he was then compoſing for the *Greek Teſtament*, and which was afterwards printed by *Hen-*

[s] Morinus in Exercit. Biblic. Part. 2. Exercit. 17. cap. 4. §. 2.

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ry Stephanus his ſon, who gives this account hereof in his preface to that concordance. Since that, this diviſion of the holy ſcriptures by chapters and verſes, and the quoting of all paſſages in them by the numbers of both, hath grown into uſe every where among us in theſe weſtern parts; ſo that not only all *Latin* bibles, but all *Greek* bibles alſo, and all others that have been printed in any of the modern languages, have followed this diviſion. And the uſefulneſs of it from the firſt time it was introduced, reconciled all men thereto. And thus that diviſion of the holy ſcriptures into chapters and verſes, which is now every where in uſe, had its original.

III. THE third thing which *Ezra* did about the holy ſcriptures in his edition of them, was, He added in ſeveral places throughout the books of this edition, what appeared neceſſary for the illuſtrating, connecting or completing of them; wherein he was aſſiſted by the ſame ſpirit, by which they were at firſt wrote; of this ſort we may reckon the laſt chapter of *Deuteronomy*, which giving an account of the death and burial of *Moſes*, and of the ſucceſſion of *Joſhua* after him, it could not be written by *Moſes* himſelf, who undoubtedly was the penman of all the reſt of that book. It ſeems moſt probable, that it was added by *Ezra* at this time. And ſuch alſo may we reckon the ſeveral interpolations, which occur in many places of the holy ſcriptures. For that there are ſuch interpolations is undeniable, there being many paſſages through the whole ſacred writ, which create difficulties that can never be ſolved without the allowing of them. As for inſtance, *Gen.* xii. 6. It's remarked on *Abraham*'s coming into the land of *Canaan*, that *the* Canaanites *were then in the land*, which is not likely to have been ſaid till after the time of *Moſes*, when the *Canaanites* being extirpated by *Joſhua* were then no more in the land. And, *Gen.* xxii. 14. we read, *As it is ſaid, to this day, in the mount of the Lord it ſhall be ſeen.* But mount *Moriah* (which is the mount there ſpoken of) was not called the mount of the Lord till the temple was built on it, many hundred years after. And this being here ſpoken of it as a proverbial ſaying, that obtained among the *Iſraelites* in after-ages, the whole ſtyle of the text doth manifeſtly point at a time after *Moſes*, when they were in poſſeſſion of the land in which this mountain ſtood. And therefore both theſe particulars prove the words cited to have been an interpolation, *Gen.* xxxvi. 3. it is written; *And theſe are the Kings that reigned in the land of* Edom, *before there reigned any King over the land of* Iſrael. Which could not have been ſaid, till after there had been a King in *Iſrael*, and therefore they cannot be *Moſes*'s words, but muſt have been interpolated afterwards. *Exod.* xvi. 35. the words of the text are; *And the children of* Iſrael *did eat manna forty years, till they came to a land inhabited. They did eat manna till they came unto the borders of the land of* Canaan. But *Moſes* was dead before the manna ceaſed, and therefore theſe cannot be his words, but muſt have been inſerted afterwards. *Deuteron.* ii. 12. it is ſaid, *The Horims alſo dwelt in* Seir *before time, but the children of* Eſau *ſucceeded them, when they had deſtroyed them before them, and dwelt in their ſtead, as* Iſrael *did unto the land of his poſſeſſion, which the Lord gave unto him.* Which could not have been written by *Moſes*, *Iſrael* having not till after his death entered into the land of his poſſeſſion, which the Lord gave unto them. *Deuteron.* iii. 11. it is ſaid, *Only* Og *King of* Baſhan *remained of the remnant of giants; behold his bedſtead was a bedſtead of iron. Is it not in* Rabbah *of the children of* Ammon?

mon? The whole ſtyle and ſtrain of which text, eſpecially that of the laſt clauſe of it, plainly ſpeaks it to have been written a long while after that King was ſlain. And therefore it could not be written by *Moſes*, who died within five months after. In the ſame chapter, ver. 14. it is ſaid, Jair *the Son of* Manaſſeh *took all the countrey of* Argob *unto the coaſts of* Geſhuri *and* Maacathi, *and called them after his own name* Baſhan-Havoth-Jair *unto this day*. Where the phraſe, *unto this day*, ſpeaks a much greater diſtance of time after the fact related, than thoſe few months, in which *Moſes* ſurvived after that conqueſt; and therefore what is there written muſt have been inſerted by ſome other hand, than that of *Moſes*, long after his death. And in the book of *Proverbs*, (which was certainly King *Solomon's*) in the beginning of the 25th chapter it is written, *Theſe are the proverbs of* Solomon, *which the men of* Hezekiah *King of* Judah *copied out*. Which muſt certainly have been added many ages after *Solomon*. For *Hezekiah* was of the twelfth generation in deſcent from him. Many more inſtances of ſuch interpolated paſſages might be given. For throughout the whole ſcriptures they have been frequently caſt in by way of parentheſis, where they have appeared neceſſary for the explaining, connecting, or illuſtrating the text, or the ſupplying what was wanting in it. But thoſe already mentioned are ſufficient to prove the thing. Of which interpolations undoubtedly *Ezra* was the author, in all the books which paſſed his examination, and *Simon the Juſt* in all the reſt, which were added afterwards. For they all ſeem to refer to thoſe later times. But theſe additions do not detract any thing from the divine authority of the whole, becauſe they were all inſerted by the direction of the ſame Holy Spirit which dictated all the reſt. This, as to *Ezra*, is without diſpute, he being himſelf one of the divine pen-men of the holy ſcriptures. For he was moſt certainly the writer of that book in the *Old Teſtament* which bears his name, and is upon good grounds ſuppoſed to be the author of two more, that is, of the two books of *Chronicles*, as perchance alſo he was of the book of *Eſther*. And if the books written by him be of divine authority, why may not every thing elſe be ſo, which he hath added to any of the reſt, ſince there is all reaſon for us to ſuppoſe, that he was as much directed by the Holy Spirit of God in the one, as he was in the other? The great importance of the work proves the thing. For as it was neceſſary for the church of God that this work ſhould be done; ſo alſo was it neceſſary for the work, that the perſon called thereto ſhould be thus aſſiſted in the completing of it.

IV. HE changed the old names of ſeveral places that were grown obſolete, putting inſtead of them the new names, by which they were at that time called, that the people might the better underſtand what was written. Thus, *Gen.* xiv. 14. *Abraham* is ſaid to have purſued the Kings, who carried *Lot* away captive, as far as *Dan*, whereas the name of that place was *Laiſh*, till the *Danites*, long after the Death of *Moſes*, poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and [h] called it *Dan*, *after the name of* Dan *their father*. And therefore it could not be called *Dan* in the original copy of *Moſes*, but that name muſt have been put in afterwards inſtead of that of *Laiſh* on this review. And ſo in ſeveral places in *Geneſis*, and alſo in *Numbers*, we find

[h] Joſhua xix. 47. Judges xviii. 29.

mention

mention made of *Hebron*, whereas the name of that city was *Kiriath Arba*, till *Caleb*, having obtained the poſſeſſion of it after the diviſion of the land, called it *Hebron*, after the name of *Hebron* one of his ſons; and therefore that name could not be in the text, till placed there long after the time of *Moſes*, by way of exchange for that of *Kiriath Arba*; which it is not to be doubted was done at the time of this review. And many other like examples of this may be given, whereby it appears, that the ſtudy of thoſe who governed the church of God in thoſe times, was to render the ſcripture as plain and intelligible to the people, as they could, and not to hide and conceal any of it from them.

V. HE wrote out the whole in the *Chaldee* character. For that having now grown wholly into uſe among the people after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, he changed the old *Hebrew* character for it, which hath ſince that time been retained only by the *Samaritans*, among whom it is preſerved even to this day. This was the old *Phœnician* character, from which the *Greeks* borrowed theirs. And the old *Ionian* alphabet bears ſome ſimilitude to it, as [i] *Scaliger* ſhews in his notes upon *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*. In this *Moſes* and the prophets recorded the ſacred oracles of God, and in this the finger of God himſelf wrote the ten commandments in the two tables of ſtone. There are ſome, I acknowledge, who ſtrenuouſly contend for the antiquity of the preſent *Hebrew* letters, as if they, and none other, had always been the ſacred character, in which the holy ſcriptures were written, and that the *Samaritan* was never in uſe for this purpoſe, but only among the *Samaritans*, who in oppoſition (ſay they) to the *Jews*, on the riſe of that enmity which was between them, wrote out the law of *Moſes* (which is the only ſcripture they receive) in this character different from them. Were we to judge of ſacred things by their external beauty, we ſhould concur with this opinion. For the *Chaldee* character is one of the beautifulleſt, and the *Samaritan* the uncoutheſt, and the moſt uncapable of calligraphy, of all that have been uſed among the different nations of the world. But the opinion of moſt learned men, and upon good grounds, is on the other ſide; for [k] there are many old *Jewiſh* ſhekels ſtill in being, and others of the ſame ſort are frequently dug up in *Judea*, with this inſcription on them in *Samaritan* letters, *Jeruſalem Kedoſhah*, i. e. *Jeruſalem the holy*, which inſcription ſhews, that they could not be the coin either of the *Iſraelites* of the ten tribes, or of the *Samaritans*, who after ſucceeded them in their land. For neither of them would have put the name of *Jeruſalem* upon their coin, or ever have called it the holy city. Theſe pieces therefore muſt have been the coin of thoſe of the two tribes before the captivity, and this proves the *Samaritan* character to be that which was then in uſe among them. And it cannot be ſaid, that theſe ſhekels are counterfeited by modern hands. For *Rabbi Moſes Ben Nachman* tells us of ſeveral which he met with in his time, that had this inſcription upon them in *Samaritan* letters, who lived about five hundred years ſince. And therefore it muſt follow, that the preſent *Hebrew* character was introduced among the *Jews* after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, and the general teſtimony of the ancients is, that it was *Ezra* that did firſt put the holy

[i] In animadverſionibus ad Euſebii Chronicon, p. 110, 111, &c. [k] Scaliger in Animadverſionibus ad Euſebii Chronicon, p. 117. col. 2. Voſſius de Arte Grammatica, lib. 1. c. 9. Waſerus de nummis Hebræorum. Waltonus de Siclorum formis & in Prolegom. 3. §. 29, 30, &c.

ſcriptures

ſcriptures into it, on the review which he made of them on his coming to *Jeruſalem*.[l] *Euſebius* in his *Chronicon* tells us ſo, and [m] St. *Jerome* doth the ſame, and ſo do alſo both the *Talmuds*; and the generality of learned men, as well among the *Jews* as chriſtians, hold to this opinion. *Capellus* hath written a tract for it, and *Buxtorf the ſon* another againſt it. They who ſhall think fit to read them, will ſee all that can be ſaid on either ſide. But I think the argument which is brought from the ſhekels cannot be anſwered. But

VI. WHETHER *Ezra*, on this review, did add the vowel points which are now in the *Hebrew* bibles, is an harder queſtion to be decided. It went without contradiction in the affirmative, till *Elias Levita* a *German Jew* wrote againſt it, about the beginning of the reformation. *Buxtorf the father* endeavoured to refute his arguments. But *Capellus*, a proteſtant divine of the *French* church, and profeſſor of *Hebrew* in their univerſity at *Saumur*, hath in a very elaborate diſcourſe made a thorough reply to all that can be ſaid on this head, and very ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the contrary. *Buxtorf the ſon*, in vindication of his father's opinion, hath written an anſwer to it; but not with that ſatisfaction to the learned world, as to hinder the generality of them from going into the other opinion. I ſhall here firſt ſtate the queſtion, and then enquire on which ſide of it the truth lieth.

AND firſt, as to the ſtate of the queſtion, it is to be obſerved, that it is upon another foot among us chriſtians, than it is among the *Jews*. For among them it is a principle agreed on of both ſides, and which *Elias Levita* comes in unto as much as any of the reſt, that the reading, as now fix'd and ſettled by the vowel points in all the books of holy ſcripture, is the true, genuine, and authentick reading, as it came from the ſacred penmen themſelves of the ſaid books, and conſequently is as much of divine authority as the letters, only the latter were written, and the other delivered down only by oral tradition. The queſtion therefore between them is only about the time when this reading was firſt marked, and expreſſed in their bibles, by the preſent vowel points. This, *Elias* and his followers ſay, was not done till after the finiſhing of the *Talmud*, about five hundred years after *Chriſt*; but that till then the true reading, as to the vowels, was preſerved only by oral tradition. But others of them hold (and this is the prevailing opinion among them) that the reading by oral tradition was only till the time of *Ezra*, and that ever ſince it hath been written down and expreſſed by the vowel points affixed to the letters, in the ſame manner as we now have them. So that the controverſy among them is not about the truth and authority of the reading, according to the preſent punctuation, (for they all hold this to be the very ſame which was dictated with the word it ſelf, by the Holy Spirit of God from the beginning) but about the antiquity of the figures and points, whereby it is marked and fixed in their preſent bibles. But among us chriſtians, who have no regard to what the *Jews* tell us of their oral tradition, and their preſerving of the true reading of the ſcriptures by it, the queſtion is about the authority of the reading it ſelf; that is, whether the vowel points were affixed by *Ezra*, and therefore of the ſame divine authority with the

[l] Ad annum 4740. [m] In præfatione ad 1 Regum, & in comment. in Ezekielem, cap. 9.

reſt of the text, or elſe invented ſince by the *Jewiſh* critics, called the *Maſorites*; and whether therefore they may not, as being of human authority only, be altered and changed, where the analogy of grammar, the ſtyle of the language, or the nature of the context, or any thing elſe, ſhall give reaſon for a better reading. And this being the ſtate of the queſtion, as it is now in debate among chriſtians, that ſide of it, which I have here laſt mentioned, is that which is now generally held for the truth, and theſe following arguments make ſtrongly for it.

1. THE ſacred books made uſe of among the *Jews*, in their ſynagogues, have ever been, and ſtill are, without the vowel points, which could not have happened had they been placed there by *Ezra*, and conſequently been of the ſame authority with the letters. For had they been ſo, they would certainly have been preſerved in the ſynagogues with the ſame care as the reſt of the text. There can ſcarce any other reaſon be given why they were not admitted thither, but that when the holy ſcriptures began firſt to be publickly read to the people in their ſynagogues, there were no ſuch vowel points then in being, and that when they afterwards came in uſe, being known to be of an human invention, they were for that reaſon never thought fit to be added to thoſe ſacred copies, which were looked on as the true repreſentatives of the original; and therefore they have been ever kept with the ſame care, in the ark or ſacred cheſt of the ſynagogue, as the original draught of the law of *Moſes* anciently was in the ark or ſacred cheſt of the tabernacle, which was prepared for it; and they are ſtill ſo kept in the ſame manner among them even to this day.

2. THE ancient[p] various readings of the ſacred text called *Keri Cetib*, are all about the letters, and none about the vowel points, which ſeems manifeſtly to prove, that the vowel points were not anciently in being, or elſe were not then looked on as an authentic part of the text. For if they had, the variations of theſe would certainly have been taken notice of, as well as thoſe of the letters.

3. THE[r] ancient *Cabbaliſts* draw none of their myſteries from the vowel points, but all from the letters, which is an argument either that theſe vowel points were not in uſe in their time, or elſe were not then looked on as an authentic part of the ſacred text. For had they then been ſo, theſe triflers would certainly have drawn myſteries from the one, as well as from the other, as the later *Cabbaliſts* have done.

4. IF[s] we compare with the preſent pointed *Hebrew* bibles, the verſion of the *Septuagint*, the *Chaldee* paraphraſes, the fragments of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*, or the *Latin* verſion of *Jerom*, we ſhall in ſeveral places find that they did read the text otherwiſe, than according to the preſent punctuation; which is a certain argument that the pointed copies, if there were any ſuch in their times, were not then held to be of any authority, for otherwiſe they would certainly have followed them.

5. NEITHER[t] the *Miſhnah*, nor the *Gemara*, either that of *Jeruſalem*, or that of *Babylon*, do make any mention of theſe vowel points, altho' in ſeveral places there are ſuch ſpecial occaſions and reaſons for them ſo to have done, that it can ſcarce be thought poſſible they could have omitted it,

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[p] Arcanum punctationis, lib. 1. c. 4.
[q] Arcanum punctationis, lib. 1. cap. 7.
[r] Arcanum punctationis, lib. 1. cap. 8, 9, 10.
[s] Buxtorfii ſynagoga Judaica, cap. 14.
[t] Arcanum punctationis, lib. 1. c. 5.
[u] Arcanum punctationis, cap. 5.

it, if they had been in being when thoſe books were written; or if in being, had been looked on by the *Jews* of thoſe times to be of any authority among them. Neither do we find [t] the leaſt hint of them in *Philo Judæus* or *Joſephus*, who are the oldeſt writers of the *Jews*, or in any of the ancient chriſtian writers for ſeveral hundred years after *Chriſt*. And altho', among them, *Origen* and *Jerom* were well skill'd in the *Hebrew* language, yet in none of their writings do they ſpeak the leaſt of them. *Origen* flouriſhed in the third, and *Jerom* in the fifth century; and the latter having lived a long while in *Judea*, and there more eſpecially applyed himſelf to the ſtudy of the *Hebrew* learning, and much converſed with the *Jewiſh* Rabbi's for his improvement herein, it is not likely that he could have miſſed making ſome mention of them through all his voluminous works, if they had been either in being among the *Jews* in his time, or in any credit or authority with them, and that eſpecially ſince in his commentaries there were ſo many neceſſary occaſions for his taking notice of them. And it cannot be deny'd but that this is a very ſtrong argument againſt them.

MANY more arguments are urged on this ſide of the queſtion. But the chief ſtrength of what is ſaid for it lying in theſe I have mentioned, I ſhall not trouble the reader with the reſt, and that eſpecially ſince ſome of them will not hold water. For to inſtance in one of them; great ſtreſs is laid on this to prove the vowel points to be of late date, that their names are thought to be of late date, they being of the *Chaldee* and not of the *Hebrew* dialect. But it is certain the *Jews* had the preſent names of their months from the *Chaldeans*, as well as the names of their vowels; and yet it is as certain, that notwithſtanding this the names of theſe months were in uſe in the time of *Ezra*, for they are named in ſcripture, both in the book of *Ezra*, and alſo in that of *Nehemiah*, the former of which was written by him; and why then might not the names of theſe vowels have been in *Ezra*'s time too, notwithſtanding this obection? And this is all which thoſe on the other ſide contend for. But the other arguments, which I have above recited, are of much greater weight: If any one would ſee all at large that hath been ſaid on this head, *Capellus*'s book, which I have already mentioned, will fully furniſh him herewith.

BUT there have not been wanting learned men of the contrary opinion, and much hath been written for it, eſpecially by the two *Buxtorfs*, the father and the ſon; their arguments, which carry the greateſt weight with them are theſe which follow:

1. THE [u] ancient books *Bahir* and *Zohar*, which are ſaid to have been written, the one a little before, and the other a little after, the time of our Saviour, make expreſs and frequent mention of the vowel points; which argument would be unanſwerable againſt the later invention of them, could we be ſure that theſe books are as ancient as the *Jews* ſay they are. But there are reaſons ſufficient to convince us, [w] that both of them are of a much later date. There are many particulars in the books themſelves, which manifeſtly prove them to be ſo. And for above a thouſand years, after the pretended times of their compoſure, they were never heard of among the *Jews* themſelves, nor were they ever quoted, or made mention

[t] Arcanum punctationis, lib. 1. c. 10. [u] Buxtorfius pater in Tiberiade, c. 9. §. 3. Buxtorfius filius de punctorum antiquitate, part. 1. cap. 5. [w] Vide Arcanum punctationis, lib. 2. cap. 3. & Buxtorfii bibliothecam rabbinicam in *Bahir* & *Zohar*.

of by any other writer during all that interval; which gives abundant reaſon to conclude, that till after theſe thouſand years they never had any being; but that a falſe date of antiquity hath been fraudulently put to them to recommend them to the world with the greater credit. The latter of them hath been printed ſeveral times, but the other is ſtill in manuſcript. They are both cabbaliſtical books, and the moſt they are remarkable for is the obſcurity of their ſtyle, and the ſtrange, myſterious, and unintelligible ſtuff contained in them:

2. THAT whereas it is ſaid on the other ſide, that the *Maſorites* of *Tiberias* invented the vowel points about five hundred years after *Chriſt*, this [x] appears very unlikely. For the ſchools which the *Jews* had in *Judea* were then wholly diſſipated and ſuppreſſed, and no learned men there left, of ſufficient ability for ſuch a performance. For at that time all their learned men were removed into the province of *Babylon*, where they had their univerſities of *Sora*, *Naherdea*, and *Pombeditha*, and nothing of their learning was then left in *Judea*, that can make it probable that ſuch a work could be done, either at *Tiberias*, or any where elſe in that land, in thoſe times. And beſides, were the thing ever ſo likely, there is no authority for it ſufficient to ſupport the aſſertion. *Elias Levita* indeed ſaith it, and *Aben Ezra*, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, is quoted for it; but higher up it cannot be traced. For there is nothing ſaid in any ancienter writer, either of their being invented by the *Maſorites* at *Tiberias*, or any where elſe after the *Talmud*; and it is not likely, that if this had been ſo late an invention, a matter ſo remarkable, and of ſuch great moment, could have been wholly paſſed over in ſilence, without the leaſt mention made of it by any of the *Jewiſh* writers. But [y] to all this it is replyed, that in hiſtorical matters it is not to be regarded what the *Jews* write, or what they omit concerning them. That of all nations in the world, that have pretended to any ſort of learning, they have taken the leaſt care to record paſt tranſactions, and have done it very bunglingly, and in a manner that looks more like fable than truth, wherever they have pretended to it. And it is certain, there were *Jews* eminent in their way of learning at *Tiberias*, in St. *Jerom*'s time; for he tells us he made uſe of them, and he died not till the year of our Lord 420, which was but eighty years before the time aſſigned; and it muſt be acknowledged that nothing of this can be gainſaid. And it is farther added by thoſe, who thus reply, that they do not poſitively pin down the invention of theſe vowel points either to the time or place which *Elias Levita* aſſigneth for it, but only ſay, that it muſt be after the time of the writings of *Jerom*, and after the time of the compoſure of the *Talmud*, becauſe in neither of theſe any mention is made of them, and this will neceſſarily carry it down below the five hundredth year of our Lord; but whether it were then immediately done, or two or three hundred years afterward, or at *Tiberias*, or elſewhere, they will not take upon them certainly to affirm. That the vowel points were not affixed to the text by *Ezra*, that they are not of a divine, but only of an human original, and firſt introduced into uſe after the writing of the *Talmud*, is all that they poſitively aſſert concerning this matter; and that whatſoever is ſaid beyond this is only gueſs and con-

[x] Buxtorfius pater in Tiberiade, cap. 5, 6, 7. Buxtorfius filius de antiquitate punctorum, part. 2. cap. 11. [y] Capellus in arcano punctationis, lib. 2. cap. 15.

jecture,

jecture, which doth not at all affect the queſtion, and therefore they will not contend about it.

3. IF by the *Maſorites*, who are ſaid to have invented theſe vowel points, are meant the authors of the preſent *Maſorah*, which is printed with the great bibles of *Venice* and *Baſil*, it is [a] certain they cannot be the inventors of theſe points. For a great part of their criticiſms is upon the vowel points, which muſt neceſſarily prove them to have been long before fix'd and ſettled. For none uſe to criticiſe upon their own works. To [a] which it is replyed, that there were *Maſorites* from the time of *Ezra* and the men of the great ſynagogue, down to the time of *Ben Aſher* and *Ben Naphthali*, who flouriſhed about the year of our Lord 1030, that ſome of theſe invented the points ſometime after the making of the *Talmud*, and that after that ſome of thoſe who ſucceeded them, perchance two or three hundred years after, made theſe criticiſms and remarks upon them. For the *Maſorah* that is now printed in the bibles above mentioned, is a collection and abridgment of all the chief remarks and criticiſms, which thoſe men did make upon the *Hebrew* text, from their firſt beginning to the time I have mentioned. But of this I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more at large by and by.

4. THAT when the *Hebrew* language ceaſed to be the mother tongue of the *Jews*, (as it is agreed on all hands that it did after the *Babyloniſh* captivity) it [b] was ſcarce poſſible to teach that language without theſe vowel points; and this is the beſt and ſtrongeſt argument, that is urged on this ſide for their having been always in uſe from that time.

5. THAT if it be allowed that the preſent vowel points are not of the ſame authority with the letters, but are only of a late and human invention, it will weaken the authority of the holy ſcriptures, and leave the ſacred text to an arbitrary and uncertain reading and interpretation; which will give too much to the papiſts, whoſe main deſign is to deſtroy the authority and certainty of the holy ſcriptures, that thereby they may make room for the traditions of their church, and the deciſions of the infallible guide, which they pretend to have therein. And to avoid this ill conſequence is, indeed, the moſt prevailing cauſe, that hath drawn into this opinion moſt of thoſe learned proteſtants that contend for it; but to anſwer both theſe laſt arguments, and ſettle the whole of this controverſy, I ſhall lay down what appears to me to be the truth of the matter, in theſe following poſitions.

I. THAT the vowel points having never been received by the *Jews* into their ſynagogues, this ſeems to be a certain evidence, that they were never anciently looked on by them as an authentic part of the holy ſcripture of the *Old Teſtament*, but reckoned only as an human invention, added for the eaſier reading of the text, after the *Hebrew* ceaſed from being a vulgar language among them. And the *Jews* having been till the time of *Chriſt* the true church of God, and his choſen people, [c] to whom thoſe ſcriptures and ſacred oracles of God were given and committed, through their hands the church of *Chriſt* hath received them, and their

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[a] Buxtorfius pater in Tiberiade, cap. 9. Buxtorfius filius de antiquitate punctorum, part. 2. cap. 6. [a] Arcanum punctationis, lib. 2. cap. 10. [b] Buxtorfius de antiquitate punctorum, part. 2. cap. 10. [c] Romans iii. 2.

evi-

evidence is that, which is to witneſs and determin unto us, what part of them is authentic ſcripture, and what is not.

II. IT is moſt likely, that theſe vowel points were the invention of the *Maſorites* a little after the time of *Ezra*. That they came into uſe a little after the time of *Ezra*, ſeems to be proved by the need that was then of them for the reading and teaching of the *Hebrew* text. And that they were invented by the *Maſorites* ſeems moſt likely, becauſe of the buſineſs and profeſſion, which theſe men employed themſelves in. For,

1ſt, THESE *Maſorites* [d] were a ſet of men, whoſe profeſſion it was to write out copies of the *Hebrew* ſcriptures, and to criticize upon them, and alſo to preſerve and teach the true readings of them; and what they obſerved and taught in order hereto, is by the *Jews* called the *Maſorah*. But this tradition reached no farther than the readings of the *Hebrew* ſcriptures. For as the *Jews* held a tradition of the true interpretations of the holy ſcriptures, (which I have already ſpoken of) ſo alſo did they hold another of the true readings of them, as in the original *Hebrew* language. And this laſt they will have, as to the law, to be a conſtitution of *Moſes* from mount *Sinai*, as well as the former. For their doctrine is, that when God gave unto *Moſes* the law in mount *Sinai*, he taught him firſt the true readings of it, and ſecondly the true interpretations of it; and that both theſe were handed down from generation to generation by oral tradition only, till at length the readings were written by the accents and vowels, in like manner as the interpretations were by the *Miſhnah* and *Gemara*. The former they call *Maſorah*, which ſignifyeth *tradition*, and the other they call *Cabbala*, which ſignifyeth *reception*; but both of them denote the ſame thing, that is, a knowledge delivered down from generation to generation; in the doing of which there being tradition on the one hand, and reeeption on the other, that which relates to the readings of the *Hebrew* ſcriptures, hath its name from the former, and that which relates to the interpretations of them, from the latter. And what they ſay of this, as to the law, they ſay alſo of it, as to the prophets and the reſt of the *Hebrew* ſcriptures; that is, that the true readings of them, as well as the true interpretations of them, were delivered down by oral tradition from thoſe who were the firſt penmen of them; to whom they ſay God revealed both at the ſame time, when he revealed to them the word it ſelf. As thoſe who ſtudied and taught the *Cabbala*, were called the *Cabbaliſts*; ſo thoſe, who ſtudied and taught the *Maſorah*, were called the *Maſorites*. For altho' the word *Cabbala* be now reſtrained to ſignify the myſtical interpretations of the ſcriptures only, and in the common uſage of ſpeech now among the *Jews*, they alone are called *Cabbaliſts* who give themſelves up to theſe dotages; yet in the true and genuine meaning of the word, *the Cabbala* extends to all manner of traditions, which are of the interpretative part of the *Hebrew* ſcriptures, and the *Cabbaliſts* is the general name of all thoſe who profeſſed the ſtudy and knowledge of them. And they were all thoſe, whom under the names of *Tannaim*, *Amoraim*, *Seburaim*, *&c.* I have already made mention of. And as theſe *Cabbaliſts* firſt began a little after the time of *Ezra*, ſo alſo did the *Maſorites*; and their whole buſineſs and profeſſion being to ſtudy the true

[d] Eliæ Levitæ Maſoreth Hammaſoreth. Buxtorfius in Tiberiade. Waltoni Prolegom. 8.

readings

readings of the *Hebrew* text, and to preſerve and teach the ſame, they are juſtly held the moſt likely to have invented the vowel points, becauſe the whole uſe of thoſe points is to ſerve to this purpoſe.

AND, 2^dly, This uſe of them being abſolutely neceſſary from the time that the *Hebrew* language ceaſed to be vulgarly ſpoken (as it certainly did in the time of *Ezra*) we have ſufficient reaſon from hence to conclude, that ſoon after that time the uſe of them muſt have been introduced. For from this time the *Hebrew* language being only to be acquired by ſtudy and inſtruction, and that being neceſſary to be firſt acquired, before the ſacred text could be read, which was written therein; as there was need of ſuch a profeſſion of men to take care hereof, that is, to teach and bring up others to know the language, and alſo to read the ſcriptures, as written in it; ſo was there as much need of theſe vowel points to help them herein, it being hard to conceive, how they could do either without them, or ſome other ſuch marks, that might ſerve them for the ſame purpoſe. What the *Jews* tell us of preſerving the true readings only by tradition and memory, is too abſurd to be ſwallowed by any one. For had there been nothing elſe but tradition and memory in this caſe to help them, the load would have been too great to have been carried by any ones memory, but all muſt neceſſarily have dropp'd in the way, and been loſt. But the truth is, there is no need of depending only on memory in this caſe. For to thoſe, who thoroughly know the language, the letters alone, with the context, are ſufficient to determine the reading, as now they are in all other *Hebrew* books. For, excepting the bible, few other books in that language are pointed. All their [e] *Rabbinical* authors, of which there are a great number, are all unpointed, and yet all that underſtand the language, can read them without points, as well as if they had them, yea, and much better too, and not miſs the true reading. But the difficulty is as to thoſe who do not underſtand the language. For how they could be ever taught to read it without vowels, after it ceaſed to be vulgarly ſpoken, is ſcarce poſſible to conceive. When all learnt it from their cradles, it was no hard matter for thoſe, who thus underſtood the language, to learn to read it by the letters only without the vowels. But when the *Hebrew* became a dead language the caſe was altered. For then, inſtead of underſtanding it firſt in order to read it, they were firſt to read it in order to underſtand it; and therefore having not the previous knowledge of the language to direct them herein, they muſt neceſſarily have had ſome other helps, whereby to know with what vowel every ſyllable was to be pronounced, and to give them this help, the vowel points ſeem certainly to have been invented; and therefore the time of this invention cannot be placed later than the time when they became neceſſary, that is, when the *Hebrew* became a dead language, though perchance it was not perfected and brought to that order, in which now it is, till ſome ages after. It is acknowledged on all hands, that the reading of the *Hebrew* language could never have been learned after it ceaſed to be vulgarly ſpoken, without the help of vowels; but they who will not allow the points to have been ſo ancient, [f] tell us, that the letters *Aleph*, *He*, *Vau*, *Iod*, which they call *matres lecti-*

[e] *All thoſe authors as originally written are without points. But the* Miſhna *and their* Machzor *have lately had points put to them, but ſtill they are reckoned the beſt editions that are without them.*

[f] Arcanum punctationis, lib. 1. cap. 18.

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onis, then ſerved for vowels. But there are a great number of words in the *Hebrew* way of writing, both in the bible and in all other books of that language, in which none of theſe letters are to be found, and ſcarce any in which ſome of the ſyllables are not without them; and how then can theſe ſupply the place of vowels, and every where help the reading inſtead of them, ſince every where they are not to be found? Beſides, there are none of theſe letters which have not, according as they are plac'd in different words, the different ſounds of every one of the vowels ſome time or other annexed to them; and how then can they determine the pronunciation of any one of them? As for example, the letter *Aleph* hath not always the pronunciation of the vowel [a], but ſometimes of [e], ſometimes of [i], ſometimes of [o], and ſometimes of [u], according as it is found in different words; and the ſame is to be ſaid of all the reſt. And farther, all the other oriental languages have in their alphabets theſe ſame letters, which they call *matres lectionis*, as well as the *Hebrew*, as for example, the *Syriac*, the *Arabic*, the *Turkiſh*, the *Perſian*, the *Malayan*, *&c.* and yet they have their vowels too to help the reading; neither can we find that they were ever without them, though ſuch as are well verſed in any of theſe languages, read them readily without vowels, and all the books, epiſtles, orders, and publick inſtruments, that are in them, are generally ſo written. And why then ſhould we think the *Hebrew* had not ſuch vowels alſo, eſpecially when after that language had ceaſed to be vulgarly ſpoken, there was ſuch neceſſity for them? The unpointed words in *Hebrew* are the ſame with abbreviations in *Latin*; and if it be impracticable for any novice to learn the *Latin* language by books, wherein all the words are ſo abbreviated, that only two or three letters of them ſtand for the whole, we may juſtly infer, that it is as impracticable for any who is a ſtranger to the *Hebrew*, ever to learn it by books, wherein all the words are unpointed; yea, and much more ſo. For the abbreviations in *Latin* are certain, ſuch an abbreviation being always put for ſuch a word, and for none other; but it is otherwiſe in the abbreviations of the unpointed *Hebrew*, for in them all the vowels being left out, the remaining letters, which are to ſtand for the whole, may as pronounced with different vowels be different words; as for example, there are two conjugations in *Hebrew*, one called *Pihel*, and the other *Puhal*; the former is an active, and the other a paſſive, and both are written throughout all their moods and tenſes (except the infinitive) with the ſame letters, and they as differently pointed may be either the one or the other; and although in the reading the context may determine the active from the paſſive, yet if we do not by pointed books firſt learn what vowels properly belong to the one, and what to the other, how can we know with which to read or pronounce either of them in the unpointed books; And abundance of other ſuch inſtances may be given in the *Hebrew* language, wherein the ſame letters, as differently pointed, make different words, and of different ſignifications; and how then can a learner know, what different vowels, and what different pronunciations belong to theſe different words, if he be not firſt taught it by the points, or ſome other ſuch marks of the ſame ſignification? All that can be ſaid againſt this is, that the *Samaritan* hath no ſuch vowels, but although it be now grown to be a dead language, as well as the *Hebrew*, it is taught and learnt without them. To this I anſwer, that it is true that all the books, which we have as yet brought us into theſe weſtern parts, in

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the *Samaritan* character, are written only with the letters, and without any ſuch marks as the *Hebrew* bibles now have to denote the vowels, or any other inſtead of them. But this doth not prove that they have no ſuch vowels in uſe among them; multitude of books are brought us out of the eaſt in *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Turkiſh*, and *Perſian*, all written with the letters only, without any vowel marks; but this doth not prove that they have none, for it's certain that they all have them, and uſe them, where there is need of them: And therefore it is no evidence but that the *Samaritan* may have them alſo, though all the books which we have hitherto ſeen in it are without them. The ſect of the *Samaritans* are thoſe only who uſe this character and language, (if we may call it a language, for it is no more than the *Hebrew* in another character) and they are now dwindled into a very ſmall number, and thoſe diſperſed abroad into ſeveral parts of the eaſt. And what their practice may be, as to the uſe of vowel figures in their other writings, (though none that have as yet come to our hands have any ſuch) we have no account of, either *pro* or *con*, and therefore we can argue nothing from it. Only we ſay, that as to this, as well as the *Hebrew*, and all other ſuch languages, in which books are ordinarily written with the letters only, it ſeems almoſt impracticable for any one to learn to read thoſe books, after the languages are become dead languages, without ſome marks put to the letters to denote the vowels with which they are to be pronounced. Without a previous knowledge of the language it is impoſſible to be done, and therefore the only way to make it poſſible, is to learn the language firſt by rote; and when a perfect knowledge hath been gotten of it this way, then only can it be practicable to learn to read that language by the letters only, without any vowel marks. But this is ſuch a great way about, ſuch a tedious and operoſe method of learning it, that we muſt look on thoſe to be a very dull and ſtupid ſort of people, who being in this caſe, could find out no other way to help themſelves in it, and that eſpecially in the *Jews* caſe, ſince their neighbours on each ſide of them (I mean the *Syrians* and *Arabians)* had vowel figures, and they might eaſily from them either have taken the ſame, or learn'd to have fram'd others like them. Though the *Greeks* in their language have the vowels intermixed with the letters, yet it no ſooner became a dead language (I mean the learned *Greek*, from which the modern doth as much differ, as the *Chaldee* from the *Hebrew)* but they found out accents, ſpirits, and ſeveral other marks to help thoſe who were to learn it, which were never in uſe among them before. And ſo alſo are there in the *Latin* ſeveral ſuch marks; as for example, a mark over the [ò] and [è] at the end of adverbs, to diſtinguiſh them from nouns ending in thoſe vowels; and the mark over the [â] ablative to diſtinguiſh it from the [a] nominative, *&c.* None of which marks were ever uſed while the *Latin* language was vulgarly ſpoken, but were invented for the help of thoſe who were to learn it afterwards. And is it poſſible that the *Jews* only were ſo ſtupid and dull, that they alone ſhould find out no ſuch helps, after their language became a dead language, for the eaſier learning and reading of it; but on the contrary, ſhould have continued ſo many hundred years after, not only without any marks for accents, pauſes, or ſtops, but alſo without any figures ſo much as to denote the vowels, with which their letters were to be pronounced? The neceſſity which was in this caſe for ſuch vowel figures, evidently proves that they muſt have

had them, and that as ſoon as they needed them, which was as ſoon as their language became a dead language; and was thenceforth to be learn'd by books (and not by common converſe) as all other dead languages are. And therefore this happening about the time of *Ezra*, (as hath been already ſhewn) it muſt follow, that about that time, or a little after, the uſe of ſuch vowel figures muſt have been introduced into the *Hebrew* language. Whether they were the ſame vowel points that are now uſed, or other ſuch like ſigns to ſerve for the ſame purpoſe, is not material, and therefore I ſhall raiſe no enquiry about it. Only I cannot but ſay, that ſince neceſſity firſt introduced the uſe of them, it is moſt likely, that no more were at firſt uſed than there was a neceſſity for, but that the augmenting of them beyond this to the number of fifteen, proceeded only from the over-nicety of the after-*Maſorites*. Three ſerved the *Arabs*, and five moſt other nations, and no doubt at firſt they exceeded not this number among the *Jews*. And it is moſt likely that the ſame profeſſion of men, who thus invented the vowel points, were alſo the authors of all thoſe other inventions which have been added to the *Hebrew* text, for the eaſier reading and better underſtanding of it. The dividing of the law into ſections, and the ſections into verſes, ſeems to have been one of the firſt of their works. [s] Originally every book of the *Hebrew* bible was written as in one verſe, without any diſtinction of ſections, chapters, verſes, or words. But when the publick reading of the law was brought into uſe among the *Jews*, and ſome part of it read every ſabbath in their ſynagogues, it became neceſſary to divide the whole into fifty four ſections, that it might thereby be known what part was to be read on each ſabbath; and the whole gone over every year, as hath been afore obſerved. And when the diſuſe of the *Hebrew* language among them made it neceſſary, that it ſhould not only be read to them in the original *Hebrew*, but alſo interpreted in the *Chaldee*, which was then become their vulgar tongue, there was alſo a neceſſity of dividing the ſections into verſes, that they might be a direction both to the reader and the interpreter, where to make their ſtop at every alternative reading and interpreting, till they had verſe by verſe gone through the whole ſection. And in imitation hereof, the like diviſion was afterwards made in all the reſt of the holy ſcriptures. And a like neceſſity about the ſame time introduced the uſe of the vowel points, after they were forced to teach the *Hebrew* language by book, on its ceaſing to be any longer vulgarly ſpoken among the people. And ſome time after the accents and pauſes were invented for the ſame purpoſe, that is, for the eaſier and more diſtinct reading of the text, for which they are neceſſary helps, as far as they ſupply the place of a comma, a colon, or a full ſtop; (which *Athnak*, *Revia*, and *Silluk* do) but as for the muſical uſe, for which only the others were added to the *Hebrew* text, they are now wholly inſignificant, it being long ſince abſolutely forgot for what uſe they ſerved.

III. THESE vowel points were for many ages only of private uſe among the *Maſorites*, whereby they preſerved to themſelves the true readings of the holy ſcriptures, and taught them to their ſcholars; but they were not received into the divinity-ſchools till after the making of the *Talmud*. For

[s] Elias Levita in Maſoreth Hammaſoreth.

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there were two ſorts of ſchools anciently among the *Jews*, the ſchools of the *Maſorites*, and the ſchools of the *Rabbi's*. The former taught only the *Hebrew* language, and to read the ſcriptures in it, the others to underſtand the ſcriptures, and all the interpretations of them; and were the great doctors of divinity among them, to whom the *Maſorites* were as much inferior, as the teachers of grammar-ſchools among us are to the profeſſors of divinity in our univerſities. And therefore as long as theſe vowel points went no higher than the ſchools of theſe *Maſorites*, they were of no regard among their learned men, or taken any notice of by them. And this is the reaſon that we find no mention of them, either in the *Talmud* or in the writings of *Origen*, or *Jerom*. But ſome time after the making of the *Talmud* (in what year or age is uncertain) the punctuation of the *Maſorites* having been judged by the *Jewiſh* doctors to be as uſeful and neceſſary a way for the preſerving of the traditionary readings of the *Hebrew* ſcriptures, as the *Miſhnah* and *Gemara* had been then found to be for the preſerving of the traditional rites, ceremonies, and doctrines of their religion, it was taken into their divinity-ſchools; and it having been there reviewed and corrected by the learnedeſt of their Rabbi's, and ſo formed and ſettled by them, as to be made to contain and mark out all thoſe authentic readings, which they held to have been delivered down unto them by tradition from *Moſes* and the prophets, who were the firſt penmen of them; ever ſince that time the points in the *Hebrew* ſcriptures have been by the *Jews* held of the ſame authority for the reading of them, as the *Miſhnah* and the *Gemara* for the interpreting of them, and conſequently as unalterable as the letters themſelves. For they reckon them both of divine original, only with this difference, that the letters they ſay were written by the holy penmen themſelves, but the readings, as now marked by the points, were delivered down from them by tradition only. However, they have never received them into their ſynagogues, but have there ſtill continued the uſe of the holy ſcriptures in unpointed copies, and ſo do even to this day, becauſe they ſo received them from the firſt holy penmen of them.

IV. ALL thoſe criticiſms in the *Maſorah* that are upon the points, were made by ſuch *Maſorites* as lived after the points were received into the divinity ſchools of the *Jews*. For this profeſſion of men continued from the time of *Ezra*, and the men of the great ſynagogue, to that of *Ben Aſher* and *Ben Naphthali*, [h] who were two famous *Maſorites*, that lived about the year of our Lord 1030, and were the laſt of them. For they having, after many years labour ſpent herein, each of them publiſhed a copy of the whole *Hebrew* text, as correct as they could make it, the eaſtern *Jews* have followed that of *Ben Naphthali*, and the weſtern *Jews* have followed that of *Ben Aſher*, and all that hath been done ever ſince is exactly to copy after them, both as to the points and accents, as well as to the letters, without making any more corrections or *Maſoritical* criticiſms or obſervations upon either. Theſe *Maſorites*, who were the authors of the *Maſorah* that is now extant, were a monſtrous trifling ſort of men, whoſe criticiſms and obſervations went no higher, than the numbring of the verſes, words, and letters, of every book in the *Hebrew* bible, and

[h] Buxtorfius pater in præfatione ad Tiberiadem. Buxtorfius filius de antiquitate punctorum, part. 1. cap. 15. Zacutus in Juchaſin. Shalſheleth Haccabbala, Zemach David, Elias Levita, &c.

the marking out which was the middle verſe, word, and letter in each of them, and the making of other ſuch poor and low obſervations concerning them, as are not worth any man's reading, or taking notice of, whatever *Richard Simon* the *Frenchman* may ſay to the contrary.

V. THESE vowel points having been added to the text, with the beſt care of thoſe who beſt underſtood the language, and having undergone the review and corrections of many ages, it may be reckoned that this work hath been done in the perfecteſt manner that it can be done by man's art, and that none who ſhall undertake a new punctuation of the whole, can do it better; however ſince it was done only by man's art, it is no authentic part of the holy ſcriptures, and therefore theſe points are not ſo unalterably fixed to the text, but that a change may be made in them, when the nature of the context, or the analogy of grammar, or the ſtyle of the language, or any thing elſe ſhall give a ſufficient reaſon for it. And that eſpecially ſince, how exactly ſoever they may have been at any time affixed to the text, they are ſtill liable to the miſtakes of tranſcribers and printers, and by reaſon of their number, the ſmalneſs of their figures, and their poſition under the letters, are more likely to ſuffer by them, than any other ſort of writing whatſoever.

VI. IT doth not from hence follow, that the ſacred text will therefore be left to an arbitrary and uncertain reading. For the genuine reading is as certain in the unpointed *Hebrew* books, as the genuine ſenſe is in the pointed; the former indeed may ſometimes be miſtaken or perverted, and ſo may the latter; and therefore whether the books be pointed or unpointed, this doth not alter the caſe to one who thoroughly knows the language, and will honeſtly read the ſame. Ignorant men may indeed miſtake the reading, and ill men may pervert it; but thoſe who are knowing and honeſt can do neither. For, except the bible, no other *Hebrew* book is pointed, unleſs ſome few of late by modern hands. All their *Rabbinical* authors are unpointed, and all their other books, to which the moderns have in ſome editions added points, were originally publiſhed without them, and ſo they ſtill are in the beſt editions; and yet this doth not hinder, but that every one who underſtands the *Hebrew* language, can rightly read them and rightly underſtand them. Were I to make my choice, I would deſire to have the bible with points, and all other *Hebrew* books without them. I would deſire the bible with points, becauſe they tell us how the *Jews* did anciently read the text. And I would have all other *Hebrew* books without them, becauſe in ſuch they rather hinder and clog the reading, than help it, to any one that thoroughly knows the language. And all that undertake to point ſuch books, may not always do it according to the true and genuine reading, as we have an inſtance in the pointed edition of the *Miſhnah* publiſhed in octavo by *Menaſſeh Ben Iſrael* at *Amſterdam*. And therefore it is much better to be left free to our own apprehenſions for the genuine reading, than be confined by another man's to that which may not be the genuine reading. Indeed to read without vowels may look very ſtrange to ſuch, who are converſant only with the modern *European* languages, in which often ſeveral conſonants come together without a vowel, and ſeveral vowels without a conſonant, and ſeveral of both often go to make up one ſyllable; and therefore if in them the conſonants were only written, it would be hard to find out what may be the word; but it is quite otherwiſe in the *Hebrew*. For in that lan-

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guage there is never more than one vowel in one ſyllable, and in moſt ſyllables only one conſonant, and in none more than two, and therefore in moſt words the conſonants confine us to the vowels, and determine how the word is to be read; and if not, at leaſt the context doth. It muſt be acknowledged, that there are ſeveral combinations of the ſame conſonants, which, as placed in the ſame order, are ſuſceptible of different punctuations, and thereby make different words and of different ſignifications, and therefore when put alone are of an uncertain reading; but it is quite otherwiſe when they are joyned in context with other words. For where the letters joined in the ſame word do not determine the reading, there the words joined in the ſame ſentence always do; and this is no more than what we find in all other languages, and very often in our own. For we have many equivocal words, which being put alone are of an uncertain ſignification, but are always determin'd in the context. As for example, the word *let* in *Engliſh* when put alone by it ſelf, hath not only two different, but two quite contrary meanings. For it ſignifies *to permit*, and it ſignifys alſo *to hinder*; but it never doth ſo in the context, but is thereby always ſo determined either to the one or to the other, that no one is ever led into a miſtake hereby. And the ſame is to be ſaid of all ſuch words in *Hebrew*, as having the ſame letters are ſuſceptible of various punctuations. The letters here cannot determine to the punctuation, becauſe they being in each the ſame, are indifferent to either. But what the letters cannot do, when the word is put alone by it ſelf, that the other words always do, with which it is joined in the context. And it is want of attention, or want of apprehenſion, if any one thoroughly skill'd in the *Hebrew* language makes a miſtake herein; which may happen in the reading of any other books whatſoever. And therefore though the *Hebrew* bibles had never been pointed, we need not be ſent either to the church of *Rome*, or any where elſe, for the fixing of the readings of it, the letters alone with the context being ſufficient, when we thoroughly underſtand the language, to determine us thereto.

THERE is in the [i] church of St. *Dominic* in *Bononia* a copy of the *Hebrew* ſcriptures, kept with a great deal of care, which they pretend to be the original copy written by *Ezra* himſelf; and therefore it is there valued at ſo high a rate, that great ſums of money have been borrowed by the *Bononians* upon the pawn of it, and again repaid for its redemption. It is written in a very fair character, upon a ſort of leather, and made up in a roll according to the ancient manner; but it having the vowel points annexed, and the writing being freſh and fair without any decay, both theſe particulars prove the novelty of that copy. But ſuch forgeries are no uncommon things among the papiſtical ſect.

BUT though *Ezra*'s government over all *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* expired with this year, yet his labour to ſerve the church of God did not here end; for ſtill he went on as a preacher of righteouſneſs, and a skilful ſcribe of the law of God, to perfect the reformation which he had begun, both in preparing for the people correct editions of the ſcriptures, and alſo in bringing all things in church and ſtate to be conform to the rules

[i] Fini Adriani Flagellum Judæorum, lib. 9. c. 2. Tiſſardi Ambacei grammatica Hebræa. Hottingeri Theſaurus Philologicus, p. 115. & p. 513.

thereof.

thereof. And this he continued to do as long as he lived; and herein he was thoroughly assisted and supported by the next governor, who coming to *Jerusalem* with the same intention, and the same zeal for promoting of the honour of God, and the welfare of his people in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, as *Ezra* did, he struck in heartily with him in the work; so that *Ezra* went on still to do the same things by the authority of the new governor, which he before did by his own. And by their thus joining together in the same holy undertaking, and their mutual assisting each other therein, it exceedingly prospered in their hands, till at length, notwithstanding all manner of oppositions both from within and from without, it was brought to full perfection forty nine years after it had been begun by *Ezra*. Whether *Ezra* lived so long, or not, is uncertain. But what he did not live to do, was completed by the piety and zeal of his successor, with an account of whose transactions I shall begin the next book.

THE

THE *Old* and *New* TESTAMENT

Connected in the

HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS and Neighbouring Nations,

FROM THE

Declenſion of the Kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah* to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK VI.

HE who ſucceeded *Ezra* in the government of *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* was [a] *Nehemiah*, a very religious and moſt excellent perſon, one that was nothing behind his predeceſſor, ſaving his learning and great knowledge in the law of God. He came to *Jeruſalem* in the [b] twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and by a commiſſion from him ſuperſeded that of *Ezra*, and ſucceeded him in the government of *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*. And he had in that commiſſion, by an expreſs clauſe therein inſerted, full authority given him to repair the

An. 445. Artaxerxes 20.

[a] Nehem. ii. [b] Nehem. ii. 1. *and* v. 14.

walls

walls and ſet up the gates of *Jeruſalem*, and to fortify it again in the ſame manner, as it was before it was diſmantled and deſtroyed by the *Babyloni-ans*. He was a *Jew*, whoſe anceſtors had formerly been citizens of *Jeru-ſalem*. For [c] there he ſaith was the place of his father's ſepulchres. But as to the tribe or family which he was of, no more is ſaid, but only that his father's name was *Hachaliah*; who ſeemeth to have been of thoſe *Jews*, who having gotten good ſettlements in the land of their captivity, choſe rather to abide in them, than return into their own countrey, when leave was granted for it. It is moſt likely, that he was an inhabitant of the city of *Shuſhan*; and that it was his dwelling there that gave his ſon an oppor-tunity of gaining an advancement in the King's palace. For he was one of the cup-bearers of King *Artaxerxes*, [d] which was a place of great honour and advantage in the *Perſian* court, becauſe of the privilege it gave him of be-ing daily in the King's preſence, and the opportunity which he had there-by of gaining his favour, for the obtaining of any petition which he ſhould make to him. And that eſpecially ſince the times of his attendance al-ways were, when the King was making his heart merry with the wine, which he ſerved up unto him. For this is the beſt opportunity with all men, for the obtaining any boon that ſhall be deſired of them, becauſe they are always then in the beſt humour of complying. And it was [e] at ſuch a time, that he asked the government of *Judea*, and obtained it. And by the like advantages of his place no doubt it was, that he gained thoſe immenſe riches, which enabled him for ſo many years [f] out of his own private purſe only, to live in his government with that ſplendor and ex-pence as will be hereafter related, without burdening the people at all for it. And no doubt it was by the favour of Queen *Eſther*, as being of the ſame nation and people with her, that he obtained ſo honourable and ad-vantagious a preferment in that court. However, neither the honour and advantage of this place, nor the long ſettlement of his family out of his countrey, could make him forget his love for it, or lay aſide that zeal which he had for the religion of his forefathers, who had formerly dwelt in it. For though he had been born and bred in a ſtrange land, yet he had a great love for *Sion*, and an heart thoroughly ſet for the advancing the proſperity of it, and was in all things a very religious obſerver of the law of his God. And therefore [g] when ſome came from *Jeruſalem*, and told him of the ill ſtate of that city, how the walls of it were ſtill in many places broken down, and the gates of it in the ſame demoliſhed ſtate as when burnt with fire by the *Babylonians*, and that by reaſon hereof the remnant of the captivity that dwelt there lay open, not only to the incur-ſions and inſults of their enemies, but alſo to the reproach and contempt of their neighbours, as a weak and deſpicable people, and that they were in both theſe reſpects in great affliction and grief of heart; the good man being ſuitably moved with this repreſentation, applyed himſelf in faſting and prayer unto the Lord his God, and earneſtly ſupplicated to him for his people *Iſrael*, and the place which he had choſen for his worſhip among them. And having thus implored the divine mercy againſt this evil, he reſolved next to make his application to the King for the redreſſing of it, truſting in God for the inclining of his heart thereto. And therefore

[c] Nehem. ii. 3. [d] Vide Briſſonium de Regno Perſiæ, lib. 1. §. 93. [e] Nehem. ii. 1.
[f] Nehem. v. 14---19. [g] Nehem. i.

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when his turn came next to wait in his office, the [h] King obſerving his countenance to be ſad, which at other times uſed not ſo to be, and asking the cauſe thereof, he took this opportunity to lay before him the diſtreſſed ſtate of his countrey, and owning this to be a cauſe of great grief and ſadneſs unto him, he prayed the King to ſend him thither to remedy it; and by the favour of Queen *Eſther* he had his petition granted unto him. For it being particularly remarked [i] in the ſacred text, that the Queen was ſitting by the King when *Nehemiah* obtained this grant, it ſufficiently intimates that her favour was aſſiſting to him herein. And accordingly a royal decree was iſſued out for the rebuilding of the walls and gates of *Jeruſalem*, and *Nehemiah* was ſent thither with it, as governor of the province of *Judea*, to put it in execution. And to do him the more honour, the King ſent a guard of horſe with him, under the command of ſome of the captains of his army, to conduct him in ſafety to his government. And he wrote letters to all the governors on this ſide the river *Euphrates*, to further him in the work on which he was ſent; and alſo gave his order to *Aſaph* the keeper of his foreſts in thoſe parts, to allow him as much timber out of them, as ſhould be needed for the finiſhing of it. However the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, and the *Samaritans*, and other neighbouring nations round, did all they could to hinder him from proceeding therein. And to this they were excited, not only by the ancient and bitter enmity, which thoſe people bore to the whole *Jewiſh* nation, becauſe of the different manners and different religions which they were of, but moſt eſpecially at this time, becauſe of their lands. For during the time that the *Jews* were in captivity, theſe nations having ſeiſed their lands, were forced [k] to reſtore them on their return. For which reaſon they did all they could to oppoſe their reſettlement, hoping that if they could be kept low, they might find an opportunity ſome time or other of reſuming again the prey they had loſt. But *Nehemiah* was not at all diſcouraged hereat. For having, on his arrival at *Jeruſalem*, made known to the people the commiſſion with which he was ſent, he took a view of the ruins of the old walls, and [l] immediately ſet about the repairing of them, dividing the people into ſeveral companies, and aſſigning to each of them the quarter where they were to work; but reſerving to himſelf the reviewal and direction of the whole, in which he laboured ſo effectually, that all [m] was accompliſhed by the end of the mouth *Elul*, within the compaſs of fifty two days, notwithſtanding all manner of oppoſition that was made againſt him, both from within and from without. For from within ſeveral falſe prophets and other treacherous perſons endeavoured to create him obſtructions; and from without *Sanballat the Horonite*, *Tobias the Ammonite*, *Geſhem the Arabian*, and ſeveral others, gave him all the diſturbance they were able, not only by underhand dealings, and treacherous tricks and contrivances, but alſo by open force; ſo that while part of the people laboured in carrying on the building, the other part ſtood to their arms to defend them againſt the aſſaults of ſuch as had deſigns againſt them. And all had their arms at hand, even while they worked, to be ready at a ſignal given to draw together to any part, where the enemy ſhould be diſcovered to be coming upon them. And by this means they ſecured them-

[h] Nehem. ii. [i] Nehem. ii. 6. [k] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 4. [l] Nehem. iii. *and* iv. [m] Nehem. vi.

ſelves againſt all the attempts and deſigns of their enemies, till the work was brought to a concluſion. And when they had thus far finiſhed the walls, and ſet up the gates, a publick dedication of them [n] was celebrated with great ſolemnity by the prieſts and *Levites*, and all the people.

THE burden which the people underwent in the carrying on of this work, and the inceſſant labour which they were forced to undergo to bring it to ſo ſpeedy a concluſion, being very great, and ſuch as made [o] many of them faint and groan under it, and expreſs a deſpair of being able to perfect it: to revive their drooping ſpirits, and make them the more eaſy and ready to proceed in that, which was farther to be done, [p] care was taken to relieve them from a much greater burden, the oppreſſion of uſurers, which they then in great miſery lay under, and had much greater reaſon to complain of. For the rich taking advantage of the neceſſities of the meaner ſort, had exacted heavy uſury of them, making them pay the *Centeſima* for all monies lent them, [q] that is, one *per Cent.* for every month, which amounted to twelve *per Cent.* for the whole year; ſo that they were forced to mortgage their lands, and ſell their children into ſervitude, to have wherewith to buy bread for the ſupport of themſelves and their families; which being a manifeſt breach of the law of God, given them by *Moſes*, (for [r] that forbids all the race of *Iſrael* to take uſury of any of their brethren) *Nehemiah*, on his hearing hereof, reſolved forthwith to remove ſo great an iniquity; in order whereto he called a general aſſembly of all the people, where having ſet forth unto them the nature of the offence, how great a breach it was of the divine law, and how heavy an oppreſſion upon their brethren, and how much it might provoke the wrath of God againſt them, he cauſed it to be enacted by the general ſuffrage of that whole aſſembly, that all ſhould return to their brethren whatſoever had been exacted of them upon uſury, and alſo releaſe all the lands, vineyards, olive-yards and houſes, which had been taken of them upon mortgage on the account hereof.

AND thus far *Nehemiah* having executed the main of the end for which he obtained the favour of the King to be ſent to *Jeruſalem*, he appointed *Hanani* and *Hananiah* to be governors of the city, and returned again unto him into *Perſia*. For a time [s] had been ſet him for his return again to court, when he firſt obtained to be ſent from thence on this commiſſion, which as expreſſed in the text plainly imports a ſhort time, and not that of twelve years, (after which [t] he again went unto the King) as ſome do interpret it. And his having appointed governors of the city as ſoon as the walls were built, evidently implies, that he then went from thence, and was abſent for ſome time. For had he ſtill continued at *Jeruſalem*, he would not have needed any deputies to govern the place. And farthermore, the building of the walls of *Jeruſalem* being all for which he prayed his firſt commiſſion, when this was performed, he ſeems to have needed a new authority before he could go on to other proceedings, which were neceſſary for the well ſettling of the affairs of that countrey. But on his coming to the King, and having given him an account how all things ſtood in the province, and what farther was needful to be done for

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[n] Nehem. xii. [o] Nehem. iv. 10. [p] Nehem. v. [q] Nehem. v. 11. Vide Salmaſium de fœnore Trapezitico. [r] Exod. xxii. 25. Levit. xxv. 36, 37. Deut. xxiii. 19.
[s] Nehem. ii. 6. [t] Nehem. xiii. 6.

the

the well regulating of it, he ſoon obtained to be ſent back again to take care hereof; and the ſhortneſs of his abſence ſeems to have been the cauſe that there is no notice taken of it in the text, tho' the particulars I have mentioned ſeem ſufficiently to imply it.

NEHEMIAH being returned from the *Perſian* court with a new commiſſion, forthwith ſet himſelf to carry on the reformation of the church and the ſtate of the *Jews*, which *Ezra* had begun, and took along with him the advice and direction of that learned and holy ſcribe in all that he attempted herein. The firſt thing that he did was to provide for the ſecurity of the city which he had now fortifyed, by ſettling rules for the opening and ſhutting of the gates, and keeping watch and ward on the towers and walls. But [v] finding *Jeruſalem* to be but thinly inhabited, and that to make this burthen more eaſy, there needed more inhabitants to bear their ſhare with them in it, he projected the thorough re-peopling of the place. In order whereto [w] he prevailed firſt with the rulers and great men of the nation, to agree to build them houſes there, and dwell in them. And then others following their example, offered themſelves voluntarily to do the ſame. And of the reſt of the people every tenth man was taken by lot, and obliged to come to *Jeruſalem*, and there build them houſes, and ſettle themſelves and families in them. And now the city was fortified, and all that had their dwelling in it were there well ſecured by walls and gates, againſt the inſults of their enemies, and the incurſions of thieves and robbers who before moleſted them, all willingly complyed herewith; by which means the houſes, as well as the walls and gates, being again rebuilt, and fully repleniſhed with inhabitants, it ſoon after this recovered its ancient luſtre, and became again a city of great note in thoſe parts. So that *Herodotus*, who travelled thorough *Judea* a little after this time, doth in the deſcription which he gives us of it [x] compare it to *Sardis*, the metropolis of all the *leſſer Aſia*, [y] as hath been before obſerved; which manifeſtly proves, that by the reſtoring and building of the ſtreet and ditch of *Jeruſalem*, mentioned in the prophecy of *Daniel*, could not be meant this rebuilding of the walls and void places of that city. For what was predicted by that paſſage was not to be done but in ſeven weeks of years, that is, forty nine years. It muſt be acknowledged that *Herodotus* is ſaid [z] by *Euſebius* to have publickly read his hiſtory at *Athens* in the laſt year of the eighty third *Olympiad*, (that is, four hundred forty five years before *Chriſt*) and by [a] others to have gone the next year after (which is this very year four hundred forty four, of which we now treat) with a colony of *Athenians*, and other *Greeks*, into *Italy*, to inhabit *Thurium*, [b] a city then newly built near the place where formerly *Sibaris* ſtood; and therefore it may be from hence urged againſt what I have here ſaid, that *Herodotus* muſt before this time have ended his travels which he undertook for the making of this hiſtory, ſince this his hiſtory was finiſhed and publickly read at *Athens* the year before. To this I reply, that though he had read the firſt draught of this hiſtory at the time when *Euſebius* ſaith, yet he had not completed it till at leaſt thirty three years after. For there-

An. 444. Artaxerxes 21.

[v] Nehem. vii. 3, 4. [w] Nehem. xi. [x] Herodot. lib. iii. initio libri.
[y] *See above, under the year* 610. [z] In Chronico ſub Olympiade 83. [a] Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus in vita Lyſiæ Oratoris. Plinius, lib. xii. c. 4. Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 656.
[b] Diodor. Sic. lib. xii. p. 76, 77, 78.

in he makes mention of the *Peloponneſian* war, and of things done in it, [c] in the ſecond, and alſo [d] in the nineteenth year of that war, which laſt was the thirty third year after that, wherein he is ſaid by *Euſebius* to have publickly read that hiſtory at *Athens*, and therefore it could not have been fully completed by him till after that year. The truth of the matter appears plainly to have been thus: In the year four hundred forty five before *Chriſt*, which was the laſt year of the eighty third *Olympiad*, he did read his firſt draught of this hiſtory at *Athens*, being then thirty nine years old, but employed all his life after farther to poliſh and complete it; and did not put his laſt hand to it till after the nineteenth year of the *Peloponneſian* war, which was the thirty third after his firſt reading it at *Athens*. The next year after his having reading it there, he went thence with the colony to *Thurium*, that is, in the firſt year of the eighty fourth *Olympiad*, which was [e] the three hundred and tenth of the building of *Rome*, according to the *Varronian* account, and [f] twelve years before the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* war. And on his ſettling in that place, he reviſed what he had publickly read at *Athens*, from whence it is that he is ſaid by *Pliny* there to have made this hiſtory. And after his having continued ſome time at *Thurium*, he travelled from thence into the eaſt for the farther completeing of this hiſtory, and alſo for the gaining of materials for another, which he was then compoſing, of *Aſſyria* and *Babylon*. But this laſt was never publiſhed, [g] though he refers to it in his other hiſtory now extant; the reaſon, it's ſuppoſed, was, that he liv'd not to finiſh it, though by the above-mentioned account it appears he out-lived the ſeventy ſecond year of his age, and by [h] other particulars in his hiſtory it ſeems moſt likely that he lived much longer. And, I doubt not, it was in thoſe travels which he undertook from *Thurium*, that he went through *Judea*, and there ſaw *Jeruſalem*, which he calls *Cadytis*. For that the city, which he deſcribes under that name, could be none other than *Jeruſalem*, I have already ſhewn.

NEHEMIAH finding it neceſſary to have the genealogies of the people well examined into, and clearly ſtated, [i] betook himſelf in the next place to enquire into the matter. And this he did, not only for the ſake of their civil rights, that all knowing of what tribe and family they were, they might thereby be directed where to take their poſſeſſions; but eſpecially for the ſake of the ſanctuary, that none might be admitted to officiate there either as *Levites*, which were not of the tribe of *Levi*, or as prieſts, which were not of the family of *Aaron*. And therefore for the true ſettling of this matter, ſearch was made for the old regiſters, and having among them found a regiſter of the genealogies of thoſe who came up at firſt from *Babylon* with *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhua*, he ſettled this matter according to it, adding ſuch as afterwards came up, and expunging others, whoſe families were extinguiſhed; and this hath cauſed the difference that is between the accounts which we have of theſe genealogies in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*. For in the ii[d] chapter of *Ezra* we have the old regiſter made by *Zerubbabel*, and in the vii[th] of *Nehemiah*, from the 6[th] verſe to the end of the chap-

[c] Herodot. lib. 7. [d] Herodot. lib. 9. [e] Plinius, lib. xii. c. 4. [f] Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus in vita Lyſiæ Oratoris. [g] Herodot. lib. 1. [h] Vide Uſſerii Annales ſub anno I. P. 4306. [i] Nehem. vii.

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ter, a copy of it, as ſettled by *Nehemiah* with the alterations I have mentioned.

EZRA having completed his edition of the law of God, and written it out fairly and correctly in the *Chaldean* character, [j] did this year on the feaſt of trumpets publickly read it to the people at *Jeruſalem*. This feaſt was celebrated [k] on the firſt of *Tiſri*, the ſeventh month of the *Jews* eccleſiaſtical year, and the firſt of their civil year. Their coming out of *Egypt* having been in the month of *Niſan*, [l] from that time the beginning of the year in all eccleſiaſtical matters was reckoned among them from the beginning of that month, (which happened about the time of the vernal equinox) but [m] in all civil matters, as in contracts, bargains, and ſuch like, they ſtill continued to go by the old form, and begun their year from the firſt of *Tiſri*, (which happened about the time of the autumnal equinox) as all other nations of the eaſt then did, (as hath been afore obſerv'd) and all inſtruments and writings relating to contracts, bargains, or other civil mattters among them, were dated according to this year; and [n] all their jubilees and [o] ſabbatical years begun with it. And therefore it being reckoned their new-years day they celebrated it with a feſtival. And this feſtival being ſolemnized by the ſounding of trumpets, from the morning of that day to the end of it, thereby to proclaim and give notice to all of the beginning of the new year, it hath from hence been called the feaſt of trumpets. For the celebrating of this feaſt, [p] the people being aſſembled from all parts of the land at *Jeruſalem*, and underſtanding that *Ezra* had finiſhed his reviſal of the law, and written out a correct copy of it, they called upon him to have it read unto them. Whereon a ſcaffold, or large pulpit, being erected in the largeſt ſtreet of the city, where moſt might ſtand to hear, *Ezra* aſcended into it with thirteen others of the principal elders of the people, and having placed ſix of them on his right hand, and ſeven on his left, he ſtood up in the midſt of them, and having bleſſed the Lord, the great God, he began to read the law out of the *Hebrew* text. And as he did read it in this language, thirteen others of the *Levites*, whom he had inſtructed and appointed for this purpoſe, rendred it period by period into *Chaldee*, which was then the vulgar language of the people, and therein gave them the meaning of every particular part, and made them underſtand the ſame. And thus the holy ſcribe, with theſe his aſſiſtants, continued from morning till noon to read and explain unto the people the law of God, in ſuch manner as might beſt make them to know and underſtand it. But it being a feſtival day, when the time of dining approached, *Nehemiah* and *Ezra*, and the reſt, that were aſſiſting to them in thus inſtructing the people, diſmiſſed them for that time to their dinner, to eat and drink, and rejoice before the Lord the remaining part of the day, becauſe it was conſecrated to be thus kept holy unto him. But the next morning they aſſembled again in the ſame place, and *Ezra* and his aſſiſtants went on farther to read and explain to them the law of God, in the ſame manner as they had done the day before; and when they came to the 23[d] chapter of *Leviticus*, wherein is written the law of the feaſt of tabernacles, and had from thence explained unto them the obligation which

[j] Nehem. viii. [k] Numb. xxix. 1. Levit. xxiii. 24. [l] Exod. xii. 2.
[m] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 4. Talmud in Roſh Haſhanah. [n] Levit. xxv. 9.
[o] Levit. xxv. 8, 9. Maimonides de anno ſabbatico. [p] Nehem. viii.

was

was upon them to obſerve this feſtival, and ſhewn them, that the fifteenth day of that month was the day appointed for the beginning of it, this excited an eager deſire in all the people of fulfilling the law of God in this particular. And therefore proclamation was forthwith made through all *Judah* to give notice of the feſtival, and to warn all to be preſent at *Jeruſalem* on the ſaid fifteenth day of that month, for the obſerving of it. And accordingly they came thither at the time preſcribed, and as they had been inſtructed from the law of God, prepared booths made of the branches of trees, and kept the feſtival in them through the whole ſeven days of its continuance, in ſuch ſolemn manner, as had not been obſerved before from the days of *Joſhua* to that time. *Ezra* taking the advantage of having the people in ſo great a number thus aſſembled together, and ſo well diſpoſed towards the law of God, and the obſervance of it, went on with his aſſiſtants farther to read and explain it unto them, in the ſame manner as had been done in the two former days; and this they did day by day, from the firſt day to the laſt day of the feſtival, till they had gone through the whole law. By which the people perceiving in how many things they had tranſgreſſed the commands of God, through the ignorance in which they had been kept of them, (for till now the law had never been read to them ſince their return from *Babylon)* expreſſed great trouble of heart hereat, being much grieved for their ſins, and exceedingly terrified with the fear of God's wrath for the puniſhment of them. *Nehemiah* and *Ezra* finding them in ſo good a temper, applied themſelves to make the beſt improvement that could be made of it, for the honour of God and the intereſt of religion, and therefore [q] forthwith proclaimed a faſt to be held the next day ſave one after the feſtival was ended, that is, on the twenty fourth day of the ſame month, to which having called all the people, while the ſenſe of theſe things was freſh and warm on their minds, they excited them to make a publick and ſolemn confeſſion before God of all their ſins, and alſo to enter into a ſolemn vow and covenant with God, to avoid them for the future, and ſtrictly hold themſelves faſt to the obſervance of God's laws. The obſervances which they chiefly obliged themſelves to in this covenant, were; 1ſt, Not to make intermarriages with the *Gentiles*, either by giving their daughters to them, or by taking any of their daughters to themſelves; 2dly, To obſerve the ſabbaths and ſabbatical years; 3dly, To pay their annual tribute to the temple, for the repairing of it, and the finding of all neceſſaries for the carrying on of the publick ſervice in it; and, 4thly, To pay the tithes and firſt fruits to the prieſts and *Levites*. Which particulars thus eſpecially named in this covenant ſhew unto us, what were the laws of God, which hitherto they had been moſt neglectful of ſince their return from their captivity.

AND it being their ignorance of the law of God that had led them into theſe tranſgreſſions againſt it, and this ignorance having been occaſioned by their not having it read unto them, for the preventing hereof for the future, they from this time got the learnedeſt of the *Levites*, and other ſcribes, that were beſt skill'd in the law of God, to read it unto them in every city, which at firſt they did no doubt in the ſame manner as *Ezra* had done, that is, by gathering the people together to them in ſome wide ſtreet, or other open place of their city, which was of fitteſt capacity to

[q] Nehem. ix.

receive.

receive them. But the inconvenience of this being ſoon felt, eſpecially in the winter and ſtormy ſeaſons of the year, for the remedy hereof they erected them houſes or tabernacles, wherein to meet for this purpoſe, and this was the original of ſynagogues among them. That they had no ſynagogues before the *Babyloniſh* captivity is plain, not only from the ſilence which is of them in all the ſcriptures of the *Old Teſtament*, but alſo from ſeveral paſſages therein, which evidently prove there could be none in thoſe days. For as it is a common ſaying among the *Jews*, [t] 'that where there is no book of the law, there can be no ſynagogue'; ſo the reaſon of the thing proves it. For the main ſervice of the ſynagogue being the reading of the law unto the people, where there was no book of the law to be read, there certainly could be no ſynagogue. But how rare the book of the law was through all *Judah* before the *Babyloniſh* captivity, many texts of ſcripture tell us. When *Jehoſaphat* ſent teachers through all *Judah*, to inſtruct the people in the law of God, they [t] 'carried a book of the law with them,' which they needed not have done, if there had been any copies of the law in thoſe cities to which they went; which certainly there would have been, had there then been any ſynagogues in them; it being the ſame abſurdity to ſuppoſe a *Jewiſh* ſynagogue without a copy of the law, as it would with us to ſuppoſe a pariſh church without a bible. And therefore as this proves the want of the law through all *Judah* in thoſe times, ſo doth it alſo the want of ſynagogues in them. And when [t] '*Hilkiah* found the law in the temple, neither he nor King *Joſiah* needed have been ſo ſurpriſed at it, had books of the law been common in thoſe times. Their behaviour on that occaſion ſufficiently proves they had never ſeen it before, which could not be, had there then been any other copies of it to be found among the people. And if there were no copies of the law at that time among them, there could then be moſt certainly no ſynagogues for them to reſort to, for the hearing of it read unto them. From hence it plainly follows, there could be no ſynagogues among the *Jews*, till after the *Babyloniſh* captivity. And it is moſt probable, that *Ezra*'s reading to them the law, and the neceſſity which thereon they perceived there was, of having it oftner read among them for their inſtruction in it, gave them the occaſion of erecting them after the captivity, in the manner as I have related; and moſt [v] 'learned men are of this opinion, and [w] 'ſome of the *Jews* themſelves ſay as much. Concerning theſe ſynagogues I think it proper here to inform the reader; 1ſt, In what places they were to be erected; 2dly, What was the ſervice to be performed in them; 3dly, What were the times of their aſſembling for this ſervice; and 4thly, Who were their miniſters to perform it.

I. As to the firſt, their rule was, that a ſynagogue was to be erected in every place, [x] 'where there were ten *Batelnim*, that is, ten perſons of full age and free condition, always at leiſure to attend the ſervice of it. For leſs than ten ſuch according to them did not make a congregation, and without ſuch a congregation preſent, no part of the ſynagogue ſervice

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[r] Midraſh Eſther 123. 1. Tanchuma 54. 2. [t] 2 Chron. xvii. 9. [t] 2 Kings xxii.

[v] Spencer de Legibus Heb. lib. 1. c. 4. §. 10. Vitringa de Synagoga vetere, lib. 1. part. 2. cap. 9, 10, 11, 12. Relandus in Antiquit. Sacr. part. 1. cap. 10. [w] Maimonides in Tephillah.

[x] Megillah, cap. 1. §. 3. Maimonides in Tephillah. *See alſo* Lightfoot *in his Harmony*, §. 17. *and in his* Talmudical *exercitations upon St.* Matthew iv. 23.

could

could be performed; and therefore wherever they could always be ſecure of ſuch a congregation, that is, of ten ſuch perſons to be preſent at the ſervice, in all the ſtated times in which it was to be performed, there they were to build a ſynagogue. For where ten ſuch perſons might always be had at leiſure to attend the ſynagogue in all their religious aſſemblies, this they reckoned a great city, and here they would have a ſynagogue to be built, but not otherwiſe. For I take the rule above-mentioned to be reſtrictive in the negative ſenſe, as well as obligatory in the affirmative, and to ſhew where a ſynagogue ought not to be built, as well as where it ought, that is, that no ſynagogue ought to be built in any place, where there were not ſuch a number of inhabitants, as might give a reaſonable preſumption, that there would be always ten perſons at leiſure to be preſent in every ſynagogue aſſembly, and that as well on the week days as on their ſabbaths, becauſe without ſuch a number they could not go on with the ſynagogue ſervice. At firſt theſe ſynagogues were few, but afterwards they became multiplyed to a great number in the ſame manner as pariſh churches with us, which they much reſembled. So that in our Saviour's time, there was no town in *Judea* but what had one or more of them. The *Jews* tell us, that about that time [y] *Tiberias* alone, which was a city of *Galilee*, had twelve of them, and *Jeruſalem* [z] four hundred and eighty; but herein they are ſuppoſed to have ſpoken hyperbolically, and to have expreſſed an uncertain large number by a certain. If this were to be underſtood ſtrictly and literally, what is ſaid [a] by ſome of theſe ten *Batelnim*, that they were the ſtationary men of the ſynagogue, hired to be always preſent to make a congregation, muſt be underſtood of many of them. For were their number ſo multiplied, they could not otherwiſe in every one of them be always ſure of a congregation, eſpecially on the working days of the week, two of which were always ſolemn ſynagogue days, as well as the ſabbaths. It is *Lightfoot*'s opinion, that theſe ten *Batelnim* were the elders and miniſters that governed and managed the ſynagogue ſervice; but this is ſaid without a ſufficient foundation to ſupport it.

II. THE ſervice to be performed in theſe ſynagogue aſſemblies were prayers, reading the ſcriptures, and preaching and expounding upon them.

1ſt, FOR their prayers they have liturgies, in which are all the preſcribed forms of their ſynagogue worſhip. Theſe at firſt were very few, but ſince they are increaſed unto a very large bulk, which makes their ſynagogue ſervice very long and tedious; and the rubric, by which they regulate it, is very perplex'd and intricate, and encumber'd with many rites and ceremonious obſervances; in all which, they equal, if not exceed, both the ſuperſtition, and alſo the length of the popiſh ſervice. The moſt ſolemn part of their prayers are thoſe, which they call [b] *Shemoneh Eſhreh*, i. e. *The eighteen prayers*. Theſe they ſay were compoſed and inſtituted by *Ezra*, and the great ſynagogue; and to them *Rabbi Gamaliel*, a little before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, added the nineteenth againſt the chriſtians, who are therein meant under the names of apoſtates and hereticks. It is certain theſe prayers are very ancient. For mention is made of them [c] in the *Miſhna* as old ſettled forms; and no doubt is to be made but that

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[y] Berachoth, f. 8. [z] *See* Lightfoot's Chorographical *Century*, c. 36. [a] Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 292. [b] *Of theſe ſee* Maimonides in Tephillah. [c] In Berachoth, cap. 4. §. 3.

they

they were uſed in our Saviour's time; at leaſt moſt of them, [d] if not all the eighteen, and conſequently that he joined in them with the reſt of the *Jews*, whenever he went into their ſynagogues, as [e] he always did every ſabbath day. And from hence two things may be inferr'd for the conſideration of our diſſenters; 1ſt, That our Saviour diſliked not ſet forms of prayer in publick worſhip. And, 2dly, That he was contented to join with the publick in the meaneſt forms, rather than ſeparate from it. For theſe eighteen prayers in compariſon of thoſe now uſed in our church, are very jejune and empty forms; and that the reader may ſee they are ſo, I ſhall here add a tranſlation of them in the ſame order as they are in the *Jewiſh* liturgies, adding the nineteenth prayer to them, which according to the ſaid order is the twelfth in number, as here recited.

1. *BLESSED be thou, O Lord, our God, the God of our fathers, the God of* Abraham, *the God of* Iſaac, *the God of* Jacob, *the great God, powerful and tremendous, the high God, bountifully diſpenſing benefits, the creator and poſſeſſor of the univerſe, who remembreſt the good deeds of our fathers, and in thy love ſendeſt a redeemer to thoſe, who are deſcended from them, for thy name ſake, O King, our helper, our ſaviour and our ſhield. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, who art the ſhield of* Abraham.

2. *THOU, O Lord, art powerful for ever. Thou raiſeſt the dead to life, and art mighty to ſave; thou ſendeſt down the dew, ſtilleſt the winds, and makeſt the rain to come down upon the earth, and ſuſtaineſt with thy beneficence all that live therein; and of thy abundant mercy makeſt the dead again to live. Thou helpeſt up thoſe that fall; thou cureſt the ſick; thou looſeſt them that are bound, and makeſt good thy word of truth to thoſe that ſleep in the duſt. Who is to be compared to thee, O thou Lord of might? and who is like unto thee, O our King, who killeſt and makeſt alive, and makeſt ſalvation to ſpring up as the herb out of the field? Thou art faithful to make the dead to riſe again to life. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, who raiſeſt the dead again to life.*

3. *THOU art holy, and thy name is holy, and thy ſaints do praiſe thee every day.* Selah. *For a great King and an holy art thou, O God. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord God moſt holy.*

4. *THOU of thy mercy giveſt knowledge unto men, and teacheſt them underſtanding; give graciouſly unto us knowledge, wiſdom, and underſtanding. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, who graciouſly giveſt knowledge unto men.*

5. *BRING us back, O our father, to the obſervance of thy law, and make us to adhere to thy precepts; and do thou, O our King, draw us near to thy worſhip, and convert us unto thee by perfect repentance in thy preſence. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, who vouchſafeſt to receive us by repentance.*

6. *BE thou merciful unto us, O our Father, for we have ſinned; pardon us, O our King, for we have tranſgreſſed againſt thee. For thou art a God, good and ready to pardon. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, moſt gracious, who multiplieſt thy mercies in the forgiveneſs of ſins.*

7. *LOOK, we beſeech thee, upon our afflictions. Be thou on our ſide in*

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[d] *It muſt be acknowledged, that ſome of theſe prayers ſeem to have been compoſed after the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem, *and to have reference to it, eſpecially the* 10th, *the* 11th, *the* 14th, *and the* 17th. *Tho' it is poſſible ſome of theſe might refer to the calamities of the ancienter times.* [e] Luke iv. 16.

all our contentions, and plead thou our cauſe in all our litigations, and make haſte to redeem us with a perfect redemption for thy name's ſake. For thou art our God, our King, and a ſtrong redemeer. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Iſrael.

8. *HEAL us, O Lord our God, and we ſhall be healed. Save us, and we ſhall be ſaved. For thou art our praiſe. Bring unto us ſound health, and a perfect remedy for all our infirmities, and for all our griefs, and for all our wounds. For thou art a God who healeſt, and art merciful. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord our God, who cureſt the diſeaſes of thy people* Iſrael.

9. *BLESS us, O Lord our God, in every work of our hands, and bleſs unto us the ſeaſons of the year, and give us the dew and the rain to be a bleſſing unto us upon the face of all our land, and ſatiate the world with thy bleſſings, and ſend down moiſture upon every part of the earth that is habitable. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, who giveſt thy bleſſing to the years.*

10. *CONVOCATE us together by the ſound of the great Trumpet to the enjoyment of our Liberty, and lift up thy enſign to call together all of the captivity, from the four quarters of the earth into our own land. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, who gathereſt together the exiles of the people of* Iſrael.

11. *RESTORE unto us our judges as at the firſt, and our counſellors as at the beginning, and remove far from us affliction and trouble; and do thou only reign over us in benignity, and in mercy, and in righteouſneſs, and in juſtice. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord our King, who loveſt righteouſneſs and juſtice.*

12. [f] *LET there be no hope to them who apoſtatiſe from the true religion; and let heretics, how many ſoever they be, all periſh as in a moment. And let* [g] *the kingdom of pride be ſpeedily rooted out, and broken in our days. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord our God, who deſtroyeſt the wicked, and bringeſt down the proud.*

13. *UPON the pious and the juſt, and upon* [h] *the Proſelytes of Juſtice, and upon the remnant of thy people of the houſe of* Iſrael, *let thy mercies be moved, O Lord our God, and give a good reward unto all who faithfully put their truſt in thy name, and grant us our portion with them, and for ever let us not be aſhamed; for we put our truſt in thee. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, who art the ſupport and confidence of the juſt.*

14. *DWELL thou in the midſt of* Jeruſalem *thy city, as thou haſt promiſed, build it with a building to laſt for ever; and do this ſpeedily, even in our days. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, who buildeſt* Jeruſalem.

15. *MAKE the offſpring of* David *thy ſervant ſpeedily to grow up and flouriſh, and let our horn be exalted in thy ſalvation. For we hope for thy ſalvation every day. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, who makeſt the horn of our ſalvation to flouriſh.*

16. *HEAR our voice, O Lord our God, moſt merciful father, pardon and have mercy upon us, and accept of our Prayers with mercy and favour,*

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[f] *This is the prayer which was added by* Rabbi Gamaliel *againſt the Chriſtians; or, as others ſay, by* Rabbi Samuel *the little, who was one of his ſcholars.* [g] *The* Roman *empire.*

[h] *The proſelytes of juſtice were ſuch as received the whole* Jewiſh *law, and conformed in all things to their religion. Other proſelytes there were, who conformed only to the ſeven precepts of the ſons of* Noah, *and theſe were called the proſelytes of the gate, becauſe they worſhipped only in the outer court of the temple, and were admitted no farther than the gate leading into the inner courts.*

and

and ſend us not away empty from thy preſence, O our King. For thou heareſt with mercy the prayer of thy people Iſrael. *Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, who heareſt prayer.*

17. *BE thou well pleaſed, O Lord our God, with thy people* Iſrael, *and have regard unto their prayers. Reſtore thy worſhip to the inner part of thy houſe, and make haſte with favour and love to accept of the burnt ſacrifices of* Iſrael, *and their prayers; and let the worſhip of* Iſrael *thy people be continually well pleaſing unto thee. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, who reſtoreſt thy divine preſence to* Zion.

18. *WE will give thanks unto thee with praiſe. For thou art the Lord our God, the God of our fathers for ever and ever. Thou art our rock, and the rock of our life, the ſhield of our ſalvation. To all generations will we give thanks unto thee, and declare thy praiſe, becauſe of our life which is always in thy hands, and becauſe of our ſouls which are ever depending upon thee, and becauſe of thy ſigns which are every day with us, and becauſe of thy wonders, and marvellous loving-kindneſſes, which are morning and evening, and night, continually before us. Thou art good, for thy mercies are not conſumed; thou art merciful, for thy loving-kindneſſes fail not. For ever we hope in thee; and for all theſe mercies be thy name, O King, bleſſed, and exalted, and lifted up on high for ever and ever; and let all that live give thanks unto thee.* Selah. *And let them in truth and ſincerity praiſe thy name, O God of our ſalvation and our help.* Selah. *Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, whoſe name is good, and whom it is fitting always to give thanks unto.*

19. *GIVE peace, beneficence, and benediction, grace, benignity, and mercy unto us, and to* Iſrael *thy people. Bleſs us, O our father, even all of us together as one man, with the light of thy countenance. For in the light of thy countenance haſt thou given unto us, O Lord our God, the law of life, and love, and benignity, and righteouſneſs, and bleſſing, and mercy, and life, and peace. And let it ſeem good in thine Eyes, to bleſs thy people* Iſrael *with thy peace at all times, and in every moment. Bleſſed art thou, O Lord, who bleſſeſt thy people* Iſrael *with peace.* Amen.

SINCE our Saviour ſpared not freely to tell the *Jews* of all the corruptions which they had in his time run into, and on all occaſions reproached them therewith, had it been contrary to the will of God to uſe ſet forms of prayer in his publick ſervice, or had it been diſpleaſing to him to be addreſſed to in ſuch mean forms, when much better might have been made, we may be ſure he would have told them of both, and joined with them in neither: But he having never found fault with them for uſing ſet forms, but on the contrary taught his own diſciples a ſet form to pray by; nor at any time expreſſed a diſlike of the forms then in uſe becauſe of the meanneſs and emptyneſs of them, but always joined with them in their ſynagogues in the forms above recited. This may ſatisfy our diſſenters, if any thing can ſatisfy men ſo perverſly bent after their own ways, that neither our uſing ſet forms of prayers in our publick worſhip, nor the uſing of ſuch which they think not ſufficiently edifying, can be objections ſufficient to juſtify them in their refuſal to joyn with us in them. For they have the example of *Chriſt* in both theſe thus directly againſt them. The truth is, whether there be a form or no form, or whether the form be elegantly or meanly compoſed, nothing of this availeth to the recommending of our

prayers unto God. It is the true and ſincere devotion of the heart only, that can make them acceptable unto him. For it is this only that gives life and vigor, and true acceptance to all our religious addreſſes unto him. Without this, how elegantly and moving ſoever the prayer may be compoſed, and with how much ſeeming fervor and zeal ſoever it may be poured out, all is as dead matter, and of no validity in the preſence of our God. But if we bring this with us to his worſhip, any form of prayer, provided it be of ſound words, may be ſufficient to make us and our worſhip acceptable unto him, and obtain mercy, peace, and pardon from him. For it is not the fineneſs of ſpeech, or the elegancy of expreſſion, but the ſincerity of the mind, and the true devotion of the heart only, that God regards in all our prayers which we offer up unto him. It is true, a new gingle of words, and a fervent delivery of them by the miniſter in prayer, may have ſome effect upon the auditors, and often raiſe in ſuch of them, as are affected this way, a devotion which otherwiſe they would not have. But this being wholly artificial, which all drops again as ſoon as the engine is removed that raiſed it, it is none of that true habitual devotion, which can alone render us acceptable unto our God in any of our addreſſes unto him. This we ought to bring with us, whenever we come into the houſe of God to worſhip before him, and with this in any form, which is of ſound words, we may pray acceptably unto him, and none can ever do ſo without it. But whether any form of ſuch ſound words can be well preſerved in thoſe extemporary effuſions of prayer which ſome delight in, whether this doth not often lead them into undecent, and ſometimes into blaſphemous expreſſions, to the great diſhonour of God, and the damage of religion, it behoves thoſe, who are for this way, ſeriouſly to conſider.

BUT to return from whence I have digreſſed: [i] Theſe nineteen prayers were enjoyned to be ſaid by all that were of age, of what ſex, or condition ſoever, either in publick or in private, three times every day, that is, in the morning, in the afternoon, and at night. And they were of that eſteem, and are ſo ſtill among them, that they allow the name of prayer to be proper to the ſaying of theſe nineteen prayers only, looking on it by way of eminence to be much more ſo, than the ſaying of all the reſt. And therefore they are on every ſynagogue day offered up in the ſolemneſt manner in all their publick aſſemblies. But theſe prayers are, in their offices, no other than as the Lord's prayer in ours; that is, they are the fundamenal and principal part. For beſides them they have many other prayers, ſome going before, others interſperſed between them, and others following after, which all together make their ſynagogue-ſervice very long. [k] Our Saviour found fault with their prayers for being too long in his time; many additions in their liturgies have made them much more ſo ſince.

2. THE ſecond part of their ſynagogue-ſervice is the reading of the ſcriptures, which is of three ſorts: 1ſt, The *Kiriath Shema*; 2d, The reading of the law; and 3d, The reading of the prophets. Of the two latter I have already ſpoken, and therefore I ſhall now treat only of the firſt. [l] It conſiſts in the reading of three portions of ſcripture. The firſt is from the beginning of the 4th verſe of the vith chapter of *Deuteronomy*, to the end

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[i] Maimonides in Tephillah. [k] Matth. xxiii. 14. Mark xii. 14. Luke xx. 47.
[l] Maimonides in Kiriath Shema. Vitringa de ſynagoga vetere, lib. 3. part. 2. cap. 15.

of

of the 9th verſe; the ſecond, from the beginning of the 13th verſe of the xith chapter of *Deuteronomy*, to the end of the 21st verſe; and the third, from the beginning of the 37th verſe of the xvth chapter of *Numbers*, to the end of the chapter. And becauſe the firſt of theſe portions in the *Hebrew* bible begins with the word *Shema*, i. e. *hear*, they call all theſe three together the *Shema*, and the reading of them *Kiriath Shema*, that is, *the reading of the Shema*. This reading of the *Shema* is accompanied with ſeveral prayers and benedictions, both before and after it, and is, next the ſaying of the nineteen prayers, the ſolemneſt part of their religious ſervice, and is in the ſame manner as that to be performed according to their ritual every day, (that is, either publickly in their ſynagogue-aſſemblies, or elſe privately out of them, on thoſe days when there are no ſuch aſſemblies, or when they cannot be preſent at them) only with this difference, that whereas the nineteen prayers are to be ſaid thrice every day, and by every perſon of age without any exception; the reading or repeating of the *Shema* is only to be twice a day, that is, morning and evening; and the males only, which are of free condition, are obliged to it, all women and ſervants being excuſed from the duty. They think they are bound to the repeating of this *Shema* every morning and evening, becauſe of the words of the law, *Deuter.* vi. 7. *And thou ſhalt talk of them---when thou lieſt down, and when thou riſeſt up*; and alſo becauſe of the like words, *Deuter.* xi. 19. The reading or repeating of this *Shema*, in the manner as is here related, they think is of great moment for the preſerving of religion among them, as moſt certainly it muſt be, becauſe thereby they do twice every day make confeſſion of the unity of God, and of the duties which they owe unto him.

3. THE third part of the ſynagogue-ſervice is the expounding of the ſcriptures, and preaching to the people from them. The firſt was performed at the time of the reading of them, and the other after the reading both of the law and the prophets was over. It is plain *Chriſt* taught the *Jews* in their ſynagogues both theſe ways; when [n] he came to *Nazareth*, his own city, he was called out, as a member of that ſynagogue, to read the *Haphterah*, that is, the ſection or leſſon out of the prophets, which was to be read that day. And when he had ſtood up and read it he ſat down and expounded it, as was the uſage of the *Jews* in both theſe caſes. For our of reverence to the law and the prophets they ſtood up, when they did read any portion out of either; and in regard to themſelves, as teachers, they ſat when they expounded. But in all other ſynagogues, of which he was not a member, when he entered into them (as he always did [n] every ſabbath day wherever he was) he taught the people in ſermons, after the reading of the law and the prophets was over. And ſo [o] St. *Paul* taught the *Jews* in their ſynagogue at *Antioch* in *Piſidia*. For there it is expreſsly ſaid in the ſacred text, that his preaching was after the reading of the law and the prophets was ended.

III. THE times of their ſynagogue-ſervice [p] were three days a week, beſides their holidays, whether faſts or feſtivals, and thrice on every one of thoſe days; that is, in the morning, and in the afternoon, and at night. Their ordinary ſynagogue days in every week were *Monday*, *Thurſday* and *Sa-*

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[n] Luke iv. 16, 17, &c. [n] Luke iv. 16. [o] Acts xiii. 15.
[p] Maimonides in Tephillah.

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turday. *Saturday* was their ſabbath, the day ſet apart among them for religious exerciſes by divine appointment, and the other two by the appointment of the elders, that ſo three days might not paſs without the publick reading of the law among them. The reaſon which they give for this is taken from their myſtical interpretation of the law. For whereas we find it ſaid, (*Exodus* xv. 22.) that the *Iſraelites* were in great diſtreſs on their travelling three days in the wilderneſs without water, by water they tell us is there myſtically meant the law, and therefore ſay, that for this reaſon they ought not to be three days together without the hearing of it, and conſequently for the avoiding hereof they have ordained, that it be publickly read in their ſynagogues thrice every week. And their manner of doing it is as followeth. The whole law, or five books of *Moſes*, being divided into as many ſections or leſſons, as there are weeks in their year, (as hath been before ſhewn) on *Monday* they began with that which was proper for that week, and read it half way thorough, and on *Thurſday* proceeded to read the remainder; and on *Saturday*, which was their ſolemn ſabbath, they did read all over again, from the beginning to the end of the ſaid leſſon or ſection; and this both morning and evening. On the week days they did read it only in the morning, but on the ſabbath they did read it in the evening, as well as in the morning, for the ſake of labourers and artificers, who could not leave their work to attend the ſynagogues on the week days, that ſo all might hear twice every week the whole ſection or leſſon of that week read unto them. And when the reading of the prophets was added to that of the law, they obſerved the ſame order in it. As the ſynagogue-ſervice was to be on three days every week for the ſake of their hearing the law; ſo it was to be thrice on thoſe days for the ſake of their prayers. For it was a conſtant rule among them, that all were to pray unto God three times every day, that is, in the morning at the time of the morning ſacrifice, and in the evening at the time of the evening ſacrifice, and at the beginning of the night, becauſe till then the evening ſacrifice was ſtill left burning upon the altar. It's certain that it was anciently among God's people, the ſteady practice of good and religious perſons, to offer up their prayers to God thrice every day. This we find *David*, and this we find *Daniel* did. For the former ſays, (Pſal. lv. 17.) *Evening, morning, and at noon, will I pray*. And the latter tells us, That notwithſtanding the King's decree to the contrary, *he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks unto his God, as he did afore time*. By which it is plainly implyed, that he did not only at that time thus pray, but that it was always his conſtant cuſtom ſo to do. They having had no ſynagogues till after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, till then they had not any ſet forms for their prayers, neither had they any ſolemn aſſemblies for their praying to God at all, except at the temple only. That was always the houſe of prayer, [q] ſo *Iſaiah*, and ſo from him [r] our Saviour calls it, and to this uſe *Solomon* conſecrated it; and there the times of prayer were fixed to the times of the morning and evening ſacrifice, and the ordinary time of the former was at nine in the morning, and of the latter at three in the afternoon; but on extraordinary days, as ſabbaths, feſtivals and faſts, there being additional ſacrifices, additions were alſo

[q] Ch. lvi. 7. [r] Matth. xxi. 13. Mark xi. 17. Luke xix. 46.

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made to the times of offering them, and both the morning and the evening ſervice did then begin ſooner than on other days. As ſoon as they did begin [f] the ſtationary men were preſent in the court of *Iſrael*, to offer up their prayers for the whole congregation of *Iſrael*, and other devout perſons, who voluntarily attended, were without in the court, called the court of the women, praying for themſelves. But neither of theſe had any [t] publick forms to pray by, nor any publick miniſters to officiate to them herein, but all prayed in private by themſelves, and all according to their own private conceptions. And therefore our Saviour [v] in the parable of the publican and the phariſee, making them to go up both together into the temple to pray, introduceth them there, as each making his own prayer for himſelf. For there all thus prayed, and ſo continued to do all the while the publick ſacrifices were offering up, both morning and evening. And [w] the offering of incenſe on the golden altar in the holy place, at every morning and evening ſervice in the temple, was inſtituted on purpoſe to offer up unto God the prayers of the people, who were then without, praying unto him. And hence it was, that [x] St. *Luke* tells us, that while *Zacharias* went into the temple to burn incenſe, *The whole multitude of the people were praying without at the time of incenſe.* And for the ſame reaſon is it that [y] *David* prayed; *Let my prayers be ſet forth before thee as incenſe, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening ſacrifice.* And according to this uſage, is to be explained what we find in the *Revelations*; (chap. viii. 4, 5.) for there it is ſaid, *That an angel came and ſtood at the altar, having a golden cenſer, and there was given unto him much incenſe, that he ſhould offer it up with the prayers of all ſaints upon the golden altar, which was before the throne, and the ſmoke of the incenſe, which came with the prayers of the ſaints, aſcended up before God out of the angel's hands.* For the angel here mentioned is the angel of the covenant, *Chriſt* our Lord, who intercedes for us with our God, and as our mediator conſtantly offers up our prayers unto him. And the manner of his doing this, is here ſet forth by the manner of the typical repreſentation of it in the temple. For as there at every morning and evening ſacrifice, the prieſt, in virtue of that ſacrifice entering into the holy place, and preſenting himſelf at the golden altar, which ſtood directly before the mercy ſeat, (the throne of God's viſible preſence among them, during the tabernacle and the firſt temple) did burn incenſe thereon, while the people were at their prayers without, thereby as interceſſor to God for them, to offer up their prayers to him for his gracious acceptance, and to make them aſcend up before him from out of his hands, as a ſweet ſmelling ſavour in his preſence; ſo *Chriſt*, our true prieſt, and moſt powerful interceſſor, by virtue of that one ſacrifice of himſelf once offered for all, being entered into the holy place, the heaven above, is there continually preſent before the throne of mercy, to be a conſtant interceſſor for us unto our God; and while we are here in the outer court of his church in this world, offering up our prayers unto our God, he there preſents them unto him for us, and through his hands they are accepted as a ſweet ſmell-

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[f] *See* Lightfoot's *Temple Service.* [t] *If there were any ſtated forms for this worſhip, they were only as helps for thoſe who prayed at the temple, which every one offered up for himſelf without a publick miniſter.* [v] Luke xviii. 10, 11, 12, 13. [w] *See* Lightfoot's *Temple Service*, chap. 9.
[x] Chap. i. 9, 10. [y] Pſalm cxli. 2.

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ing favour in his preſence. And it being well underſtood among the *Jews*, that the offering up of the daily ſacrifices, and the burning of incenſe upon the altar of incenſe, at the time of thoſe ſacrifices, was for the rendring of God propitious unto them, and making their prayers to be acceptable in his preſence, they were very careful to make the times of theſe offerings, and the times of their prayers, both at the temple, and every where elſe, to be exactly the ſame. And therefore as ſoon as ſynagogues were erected among them, the hours of publick devotions in them on their ſynagogue-days, were as to morning and evening prayers the ſame hours, in which the morning and evening ſacrifices were offered up at the temple. And the ſame hours were alſo obſerved in their private prayers, where-ever performed. Moſt good and devout perſons that were at *Jeruſalem*, choſe on thoſe times to go up into the temple, and there offer up their prayers unto God. And thus [z] *Peter* and *John* are ſaid to go up into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour of the day, which was at three in the afternoon, the time of the offering up of the evening ſacrifice. For the *Jews* reckoned the hours of the day from ſix in the morning. Thoſe who were in other places, or being at *Jeruſalem* had not leiſure to go up to the temple, did then their devotions elſewhere, all thinking themſelves obliged daily to ſay their prayers at thoſe times. If it were a ſynagogue-day, they went into the ſynagogue, and there prayed with the congregation; and if it were not a ſynagogue-day, they then prayed in private by themſelves; and if they had leiſure to go to the ſynagogue, they choſe that for the place to do it in, thinking ſuch an holy place the propereſt for ſuch an holy exerciſe, tho' performed there in their private perſons only; but if they had not leiſure to go to ſuch an holy place, then they prayed where-ever they were at the hour of prayer, though it were in the ſtreet or market place. And for this it was, that our Saviour [a] found fault with them, when he told them, that *they loved to pray ſtanding in the ſynagogues, and in the corners of the ſtreets*, thereby affecting more to be ſeen of men, than to be accepted of by God. But many of them had upper rooms in their houſes, which were as chappels, particularly ſet apart and conſecrated for this purpoſe. In [b] ſuch an one *Cornelius* was praying at the ninth hour of the day, that is, at the time of the evening ſacrifice, when the angel appeared unto him. And ſuch an one [c] *Peter* went up into to pray about the ſixth hour of the day, when he had the viſion of the great ſheet, that is, half an hour paſt twelve or thereabout. For then the evening ſacrifice did begin on great and ſolemn days, and ſuch an one it ſeems hereby that was. And in ſuch an [d] upper room were the holy apoſtles aſſembled together in prayer, when the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon them.

IV. As to the miniſtration of the ſynagogue-ſervice, it was not confined to the ſacerdotal order. They were conſecrated only to the ſervice of the temple, which was quite of another nature, as conſiſting only in the offering up of ſacrifices and oblations. At the time indeed of the morning and evening ſacrifices, the *Levites* and other ſingers ſung pſalms of praiſe unto God before the altar, and in the concluſion the prieſts bleſſed the people, which may ſeem to bear ſome reſemblance to what was done

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[z] Acts iii. 1. [a] Matth. vi. 5. [b] Acts x. 3. *and* 30. [c] Acts x. 9.
[d] Acts i. 13. *See Mr.* Mede, Book 2. Tract. 1.

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in the ſynagogue. But in [a] all other particulars the publick ſynagogue-ſervice was wholly different from the publick ſervice of the temple. Of what parts it conſiſted I have already explained. And any one that by learning was qualify'd for it, of what tribe ſoever he were, was admitted to the adminiſtration. But, that order might be preſerved, there were in every ſynagogue ſome fixed miniſters to take care of the religious duties to be perform'd in it. And theſe were by impoſition of hands ſolemnly admitted thereto. The firſt were the elders of the ſynagogue, who governed all the affairs of it, and directed all the duties of religion therein to be performed. Theſe are in the ſcriptures of the *New Teſtament* [f] called Ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, that is, rulers of the ſynagogue. How many of theſe were in every ſynagogue is no where ſaid. But this is certain, they were more than one. For they are mentioned in ſcripture [g] in the plural number, in reſpect of the ſame ſynagogue. And at *Corinth*, [h] *Criſpus* and *Soſthenes* are both ſaid to be chief rulers of the ſynagogue, tho' it is not likely, that there was more than one ſynagogue in that city. Next to them (or perchance one of them) was the miniſter of the ſynagogue, that officiated in offering up the publick prayers to God for the whole congregation; who, becauſe he was the mouth of the congregation, delegated from them as their repreſentative, meſſenger or angel, to ſpeak to God in prayer for them, was therefore in the *Hebrew* language called *Sheliach Zibbor*, that is, *the angel of the church*. And hence it is, that the biſhops of the ſeven churches of *Aſia* are in the *Revelations*, by a name borrowed from the ſynagogue, called the angels of thoſe churches. For as the *Sheliach Zibbor* in the *Jewiſh* ſynagogue was the prime miniſter to offer up the prayers of the people to God, ſo alſo was the biſhop the prime miniſter to offer up the prayers of the people to God in the church of *Chriſt*. The biſhop indeed did not always officiate in this miniſtry, becauſe in every church there were presbyters under him, who often diſcharged this duty in his ſtead. Neither did the *Sheliach Zibbor* always diſcharge his duty in the ſynagogue in his own proper perſon. He was the ordinary miniſter appointed to this office, but often others were extraordinarily called out for the diſcharging of it, provided they were by age, gravity, ſkill, and piety of converſation, qualified for it. And whoſoever was thus appointed to this miniſtry, was the *Sheliach Zibbor*, that is, *the angel of the congregation*, for that time. For the proper ſignification of the word uſed in the *Hebrew* language for an angel, is a *meſſenger*. And therefore, as a meſſenger from God to the people is an angel of God, ſo a meſſenger from the people to God is an angel of the people. In the latter ſenſe only was the name of angel given to the miniſter of the ſynagogue; but it belongs to the miniſter of the chriſtian church in both ſenſes. For he is not only a meſſenger of the people to God, in the offering up of the prayers of the congregation to him, but he is alſo a meſſenger of God to them, in bringing from him the meſſages of life, peace, and everlaſting ſalvation unto them. Next to the *Sheliach Zibbor* were the deacons, or inferior miniſters of the ſynagogue, in *Hebrew* called *Chazanim*, that is, *overſeers*; who were alſo fix'd miniſters, and under the rulers of the ſynagogue had the charge and over-

[a] Vide Buxtorfii Synagogam Judaicam & Vitringam de Synagoga vetere. [f] Mark v. 35, 36, 37. Luke viii. 41. *and* ch. xiii. 14. Acts xiii. 15. [g] Mark v. 22. Acts xiii. 15. [h] Acts xviii. 8, 17.

ſight of all things in it, kept the ſacred books of the law and the prophets, and other holy ſcriptures, as alſo the books of their publick liturgies, and all other utenſils belonging to the ſynagogue, and brought them forth, whenever they were to be uſed in the publick ſervice. And particularly they ſtood by, and overlooked them that did read the leſſons out of the law and the prophets, and correct them, and ſet them right, when they did read amiſs, and took the book of them again when they had done. And thus it is ſaid of our Saviour,[i] when he was called out to read the leſſon out of the prophets, in the ſynagogue of *Nazareth* of which he was a member, that after he had done he gave the book again to the miniſter, that is, the *Chazan* or deacon of the ſynagogue. For there was anciently no fix'd ſynagogue-miniſter for the reading of the leſſons; but the rulers of the ſynagogue, when the time of the reading of thoſe leſſons came, called out any member of the congregation for this ſervice that was able to perform it. And it was uſually done in this order: A prieſt was called out firſt, and next a *Levite*, if any of theſe orders were preſent in the congregation, and after that any other *Iſraelite*, till they made up in all the number of ſeven. And hence it was anciently, that every ſection of the law was divided into ſeven leſſer ſections, for the ſake of the ſeven readers. And in ſome *Hebrew* bibles theſe leſſer ſections are marked in the margin; the firſt with the word *Cohen*, i. e. *the prieſt*; the ſecond with the word *Levi*, i. e. *the Levite*; the third with the word *Sheliſhi*, i. e. *the third*; and ſo the reſt with *Hebrew* words ſignifying the numbers following, to the ſeventh, thereby to ſhew what part was to be read by the prieſt, what by the *Levite*, and what by each of the other five, who might be any *Iſraelites* of the congregation that were able to read the *Hebrew* text, of what tribe ſoever they were. The next fix'd officer of the ſynagogue, after the *Chazanim*, was the interpreter. His buſineſs was to interpret into *Chaldee* the leſſons, as they were read in *Hebrew* to the congregation; for which, learning and skill in both languages being requiſite, when they found a man fit for the office they retained him by a ſalary, and admitted him as a ſtanding miniſter of the ſynagogue. When the bleſſing was to be given, if there were a prieſt preſent in the congregation, he always did the office, but if there were no prieſt then preſent, the *Sheliach Zibbor*, who did read the prayers, gave the bleſſing alſo in a form made proper for him. Thus far I have thought it might be helpful to the reader, for his better underſtanding of the ſcriptures, to have laid before him a ſhort ſcheme of the ſynagogue-worſhip of the *Jews*, as it was among them in ancient times. That which they at preſent retain, is in many particulars different from it. He that would be more fully informed of this matter, may read *Buxtorf*'s *Synagoga Judaica*, *Vitringa de Synagoga vetere*, and above all *Maimonides*, eſpecially in his tracts *Tephillah*, *Chagigah*, and *Kiriath Shema*.

THOSE who think ſynagogues to have been before the *Babyloniſh* captivity, alledge for it what is ſaid in the lxxiv^th^ *Pſalm*, ver. 8. *They have burnt up all the ſynagogues of God in the land.* But in the original the words are *Col moadhe El*, that is, *all the aſſemblies of God*; by which I acknowledge muſt be underſtood the places where the people did aſſemble

[i] Luke iv. 20.

to worſhip God. But this doth not infer that thoſe places were ſynagogues; and there are none of the ancient verſions, excepting that of *Aquila*, that ſo render this paſſage. The chief place where the *Iſraelites* aſſembled for the worſhip of God, was the temple at *Jeruſalem*, and before that was built, the tabernacle; and the open court before the altar was that part, in both of them, where the people aſſembled to offer up their prayers unto God. But thoſe that lived at a diſtance from the tabernacle, while that was in being, and afterwards from the temple, when that was built, not being able at all times to reſort thither, they built courts like thoſe in which they prayed at the tabernacle, and at the temple, therein to offer up their prayers unto God, which in after-times we find called by the name of *Proſeuchæ*. Some of the *Latin* poets [k] make mention of them by this name; and into one of them our Saviour is ſaid to have gone to pray, and [l] to have continued therein a whole night; and in another of them [m] St. *Paul* taught the people of *Philippi*. They differed from ſynagogues in ſeveral particulars. For 1[ſt], In ſynagogues the prayers were offered up in publick forms, in common for the whole congregation; but in the *Proſeuchæ* they prayed as in the temple, every one apart for himſelf; and ſo [n] our Saviour prayed in the *Proſeucha* which he went into. 2[dly], The ſynagogues were covered houſes, but the *Proſeuchæ* were open courts, built, [o] ſaith *Epiphanius*, in the manner of forum's, which were open encloſures, where anciently at *Rome*, and in other cities under democratical governments, the people uſed to aſſemble for the tranſacting of the buſineſs and affairs of the publick. And ſuch a *Proſeucha*, [p] *Epiphanius* tells us, the *Samaritans* had in his time near *Sechem*. 3[dly], Synagogues were all built within the cities, to which they did belong; but the *Proſeuchæ* without, and moſtly in high places; and that in which our Saviour prayed was [p] on a mountain; which makes it probable, that theſe *Proſeuchæ* were the ſame which in the *Old Teſtament* are called *high places*. For theſe high places are not always condemned in ſcripture, but then only when they were made uſe of for idolatrous worſhip, or in a ſchiſmatical way, by erecting altars in them, in oppoſition to that which was in the place that God had choſen; otherwiſe they [q] were made uſe of by prophets and good men, as ſeveral inſtances hereof in ſcripture do fully prove. And I am confirmed in this opinion, in that the *Proſeuchæ* had groves in or about them, in the ſame manner as the high places had. And no doubt [r] the ſanctuary of the Lord, in which *Joſhua* did ſet up his pillar under the oak, or oaken grove in *Sechem*, was ſuch a *Proſeucha*; and it's plain from the text, that [r] it had a grove of oaks in it. And the *Proſeuchæ* which *Philo* makes mention of in *Alexandria* [ſ] had ſuch groves in or about them; and that at *Rome*, [t] in *Egeria*'s grove, was of the ſame ſort. And perchance where [v] the *Pſalmiſt* makes mention of green olive trees in the houſe of God, ſuch a *Proſeucha* is there meant. And ſuch an one alſo anciently was [w] in *Miſ-*

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[k] Juvenal, Sat. 3. [l] Luke vi. 12. *For what our* Engliſh *there renders*, And continued all night in prayer to God, *is in the original* καὶ ἦν διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ Προσευχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ, *i. e.* And he continued all night in a *Proſeucha* of God. [m] Acts xvi. *For in that chapter*, ver. 13. *and* 16. *what we render in our* Engliſh *verſion by the word prayer, is in the original a* Proſeucha, *or place of prayer.* [n] Luke vi. 12. [o] In tract. de Meſſalianis hæriticis. [p] Luke vi. 12. [q] 1 Sam. ix. 19. *Ch.* x. 5, *&c.* [r] Joſh. xxiv. 26. [ſ] *For he complains that the* Alexandrians, *in a tumult which they there made againſt the* Jews, *did cut down the trees of their* Proſeuchæ. In legatione ad Caium Cæſarem. [t] Juvenal, Sat. 3. [v] Pſalm lii. 8. [w] 1 Maccab. iii. 46.

pa, as the author of the firſt book of the *Maccabees* tells us. And all theſe were *Moadhe El*, and might be underſtood by that phraſe in the *Pſalmiſt*. It muſt be acknowledged, that altho' ſome *Proſeuchæ* were ſtill in being in our Saviour's time, yet by that time ſynagogues being made uſe of for the ſame purpoſe, as the *Proſeuchæ* were formerly, ſynagogues were then alſo called by the ſame name with the *Proſeuchæ*, and ſo *Joſephus* and *Philo* ſeem to uſe the word, tho' it ſeems from the latter, that ſome of the ſynagogues of the *Jews* in *Alexandria* were built after the ſame manner as the ancient *Proſeuchæ*, without roofs. And it makes this the more probable, that in *Egypt* it never, or very ſeldom raining, they there ſtood more in need of open air in their publick aſſembies, and trees to ſhelter them from the ſun in that hot countrey, than of roofs over them, to ſhelter them from the weather. And theſe, *Philo* [x] complains, the *Alexandrians* did cut down, when they there roſe in a tumult againſt the *Jews* that then dwelt with them in that city. And beſides theſe *Proſeuchæ*, there were other places to which the *Iſraelites* before the captivity frequently aſſembled upon the account of religion. For they often reſorted to the cities of the *Levites*, to be taught the ritual and other ceremonies of the *Moſaical* law, and to the ſchools of the prophets, for all other inſtructions relating to the things of God; and to theſe laſt it's plain from [y] ſcripture, that they uſually reſorted on the ſabbaths, and new moons; and what end could there be of this reſort, but for inſtruction in their duties to God? And therefore theſe places alſo, as well as the *Proſeuchæ*, were *Moadhe El*, *i. e.* places of aſſembling on the account of religion; and conſequently of all theſe may the *Pſalmiſt* be underſtood in the place above-mentioned. Whether this *Pſalm*, as well as the 79th, were written prophetically by that *Aſaph* [z] who lived in the time of *David*, of the *Babyloniſh* captivity, (to which it's plain they both relate) or elſe by ſome other after it, as is [a] moſt probable, I ſhall not here examine. All that is proper for me here to take notice of, is, that nothing which is in either of theſe *Pſalms* can prove, that there were any ſuch things as ſynagogues, wherein the ſcriptures were read, or publick prayers offered up unto God, till after the *Babyloniſh* captivity.

AND if it be examin'd into, how it came to paſs that the *Jews* were ſo prone to idolatry before the *Babyloniſh* captivity, and ſo ſtrongly and cautiouſly, even to ſuperſtition, fixed againſt it after that captivity, the true reaſon hereof will appear to be, that they had the law and the prophets every week conſtantly read unto them after that captivity, which they had not before. For before that captivity they having no ſynagogues for publick worſhip or publick inſtruction, nor any places to reſort to for either, unleſs the temple at *Jeruſalem*, or the cities of the *Levites*, or to the prophets, when God was pleaſed to ſend ſuch among them; for want hereof great ignorance grew among the people; God was little known among them, and his laws in a manner wholly forgotten. And therefore as occaſions offered, they were eaſily drawn into all the ſuperſtitions and idolatrous uſages of the neighbouring nations that lived round about them, till at length, for the puniſhment hereof, God gave them up to a diſmal

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[x] In legatione ad Caium.
[y] 2 Kings iv. 23.
[z] 1 Chron. xvi. 5, 7, 37.
[a] Vide Bocharti Hierozoic. part. 1. lib. 3. cap. 29.

deſtruction

deſtruction in the *Babyloniſh* captivity: But after that captivity, and the return of the *Jews* from it, ſynagogues being erected among them in every city, to which they conſtantly reſorted for publick worſhip, and where every week they had the law from the firſt, and after that from the time of *Antiochus*'s perſecution, the prophets alſo read unto them, and were by ſermons and exhortations, there delivered at leaſt every ſabbath, inſtructed in their duty, and excited to the obedience of it: This kept them in a thorough knowledge of God and his laws. And the threats which they found in the prophets againſt the breakers of them, after theſe alſo came to be read among them, deterred them from tranſgreſſing againſt them. So that the law of *Moſes* was never more ſtrictly obſerved by them, than from the time of *Ezra* (when ſynagogues firſt came into uſe among them) to the time of our Saviour, and they would have been unblameable herein, had they not overdone it by adding corrupt traditions of their own deviſing, whereby at length (as [b] our Saviour chargeth them) they made the law it ſelf of none effect. And as by this method the *Jewiſh* religion was preſerved in the times mentioned, ſo alſo was it by the ſame, that the chriſtian was ſo ſucceſsfully propagated in the firſt ages of the church, and hath ever ſince been preſerved among us. For as the *Jews* had their ſynagogues, in which the law and the prophets were read unto them every ſabbath, ſo the chriſtians had their churches, in which from the beginning all the doctrines and duties of their religion were every Lord's day taught, inculcated, and explained unto them. And by God's bleſſing upon this method chiefly was it, that this holy religion ſtill bore up againſt all oppreſſions; and notwithſtanding the ten perſecutions, and all other artifices and methods of cruelty and oppreſſion, which hell and heatheniſm could deviſe to ſuppreſs it, grew up and encreaſed under them; which *Julian the Apoſtate* was ſo ſenſible of, that when he put all his wits to work, to find out new methods for the reſtoring of the heathen impiety, he could not think of any more effectual for this purpoſe, than [c] to employ his philoſophers to preach it up every week to the people, in the ſame manner as the miniſters of the goſpel did the chriſtian religion. And had it not pleaſed God to cut him off, before he could put this deſign in execution, it is to be feared his ſucceſs herein would in a very great meaſure have anſwered what he propoſed by it. But to chriſtians, above all others, this muſt be of the greateſt benefit. For the doctrines of our holy religion having in them the ſublimeſt principles of divine knowledge, and the precepts of it containing all the duties of morality in the higheſt manner improved, nothing can be of greater advantage to us, for the leading of us to the trueſt happineſs we are capable of, as well in this life as in that which is to come, than to have theſe weekly taught and explained unto us, and weekly put home upon our conſciences, for the forming of our lives according to them. And the political ſtate, or civil government of every chriſtian countrey, is no leſs benefited hereby than the church it ſelf. For as it beſt conduceth to keep up the ſpirit of religion among us, and to make every man know his duty to God, his neighbour, and himſelf; ſo it may be reckoned, of all methods, the moſt conducive, to preſerve peace and good order in the ſtate. For hereby ſubjects are taught to be obedient to

[b] Matth. xv. 6. Mark vii. 13.

[c] Gregorii Nazianzeni Orat. in Julianum Apoſtatam.

their

their prince and his laws, children to be dutiful to their parents, ſervants to be faithful to their maſters, and all to be juſt and charitable, and pay all other duties which in every relation they owe to each other. And in the faithful diſcharge of theſe duties, doth the peace, good order, and happineſs of every community conſiſt. And to be weekly inſtructed in theſe duties, and to be weekly excited to the obedience of them, is certainly the propereſt and the moſt effectual method to induce men hereto. And it may juſtly be reckoned that the good order, which is now maintained in this kingdom, is more owing to this method, than to any other now in practice among us for this end; and that one good miniſter, by his weekly preaching, and daily good example, ſets it more forward than any two of the beſt juſtices of the peace can, by their exacteſt diligence in the execution of the laws which they are entruſted with. For theſe, by the utmoſt of their coercions, can go no farther than to reſtrain the outward acts of wickedneſs; but the other reforms the heart within, and removes all thoſe evil inclinations of it from whence they flow. And it is not to be doubted, but that if this method were once dropped among us, the generality of the people, whatever elſe may be done to obviate it, would in ſeven years time relapſe into as bad a ſtate of barbarity, as was ever in practice among the worſt of our *Saxon* or *Daniſh* anceſtors. And therefore ſuppoſing there were no ſuch thing in truth and reality, as that holy chriſtian religion which the miniſters of the goſpel teach, (as too many among us are now permitted with impunity to ſay) yet the ſervice which they do the civil government, in keeping all men to thoſe duties, in the obſervance of which its peace, good order, and happineſs conſiſt, may very deſerve the maintenance which they receive from it.

An. 433. Artaxerxes 32. *NEHEMIAH*, after he had held the government of *Judah* twelve years, [d] returned to the *Perſian* court, either recalled thither by the King, or elſe going thither to ſolicit for a new commiſſion after the expiration of the former. During all the time that he had been in this government, he managed it with great juſtice, [e] and ſupported the dignity of his office through theſe whole twelve years with a very expenſive and hoſpitable magnificence. For there ſat at his table every day an hundred and fifty of the *Jews* and rulers, beſides ſtrangers, who came to *Jeruſalem* from among the heathen nations that were round about them. For as occaſions brought them thither, if they were of any quality, they were always invited to the governor's houſe, and there hoſpitably and ſplendidly entertained. So that there was provided for him every day one ox, ſix choice ſheep, and fowls, and wine, and all other things in proportion hereto, which could not but amount to a great expence; yet all this he bore thro' theſe whole twelve years, out of his own private purſe, without burthening the province at all for it, or taking any part of that allowance which before was raiſed out of it by other governors, to ſupport them in their ſtation; which argues his great generoſity, as well as his great love and tenderneſs to the people of his nation, in thus eaſing them of this burthen, and alſo his vaſt wealth in being able ſo to do. The office which he had been in at court gave him the opportunity of amaſſing great riches, and he thought he could not better expend them than in the ſervice of his

[d] Nehem. v. 14. *and* xiii. 6. [e] Nehem. v. 14, 19.

countrey,

countrey, and by doing all he could to promote the true intereſt of it both in church and ſtate, and God proſpered him in the work according to the great zeal with which he laboured in it.

ABOUT this time flouriſhed [f] *Meto* the famous *Athenian* aſtronomer who invented the *Enneadecaeteris*, or the cycle of nineteen years, which we call the cycle of the moon, the numbers whereof being, by reaſon of the excellency of their uſe, written in the ancient kalendars in golden letters, from hence, in our preſent almanacks, that number of this cycle which accords with the year for which the almanack is made, is called the golden number. For it is ſtill of as great uſe to the chriſtians for the finding out of *Eaſter*, and alſo to the *Jews* for the fixing of their three great feſtivals, as it was to the ancient *Greeks* for the aſcertaining of the times of their feſtivals. And for this laſt end was it that *Meto* invented it. For the *Greeks* being directed by an oracle to obſerve all their ſolemn ſacrifices and feſtivals, [g] κατὰ τρία, *i. e.* according to three, and this being interpreted to mean years, months and days, and that the years were to be reckoned according to the courſe of the ſun, and the months and days according to that of the moon, they thought themſelves obliged hereby to obſerve all theſe ſolemnities at the ſame ſeaſons of the year, and on the ſame month, and on the ſame day of the month. And therefore [h] endeavours were made to bring all theſe to meet together; that is, to bring the ſame months and all the days of them to fall as near as poſſible within the ſame times of the ſun's courſe, that ſo the ſame ſolemnities might always be celebrated within the ſame ſeaſons of the year, as well as in the ſame months, and on the ſame days of them. The difficulty lay in this, that whereas the year, according to the courſe of the ſun, (which is commonly called the ſolar year) is made by that revolution of it which brings it round to the ſame point in the ecliptic, and the *Greeks* reckoned their months by thoſe revolutions of the moon, which brought it round to the ſame conjunction with the ſun, *i. e.* from one new moon to another, and twelve of theſe months made their common year; (which is commonly called the lunar year) this lunar year fell eleven days ſhort of the ſolar. And therefore their oracle could not be obſerved in keeping their ſolemnities to the ſame ſeaſons of the year, without intercalations. For otherwiſe their ſolemnities would be anticipated eleven days every year, and in thirty three years ſpace would be carried backward through all the ſeaſons of the year; (as is now done in *Turkey*, where they uſe this ſort of year) and to intercalate theſe eleven days every year, would make as great a breach upon the other part of the oracle, as to the months and days. For then every year would alter the day, and every three years the month. And beſides, it would make a breach upon the whole ſcheme of their year. For with them, in the ſame manner as with the *Jews*, their months always began with a new moon, and their years were always made up of theſe lunar months, ſo as to end exactly with the laſt day of the laſt moon, and to begin exactly with the firſt day of the next moon. It was neceſſary therefore, for the bringing of all to fall right according to the directions of the oracle, that the intercalations ſhould be made by months; and to find out ſuch an intercalation

An. 432. Artaxerxes 33.

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[f] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 12. p. 305, Ptolemæi Magna Syntaxis, lib. 3. c. 2. [g] Geminus in Iſagoga, cap. 6. [h] Vide Scaligerum de emendatione Temporum, Petavium de doctrina Temporum, aliosque Chronologos.

of months, as would at length bring the ſolar year and the lunar year to an exact agreement, ſo that both ſhould begin from the ſame point of time, was that which was to be done for this purpoſe. For thus only could the ſolemnities be always kept to the ſame ſeaſons of the year, as well as to the ſame months, and the ſame days of them, and conſtantly be made fall within the compaſs of one lunar month at moſt, ſooner or later within the ſame times of the ſolar year. And therefore in order hereunto cycles were to be invented; and to find out ſuch a cycle of years, wherein by the intercalation or addition of one or more months this might be effected, was the great ſtudy and endeavour of the aſtronomers of thoſe times. The firſt attempt that was made for this purpoſe was that of the *Dieteris*, a cycle of two years, wherein an intercalation was made of one month; but in two years time the exceſs of the ſolar year above the lunar being only twenty two days, and a lunar month making twenty nine days and an half, this intercalation, inſtead of bringing the lunar year to a reconciliation with the ſolar, over-did it by ſeven days and an half; which being a fault that was ſoon perceived, for the mending of it the *Tetraeteris* was introduced, which was a cycle of four years, wherein it was thought that an intercalation of one month would bring all that to rights, which was over-done by the like intercalation of the *Dieteris*. And this was contrived chiefly with a reſpect to their *Olympic* games. For they being the chiefeſt of their ſolemnities, and celebrated once every four years, care was taken to bring this ſolemnity every fourth year as near as they could to the ſame time of the ſolar year, in which it was performed the *Olympiad* before, which regularly ought always to have been begun according to the original inſtitution of that ſolemnity, on the firſt full moon after the ſummer ſolſtice, and it was thought that an intercalation of one month in four years would always bring it to this time. But four ſolar years exceeding four lunar years forty three days and an half, the adding one lunar month, or twenty nine days and an half, (of which it conſiſts) fell ſhort of curing this defect full fourteen days, which fault ſoon diſcovering it ſelf, for the amending of it they intercalated alternatively one four years with one month, and the next four years with two months, which brought it to the *Octoeteris*, or the cycle of eight years, wherein by intercalating three months they thought they brought all to rights, and indeed it came much nearer to it, than any of the former cycles. For by this intercalation the eight lunar years were brought ſo near to eight ſolar years, that they differed from them only by an exceſs of one day, fourteen hours and nine minutes. And therefore this cycle continued much longer in uſe than any of the reſt. But at length the error, by encreaſing every year, grew great enough to be alſo diſcovered, which produced the invention of ſeveral other cycles for the remedying of it, of which this invented by *Meto* of nineteen years is the perfecteſt. For it brings the two luminaries to come about to the ſame points, within two hours one minute and twenty ſeconds; ſo that after nineteen years, the ſame new moons and the ſame full moons do within that ſpace come about again to the ſame points of time in every year of this cycle, in which they happened in the ſame year of the former cycle. And to a nearer agreement than this no other cycle can bring them. This cycle is made up of nineteen lunar years and ſeven lunar months by ſeven intercalations added to them. The years of this cycle, in which theſe intercalations were made, were the 3^{d}, 6th, 8th,

11th, 14th, 17th and 19th, according to *Petavius*; but according to Mr. *Dodwell*, they were the 3d, 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19th. Each of these seven intercalated years consisted of thirteen months, and the rest of twelve. The chief use of this cycle among the *Greeks* being to settle the times of celebrating their solemnities, and that of their *Olympiads* being the chiefest of them, and on the fixing of which the fixing of all the rest did depend, it was in the first place applied to this purpose; and the rule of these *Olympiads* being, that they were to be celebrated on the first full moon after the summer solstice, in order to settle the time of their celebration, it was necessary, in the first place, to settle the time of the summer solstice, and this *Meto* observed this year to be on the twenty first day of the *Egyptian* month *Phamenoth*, which reduced to the *Julian* year falls on the twenty seventh of *June*. And therefore the *Greeks*, having received this cycle, did from this time forward celebrate their *Olympiads* on the first full moon after the twenty seventh day of our *June*, and thenceforth also began their year from the new moon preceding, whereas before they begun it from the winter solstice, and they calculated both the new moon and the full moon by this cycle; so that from this time the new moon immediately preceding the first full moon after the summer solstice was the beginning of their year; and that first full moon after the said solstice in every fifth year was the time of their *Olympiads*. For that year, in the beginning of which this solemnity was celebrated, was in their computation of time called the first year of that *Olympiad*, reckoning from the new moon preceding; and in the beginning of the fifth year after they celebrated the next *Olympiad*, which made the time from one *Olympiad* to another to be just four years, according to the measure of the years then used.

BUT this use of the cycle ceasing with the solemnities of the heathen *Greeks*, after that christianity had gotten the ascendant in the *Roman* empire, it thenceforth became applied to another use; and that not only by the christians, but also by the *Jews*. For by it the christians, after the council of *Nice*, settled our *Easter*. And from them, some few years after, the *Jews* learnt to make the like use of it, for the fixing the time of their passover, and the making of their intercalations in order to it. But of the manner how each of them applied it for these purposes, there will be hereafter an occasion fully to treat, in a place more proper for it.

THE[f] war between the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, called the *Peloponnesian* war, (of[g] which *Thucydides* and *Xenophon* have written the history) begun about the end of the first year of the eighty seventh *Olympiad*, which lasted twenty seven years. As soon as they had entered on it, both parties[h] sent their embassadors to King *Artaxerxes* to engage him on their side, and pray his aid in the war. *An.* 431. Artaxerxes 34.

ABOUT the same time there broke out a most grievous pestilence, which did over-run a great part of the world. It begun first in *Ethiopia*; from thence it came into *Libya* and *Egypt*; and from *Egypt* it invaded *Judea*, *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, and from those parts spread it self through the whole *Persian* empire; from whence it passed into *Greece*, and grievously

[f] Thucydides, lib. 2. [g] Thucydides *gives an account of the* 21st *years of this war, and* Xenophon's Hellenics *continues the* Greek *History from thence.* [h] Thucydides, lib. 2. Herodotus, lib. 7.

afflicted the *Athenian* ſtate, deſtroying a great number of their people, and among them died [1] *Pericles*, the chiefeſt and eminenteſt man of that city, whoſe wiſdom, while he lived, was the main ſtay and ſupport of that republic, and of whom only it can be ſaid, that he maintained himſelf in full credit for forty years together in a popular government. *Thucydides* hath [2] in his hiſtory, given us a very full account of this diſeaſe, having had thorough experience of it. For he had it himſelf, and after that being out of danger of ſuffering any more by it, he freely viſited a great many others that were afflicted with it, and thereby had ſufficient opportunity of knowing all the ſymptoms and calamities that attended it. *Lucretius* hath alſo given us a poetical diſcription of it, and [3] *Hippocrates* hath written of it as a phyſician. For that great maſter of the art of phyſic lived in thoſe times, and was at *Athens* all the while this diſtemper raged there. *Artaxerxes* invited him, with the promiſe of great rewards, to come into *Perſia* during this plague, to cure thoſe who were infected with it in his armies. But his anſwer was, that he would not leave the *Grecians* his countreymen in this diſtreſs, to give his help to *Barbarians*. There are ſeveral epiſtles ſtill extant at the end of *Hippocrates*'s works, ſaid to be written by *Artaxerxes*, and by *Hyſtanes* his prefect on the *Helleſpont*, and by *Hippocrates* himſelf, about this matter. Some think them not to be genuine, but do not give any reaſons ſufficient to convict them of it. Many inſtances in the hiſtories of thoſe times do acquaint us, how fond the *Perſians* were of *Greek* phyſicians. And *Artaxerxes* looking on himſelf as the greateſt of Kings, might well enough think he had the beſt title to have the greateſt of phyſicians to attend upon him, and therefore offered the greateſt of rewards to draw him to him. But *Hippocrates*, having a mind above the temptations of gold and ſilver, returned him the anſwer I have mentioned, which provoked him ſo far, that he ſent to *Cos*, the city of *Hippocrates*, and where he then was, to command them to deliver unto him *Hippocrates*, to be puniſhed according to his perverſeneſs, threatning them with the demolition of their city, and the utter ruin of the whole iſland in which it ſtood, if they did not comply with him herein. But the *Coans* in their anſwer did let him know, that no threats ſhould ever induce them to betray ſo eminent a citizen into his hands. This was before *Hippocrates* went to *Athens*. For this plague had ravaged thorough the *Perſian* empire before it came to that city, and it was not till the next year after this, that the *Athenians* were infeſted with it, that is, in the ſecond year of the *Peloponneſian* war, as *Thucydides* tells us.

An. 428. Artaxerxes 37. *NEHEMIAH*, on his return to the *Perſian* court, having tarried there about five years in the execution, as it may be ſuppoſed, of his former office, at length obtained of the King to be ſent back again to *Jeruſalem* with a new commiſſion. The generality of chronologers as well as the commentators upon this part of ſcripture, make this his coming back thither to be much ſooner. But conſidering the many and great corruptions, which he tells us, in the thirteenth chapter of his book, the *Jews* had run into in his abſence, it cannot be conceived how in leſs than five years time they could have grown up to ſuch an height amongſt them. He had been twelve years reforming what was amiſs among them, and *Ezra*

[1] Plutarchus in Pericle. Thucydides, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 12, p. 310. [2] Lib. 2. [3] Hippocr. Epidem. Sect. 3.

had

had been doing the ſame for thirteen years before him, whereby they had brought their reformation to ſuch a ſtate and ſtability, that a little time could not have been ſufficient in ſuch a manner to have again unhinged it. It is much more likely, that all this was longer than five years a doing, than that it ſhould come to paſs in ſo ſhort a time. It is indeed expreſſed in our *Engliſh* verſion, that *Nehemiah* came back again from the *Perſian* court to *Jeruſalem* [m] *after certain days*; but the *Hebrew* word *yamim*, which is there rendred *days*, ſignifieth alſo years, and is in a great many places of the *Hebrew* ſcriptures ſo uſed.

ABOUT this time moſt likely lived *Malachi* the prophet. The greateſt of the corruptions which he chargeth the *Jews* with, are the ſame with thoſe which they had run into in the time of *Nehemiah*'s abſence, and therefore it is moſt probable, that in this time his prophecies were delivered. It is certain the temple was all finiſhed, and every thing reſtored therein before his time. For there are paſſages in his prophecies which clearly ſuppoſe it; and he doth not in them charge the *Jews* with neglecting the reſtoring of the temple, but their neglecting what appertained to the true worſhip of God in it. But in what time it was after the reſtoration of the temple that he propheſied, is no where ſaid in Scripture, and therefore we can only make our conjectures about it, and I know not where any conjecture can place it with more probability, than in the time where I have ſaid.

MANY things having gone wrong among the *Jews* during the abſence of *Nehemiah*, as hath been above mentioned, as ſoon as he was again ſettled in the government [n] he applied himſelf with his uſual zeal and diligence to correct, and again ſet to rights whatſoever was amiſs. And that which he firſt took notice of, as what by the flagrancy of the offence, as well as by reaſon of the place where committed, was the moſt obvious to be reſented by ſo good a man; was [o] a great prophanation, which had been introduced into the temple for the ſake of *Tobiah* an *Ammonite*. This man, though he had made two alliances with the *Jews*, (for [p] *Johanan* his ſon had married the daughter of *Meſhullam* the ſon of *Berachiah*, [q] who was one of the chief managers of the rebuilding of the wall of *Jeruſalem* under the direction of the governor, and he himſelf had married the daughter of *Shecaniah* the ſon of *Arah*, another great man among the *Jews*) yet being an *Ammonite*, [r] he bore a national hatred to all that were of the race of *Iſrael*, and therefore envying their proſperity, and being averſe to whatſoever might promote it, did the utmoſt that he could to obſtruct *Nehemiah* in all that he did for the good of that people, and confederated with *Sanballat* their greateſt enemy to carry on this purpoſe. However, by reaſon of the alliances I have mentioned, he had [s] many correſpondents among the *Jews*, who were favourers of him, and acted inſidiouſly with *Nehemiah* on his account. But he, being aware of their devices, withſtood and baffled them all, as long as he continued at *Jeruſalem*. But when he went from thence to the *Perſian* court, *Eliaſhib* the high-prieſt [t] was prevailed with (as being one of thoſe that was of that confederacy and alliance with *Tobiah*) to allow and provide for him lodgings

[m] Nehem. xiii. 6. [n] Nehem. xiii. [o] Nehem. xiii. 7, 8, 9. [p] Nehem. vi. 18.
[q] Nehem. iii. 4. [r] Nehem. ii, iv, vi. [s] Nehem. vi. 17, 18, 19.
[t] Nehem. xiii. 4.

within the temple it ſelf; in order whereto he removed *the meat-offerings, the frankincenſe, and the veſſels, and the tithes of the corn, the new wine, and the oil, (which was commanded to be given to the* Levites, *and the ſingers, and the porters) and the offerings of the prieſts,* out of the chambers where they uſed to be laid, and out of them made one large apartment for the reception of this heathen ſtranger. It is doubted by ſome, whether this *Eliaſhib* were *Eliaſhib* the high-prieſt, or only another prieſt of that name. That which raiſeth the doubt is, he is named in the text, where this is related of him, by the title only of prieſt, and is there ſaid to have the overſight of the chambers of the houſe of God; from whence it is argued, that he was only chamberlain of the temple, and not the high-prieſt, who was above ſuch an office. But the overſight of the chambers of the houſe of God may import the whole government of the temple, which belonged to the high-prieſt only, and it is not to be conceived how any one, that was leſs than abſolute governor of the whole temple, could make ſo great an innovation in it. Beſides, *Eliaſhib* the high-prieſt hath no character in ſcripture, with which ſuch a procedure can be ſaid to be inconſiſtent. By what is ſaid in the book of *Ezra* (ch. x. 18.) it appears, the pontifical family was in his time grown very corrupt. And no act of his is mentioned either in *Ezra* or *Nehemiah*, excepting only his putting to his helping hand in the repairing of the walls of *Jeruſalem*. Had he done any thing elſe worthy of memory in the reforming of what was amiſs, either in church or ſtate, in the times either of *Ezra* or *Nehemiah*, it may be preſumed mention would have been made of it in the books written by them. The ſilence which is of him in both theſe books, as to any good act done by him, is a ſufficient proof that there was none ſuch to be recorded of him. For the high-prieſt being the head of the *Jewiſh* church, had he born any part with theſe two good men, when they laboured ſo much to reform that church, it's utterly improbable that it could have been paſſed over in their writings, wherein they give an account of what was done in that reformation. What *Jeſhua* his grandfather did in concurrence with *Zerubbabel* the governor, and *Haggai* and *Zechariah* the prophets, in the firſt reſettling of the church and ſtate of the *Jews*, after their return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity, [v] is all recorded in ſcripture, and had *Eliaſhib* done any ſuch thing in concurrence with *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, we may take it for certain it would have been recorded there alſo. Putting all this together, it appears moſt likely, that it was *Eliaſhib* the high-prieſt who was the author of this great prophanation of the houſe of God. What was done herein (the text tells us) *Nehemiah* immediately underſtood, as ſoon as he came back again to *Jeruſalem*, and he did immediately ſet himſelf to reform it. For over-ruling what the high-prieſt had ordered to be done herein, by the authority which he had as governor, he commanded all the houſhould-ſtuff of *Tobiah* to be caſt out, and the chambers to be again cleanſed and reſtored to their former uſe.

THE reading of the law to the people [w] having been ſettled by *Nehemiah*, ſo as to be conſtantly carried on at certain ſtated times, ever ſince it was begun under his government by *Ezra*, (perchance from that very beginning on every ſabbath day) when in the courſe of their leſſons they

[v] Ezra iii, iv, *and* v. Haggai i, *and* ii. Zech. iii. [w] Nehem. viii.

came

came to the 23d chapter of *Deuteronomy*, where it is commanded, that a Moabite *or an* Ammonite *ſhould not come into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation for ever*, [x] *Nehemiah* taking an handle from hence, ſeparated all the mixt multitude from the reſt of the people, that thereby it might be known with whom a true *Iſraelite* might lawfully marry. For neither this law, nor any other of the like nature, is to be underſtood to exclude any one, of what nation ſoever he were, from entering into the congregation as a proſelyte, and becoming a member of their church that would be converted thereto; neither did any of the *Jews* evet ſo interpret it. For they freely received all into their religion that would embrace it, and immediately on their converſion admitted them to all the rites, parts, and privileges of it, and treated them in all reſpects in the ſame manner as true *Iſraelites*, excepting only in the caſe of marriage. And therefore this phraſe [y] in the text, *of not entering into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation*, muſt be underſtood to include no more than a prohibition not to be married thereinto till then; and thus all the *Jewiſh* doctors expound it. For their doctrine, as to the caſe of their marrying with ſuch as were not of their nation, is ſtated by them in manner as followeth.

[z] NONE of the houſe of *Iſrael*, of either ſex, were to enter into marriage with any *Gentiles* of what nation ſoever, unleſs they were firſt converted to their religion, and became intire proſelytes to it. And when they were become thus thorough proſelytes, they were not all immediately to be admitted to this privilege of making inter-marriages with them. For ſome were barred wholly from it for ever, others only in part, and ſome only for a limited time. Of the firſt ſort, were all of the ſeven nations of the *Canaanites*, mentioned in *Deuteronomy* ch. vii. Of the ſecond ſort were the *Moabites* and the *Ammonites*, whoſe males they hold were excluded for ever, but not their females. For the *Hebrew* text naming an *Ammonite*, and a *Moabite*, in the maſculine gender only, they underſtand it only of the males, and not of the females. And this exception they make for the ſake of *Ruth*. For ſhe, tho' a *Moabitiſh* woman, had been married to two husbands of the houſe of *Iſrael*, the laſt of which was *Boaz*, of whom *David* was deſcended by her. And of the third ſort [a] were the *Edomites* and the *Egyptians*, with whom they might not marry till the third generation. With all others, who were not of the three excepted ſorts, they [b] might freely make inter-marriages, whenever they became thorough proſelytes to their religion. But at preſent [c] it not being to be known, who is an *Edomite*, who an *Ammonite*, or a *Moabite*, or who an *Egyptian* of the race of the *Egyptians* then mentioned in the text, by reaſon of the confuſions which have ſince happened of all nations with each other, they hold this prohibition to have been long ſince out of date, and that now any *Gentile*, as ſoon as proſelyted to their religion, may immediately be admitted to make inter-marriages with them. In interpreting the excluſion of the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* in the text, to be for ever, they ſeem to exceed the prohibition of the law therein delivered.

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[x] Nehem. xiii. 1, 2, 3. [y] Deut. xxiii. 3. [z] Maimonides in Iſſure Biah.

[a] Deut. xxiii. 8. [b] *A ſiſter of* David's *married* Ithra *an* Iſhmaelite, *by whom ſhe was mother of* Amaſa, *captain of the hoſt of* Iſrael. [c] Maimonides in Iſſure Biah.

For

For there (*i. e. Deut.* xxiii. 3.) it is extended only to the tenth generation: The words are, *Even to the tenth generation ſhall they not enter into the congregation of the Lord for ever.* The meaning of which ſeems plainly to be, that this ſhould be obſerved as a law for ever, that an *Ammonite* or a *Moabite* was not to be admitted into the congregation of *Iſrael*, ſo as to be capable of making marriages with them, till the tenth generation after their becoming proſelytes to the *Jewiſh* religion. But ten generations and for ever being both in the ſame text, and within the ſame prohibiting clauſe, they interpret the former expreſſion by the latter, and will have it, that ſo long a prohibition as that of ten generations, ſignifieth therein tantamount to for ever, and they ground this chiefly upon the text of *Nehemiah*, which we are now treating of. For here in the recital of this law, the prohibition is ſaid to be *for ever*, without the limitation of ten generations. But the words of *Nehemiah* are plainly an imperfect quotation of what is in the law, and ſeem to intend no more by that recital, than to ſend us to the place in the original text of the law, where it is to be perfectly found. And in all laws in the world, the words of the original text are to be depended upon, for the intention of the law-giver, before any quotations of them by whomſoever made.

AMONG other corruptions that grew up during the abſence of *Nehemiah*, one eſpecially to be taken notice of, [d] was, the neglect of the carrying on of the daily ſervice of the houſe of God, in ſuch manner as it ought. For the tithes, which were to maintain the miniſters of the temple in their offices and ſtations, being either imbezzled by the high-prieſt, and other rulers of the temple under him, or elſe ſubſtracted by the laity, and not paid at all, for want of them the *Levites* and ſingers were driven from the temple, every one to his own home, there to ſeek for a ſubſiſtence ſome other way. This abuſe the governor, whoſe piety led him always to attend the publick worſhip, could not be long without taking notice of, and when he had obſerved it, and thoroughly informed himſelf of the cauſe, he ſoon provided very effectually for its remedy. For he forthwith made thoſe dues to be again brought into the treaſuries of the temple, and forced every man faithfully and fully to pay them; whereby a maintenance being again provided for thoſe that attended the ſervice of the houſe of God, all was there again reſtored to its priſtin order. And he alſo took care [e] that the ſabbath ſhould be duly obſerved, and made many good orders for the preventing of the prophanation of it, and cauſed them all to be effectually put in execution. But tho' all theſe things are mentioned in one chapter, they were not all done at one time, but the good man brought them about as occaſions were adminiſtred, and as he ſaw opportunities beſt ſerved for the ſucceſsful effecting of them.

IN this ſame year, in which we ſuppoſe *Nehemiah* came back again to his government of *Judea* from the *Perſian* court, that is, [f] in the firſt year of the eighty eighth olympiad, was born *Plato* the famous *Athenian* philoſopher, who came neareſt to the truth in divine matters of any of the heathens. For he having in his travels into the eaſt, where he went for his improvement in knowledge, converſed with the *Jews*, and [g] gotten ſome

[d] Nehem. xiii. 10—14. Malachi iii. 8—13. [e] Nehem. xiii. 15—23.

[f] Diogenes Laertius in vita Platonis. [g] Joſephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Ariſtobulus apud Euſebium de præparatione evangelica.

inſight

insight into the writings of *Moſes*, and their other ſacred books, he learned many things from them which others of his profeſſion could not attain unto; and therefore he is ſaid [g] by *Numenius* to be none other than *Moſes* ſpeaking *Greek*, and [h] many of the ancient fathers ſpeak of him to the ſame purpoſe.

IN the ſixth year of the *Peloponneſian* war, [k] the plague broke out again at *Athens*, and deſtroyed great numbers of their people. This, with the other plague that happened four years before, having much exhauſted that city of its inhabitants, for the better repleniſhing of it again, [l] a new law was made to allow every man there to marry two wives. From the time of *Cecrops*, who was the firſt planter of *Attica*, and the founder of the city of *Athens* in it, no ſuch thing as polygamy was there ever known, or was any man allowed to have any more than one wife, both their law and their uſage till now being contrary thereto. But from this time it was allowed for the cauſe which I have mentioned, and *Socrates* the philoſopher was one of the firſt that made uſe of the privilege of it, being then forty three years old. For he was born in the laſt year of the ſeventy ſeventh olympiad, (which was the year 469 before *Chriſt.*) For to *Xantippe*, his former wife, he took another called *Myrto*, and all the benefit he had by it, was, to have two ſcolds inſtead of one, to exerciſe his patience. [m] As long as they diſagreed, they were continually ſcolding, brawling, or fighting with each other; and whenever they agreed, they both joined in brawling at him, and often [n] fell on him with their fiſts, as well as with their tongues, and beat him ſoundly. And this was a very juſt puniſhment upon him, for giving countenance by his practice to ſo unnatural and miſchievous a uſage. For every where more males than females being born into the world, this ſufficiently proves that God and nature never intended any more than one woman for one man; and they certainly act contrary to the laws of both, that have more than one to wife at the ſame time. Although the ſupreme law-giver diſpenſed with the children of *Iſrael* in this caſe, this is no rule for others to act by. *An.* 426. Artaxerxes 39.

IN the ſeventh year of the *Peloponneſian* war, *Artaxerxes* [o] ſent an embaſſador called *Artaphernes* to the *Lacedæmonians*, with letters written in the *Aſſyrian* language, wherein among other things he tells them, that ſeveral embaſſadors had come to him from them, but with meſſages ſo differing, that he could not learn from them what it was that they would have; and that therefore he had ſent this *Perſian* to them, to let them know, that if they had any thing to propoſe to him, they ſhould on his return ſend with him to his court ſome, by whom he might clearly underſtand what their mind was. But this embaſſador being got on in his way as far as *Eion*, on the river *Strymon* in *Thracia*, he was there taken priſoner about the end of the year, by one of the admirals of the *Athenian* fleet, who ſent him to *Athens*, where the *Athenians* treated him with much kindneſs and reſpect, thereby the better to reconcile to them the favour of the *Perſian* King. *An.* 425. Artaxerxes 40.

NOW the next year after, as ſoon as the ſeas were ſafely paſſable, they [p] ſent *An.* 424. Artaxerxes 41.

[g] Clem. Alexandr. Strom. 1. Suidas in Νουμήνιος. [h] Vide Menagii obſervationes ad tertium librum Diogenis Laertii Segm. 6. [k] Thucydides, lib. 3. [l] Athenæus, lib. 13. Diogenes Laertius in Socrate. [m] Diogenes Laertius, ibid. [n] Porphyrius apud Theodoretum. [o] Thucydides, lib. 4. [p] ſent

sent him back in a ship of their own at the publick charges, and appointed some of their citizens to go with him as embassadors from them to the King; but when they were landed at *Ephesus*, in order to this journey, they there understood that *Artaxerxes* was lately dead, whereon the embassadors proceeded no farther; but having there dismissed *Artaphernes* returned again to *Athens*.

ARTAXERXES dyed within three months after the beginning of the forty first year of his reign, and was [a] succeeded in his kingdom by *Xerxes*, the only son that he had by his Queen. But by his concubines he had seventeen others, among whom were *Sogdianus*, (by *Ctesias* called *Secundianus*) *Ochus*, and *Arsites*. *Xerxes* having made himself drunk at one of their festivals, and thereon being retired to sleep it out in his bedchamber, *Sogdianus* took the advantage of it, by the help and treachery of *Pharnacyas*, one of *Xerxes*'s eunuchs, then to fall upon him, and slew him after he had reigned only forty five days, and succeeded him in the kingdom. And as soon as he was on the throne, he put to death *Bagorazus*, the faithfullest of his father's eunuchs. *Artaxerxes* being dead, and his Queen the mother of *Xerxes* dying also the same day, *Bagorazus* undertook the care of their funeral, and carried both their corps to the accustomed burial place of the royal family in *Persia*. But on his return, *Sogdianus* being on the throne, he was very ill received by him, on the account of some former quarrel that had been between them in his father's life-time; in revenge whereof, a little after taking pretence from something, which he found fault with, in the management of his father's funeral, he caused him to be stoned to death; by which two murthers, that of his brother *Xerxes*, and this of the faithful eunuch, having made himself very odious to the army, as well as the nobility, he soon found that he sat very unsafe upon the throne which he had so wickedly gotten possession of. Whereon growing jealous and suspicious, lest some of his brothers should serve him as he had served *Xerxes*; and fearing *Ochus*, whom his father had made governor of *Hyrcania*, more than all the rest, he sent for him to come to court, with intention to rid himself of him, by putting him to death. But *Ochus* perceiving what his designs were, under several pretences from time to time delayed his coming, till at length having got together a powerful army, he marched against him for the revenging (as he declared) the death of his brother *Xerxes*; whereon many of the nobility, and several governors of provinces, who were disgusted with the cruelty and mismanagement of *Sogdianus*, revolted from him, and went over to *Ochus*, and having put the royal *Tiara* upon his head declared him King. *Sogdianus* seeing himself thus deserted, fell into great fear of the power of his brother, and having less courage to defend what he had wickedly done, than he had to commit it, was prevailed upon, contrary to the advice of the wisest and best of his friends, to come to a treaty with *Ochus*; who having hereby gotten him into his power, cast him into ashes, and there made him die a most cruel death. This [b] was one of the punishments of the *Persians*, whereby great criminals among them were put to death. The manner of it is described in the xiii[th] chapter of the second book of the *Maccabees* to be thus: An high tower being filled a

[a] Thucydides, lib. 4. [b] Ctesias. Diodor. Sic. lib. 12. p. 319. & p. 322.

[b] *Concerning the first invention of this punishment, see* Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. cap. 2. exter. §. 6.

great

great way up with aſhes, the criminal was from the top thrown down headlong into them, and there had the aſhes by a wheel continually ſtirred up and raiſed about him, till he was ſuffocated by them and died. And thus this wicked prince with his life loſt his empire, after he had held it only ſix months and fifteen days.

SOGDIANUS being thus diſpatched, *Ochus* obtained the kingdom, and [f] as ſoon as he was ſettled in it, he changed his name, taking that of *Darius* inſtead of *Ochus*, and is the ſame whom hiſtorians call *Darius Nothus*. He reigned nineteen years, and is in *Ptolemy*'s canon placed as the next immediate ſucceſſor of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, according to the method of that canon, which always reckons to the predeceſſor the whole laſt year in which he died, and placeth him as the next ſucceſſor, who was on the throne in the beginning of the year following, (as hath been already obſerved) and both the reigns of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* making but eight months, and theſe not reaching to the end of the year in which *Artaxerxes* died, their reigns in that canon are caſt into the laſt year of *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius* is placed next him, as if he had been his immediate ſucceſſor. *An.* 423. Darius Nothus 1.

BUT it not being the uſage of the *Perſian* Kings, on their acceſſion to the throne, to diſplace any of the governors of provinces, unleſs they were ſuch as they had juſt reaſon to miſtruſt, *Nehemiah*, during all theſe revolutions in the empire, continued ſtill in his government of *Judea*, and went on with the ſame zeal and vigour to reform it in all things, relating either to church or ſtate, and to correct and ſet all at rights, that was amiſs in either of them.

ARSITES ſeeing how *Sogdianus* had ſupplanted *Xerxes*, and *Ochus Sogdianus*, thought to do the ſame with *Ochus*. And therefore, though he was his brother by the ſame mother as well as by the ſame father, [t] rebelled againſt him, and *Artyphius* the ſon of *Megabyzus* joined with him in this revolt. *Ochus*, now called *Darius*, ſent againſt *Artyphius*, *Artaſyras* one of his generals, while he with another army marched againſt *Arſites*. *Artyphius* vanquiſhed his adverſary in two battles by the help of his *Grecian* mercenaries. But theſe being bribed over to *Artaſyras* he loſt the third battel, and thereby being reduced to the utmoſt difficulty, he ſurrender'd, on hopes given him of mercy, into the hands of *Darius*, who would immediately have put him to death, but that he was diſſuaded from it by *Paryſatis* his Queen. She was one of the daughters of *Artaxerxes* his father by another mother, and a very ſubtile crafty woman, and whoſe counſel and advice he chiefly depended upon in the management of all his affairs. Her advice on the preſent occaſion was to treat *Artyphius* with all manner of clemency, that by ſuch uſage of a rebel ſervant, he might the better encourage his rebel brother to hope for the ſame favour, and caſt himſelf upon his mercy, and that if he could this way decoy him into his power, he might then deal with both as he ſhould think fit. *Darius* following this advice, had that ſucceſs in it which was propoſed. For *Arſites* being informed with what clemency *Artyphius* was treated, thought he, as a brother, might be favoured much more; and therefore coming to terms with the King, yielded himſelf unto him. But when he had thus *An.* 422. Darius Nothus 2.

[f] Cteſias. Diodorus Sic. lib. 12. p. 322. Ptol. Can. [t] Cteſias.

got him into his power, he caſt both him and *Artyphius* into the aſhes, and there made them both miſerably periſh. *Darius* was much inclined to have ſpared *Arſites*, but he was over-ruled herein by the advice of *Paryſatis*, who preſſed it upon him, that he could no otherwiſe provide for his own ſafety, but by the death of this rebel And the force of this argument prevailed with him, though with great difficulty, to conſent to it. They being both born of the ſame mother, this was the cauſe of the tenderneſs which he had for him.

HE alſo put to death *Pharnacyas* the eunuch, for the hand which he had in the death of *Xerxes*; and *Monaſthenes* another eunuch, who was the chief confident of *Sogdianus*, and alſo concerned with him in his treachery againſt his brother, was forced to kill himſelf to avoid the puniſhment of a much ſeverer death, which was intended for him. But all theſe executions did not ſet *Darius* at quiet upon his throne. For many other troubles were raiſed againſt him afterwards.

An. 414. Darius Nothus 10.

THE chiefeſt and the moſt dangerous of them was the rebellion of *Piſuthnes*, who being made governor of *Lydia* did there ſet up for himſelf, and caſt off his obedience to the King; to which he was chiefly encouraged by the confidence which he placed in an army of mercenary *Greeks*, whom he had got together into his ſervice under the command of *Lycon* an *Athenian*. Againſt him *Darius* ſent *Tiſſaphernes* with an army to ſuppreſs the rebel, and alſo with a commiſſion to be governor of *Lydia* in his ſtead. *Tiſſaphernes*, being a very crafty and inſidious man, finds ways to get within *Piſuthnes*'s *Grecian* Mercenaries, and having with large gifts and larger promiſes corrupted both them and their general to change ſides, they deſerted *Piſuthnes* and went over to *Tiſſaphernes*; whereby *Piſuthnes* being left too weak any longer to carry on his deſigns, was perſuaded, on promiſes made him of pardon, to truſt to them, and ſurrender himſelf; but as ſoon as he was brought to the King, he cauſed him to be caſt into the aſhes, and there periſh, in the ſame manner as had been the fate of the other rebels before him. However this did not put an end to the troubles which he had raiſed in thoſe parts; for [v] *Amorgas* his ſon ſtill continued in arms with the remaining part of his army, and about two years after infeſted the maritime provinces of leſſer *Aſia*, till at length, being taken priſoner by the *Peloponneſians* at *Iaſus* a city of *Ionia*, he was delivered to *Tiſſaphernes*, and put to death.

THE next diſturbance which *Darius* had [w] was from *Artoxares* the chief of the eunuchs. He had three eunuchs, by whoſe miniſtry he governed all the affairs of his empire, theſe were *Artoxares*, *Artibarxanes*, and *Athous*; and next *Paryſatis* his Queen, he placed his greateſt confidence in them, and truſted to their counſel and advice above all others, in whatſoever he did through all the emergencies of the government. By which height of authority *Artoxares* being intoxicated, from being chief miniſter he at length began to dream of making himſelf chief governor of the empire, and laid deſigns of cutting off *Darius*, and ſeizing the throne for himſelf. And that his being an eunuch might be no obſtacle to him herein, he married a wife, and wore an artificial beard, that he might be thought to be no eunuch. But his wife knowing the whole plot, and be-

[v] Cteſias. [w] Thucydides, lib. 8. [x] Cteſias.

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ing perchance weary of an husband, whom ſhe found to be truly an eunuch in her bed, whatſoever he pretended to be out of it, diſcovered all to the King, whereon he was taken into cuſtody, and delivered over into the hands of *Paryſatis*, who cauſed him to be put to death in ſuch manner as would beſt ſatiate her cruelty, in which ſhe exceeded all women living.

BUT the greateſt misfortune that befel *Darius* during all his reign, was the [y] revolt of *Egypt*, which happened in the ſame year with the revolt of *Piſuthnes*. For altho' *Darius* again maſtered the latter of theſe rebellions, he never could the other. But the whole province of *Egypt*, which was one of the beſt of the whole *Perſian* empire, was loſt unto him all the remaining part of his reign, as it alſo was to his ſucceſſors, till it was again reduced by *Ochus*, as will be hereafter related. For the *Egyptians* being weary of the *Perſian* yoke, *Amyrtæus Saites* took the advantage of it, and ſallied out of his fens, where he had reigned ever ſince the ſuppreſſion of *Inarus*'s revolt, and being joined by the other *Egyptians*, ſoon drove the *Perſians* out of the countrey, and made himſelf King of all *Egypt*, and reigned there ſix years.

ABOUT this time happened at *Athens* the condemnation of *Diagoras* the *Melian*. He having ſettled in that city, and there [z] taught atheiſm, the *Athenians* proſecuted him for it. But by flying out of that countrey he eſcaped the puniſhment of death, which was intended for him, altho' not the ſentence. For the *Athenians*, having in his abſence condemned him for his impious doctrine, did ſet a price upon his head, and decreed the reward of a talent to whoſoever ſhould kill him, whereſover he ſhould be found. And about twenty years before [a] they had proceeded againſt *Protagoras* another philoſopher with the like ſeverity, for only doubting of the being of a God. For in the beginning of one of his books he having written thus, *Of the Gods I know nothing, neither that they are, nor that they are not. For there are many things that hinder, the blindneſs of our underſtanding, and the ſhortneſs of human life*: the *Athenians* would not endure ſo much as the raiſing of a doubt about this matter, but calling in all his books by the common cryers of their city, they cauſed them all publickly to be burnt with infamy, and baniſhed the author out of their territories for ever. Both theſe had been the ſcholars of *Democritus* the firſt founder of the atomical philoſophy, which is indeed wholly an atheiſtical ſcheme. For tho' it allows the being of a God in name, it takes it away in effect. For by denying the power of God to create the world, and the providence of God to govern the world, and the juſtice of God to judge the world, they do the ſame in effect, as if they had denied his being. But this they durſt not openly do even among the heathens for fear of puniſhment; the greater ſhame is it to us, who in a chriſtian ſtate permit ſo many impious wretches to do this among us, with a free liberty and abſolute impunity.

ELIASHIB the high-prieſt of the *Jews* died in the eleventh year of *Darius Nothus*, after he had held that pontificate forty years, and [b] was ſucceeded in it by *Joiada* his ſon. *An.* 413. Darius Nothus 11.

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y Euſebius in Chronico.

z Joſephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Ariſtophanes in Avibus. Heſychius Mileſius.

a Diogenes Laertius in Protagora. Joſephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1.

b Nehem. xii. Joſephus, lib. 11. c. 7. Chronicon Alexandrinum.

An. 412. Darius Nothus 12.

AT this time [b] *Tiſſaphernes* was governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*, and [b] *Pharnabazus* of the *Helleſpont*, for King *Darius*; who being men of great craft, and alſo of great application for the proſecuting the intereſt of their prince, were not wanting to make the beſt advantage they could of the diviſions of the *Greeks*, for the promoting of the welfare of the *Perſian* empire. The *Peloponneſian* war had now been carried on between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians* to the twentieth year. The policy practiſed herein, by theſe two *Perſians*, was ſometimes to help one and ſometimes the other, that the matter being equally ballanced between them, neither might by ſuppreſſing the other be at leiſure to trouble them, who had ſo long been the common enemy of both. And therefore at this time the *Athenians* ſeeming to them to have the aſcendant over the other in the fortune of the war, eſpecially on the *Aſian* coaſts, and having there much provoked them by the auxiliaries which they had ſent under the command of *Lycon*, for the aiding and ſupporting of *Piſuthnes* in his revolt, they entered into an alliance with the *Lacedæmonians* againſt them. This had been treated of with them by *Tiſſaphernes* the former year, but now was by the conſent of both governors agreed to, whereby the *Perſians* were obliged to furniſh the *Lacedæmonians* with large ſubſidies for the payment of their fleet; and the *Lacedæmonians*, in conſideration hereof, yielded that the *Perſian* King ſhould have all thoſe countries and cities, which he or his anceſtors had at any time before the date of the treaty been poſſeſſed of. But when this treaty came to be examined in a full aſſembly of the *Lacedæmonians*, the conceſſions made in it to the King of *Perſia* were thought too large, as including all the iſlands of the *Egean* ſea, and alſo all thoſe countries which *Xerxes* had taken poſſeſſion of on this ſide the *Helleſpont*, and therefore the ratification of them was deny'd. And by this time the *Athenians* wanting the ballance on their ſide, to make them bear even with their adverſaries, *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* upon this provocation carried over their aſſiſtance to them; and altho' the next year, on an emendation made in the yielding clauſe, by limiting of it to the *Aſian* provinces, the treaty was ratified and confirmed by the *Lacedæmonians*, yet by ſeveral underhand and indirect practices they rather aſſiſted the *Athenians* than them, eſpecially in defrauding their fleet of the ſubſidies they promiſed to pay them, and by ſending back *Alcibiades* again to the *Athenians*, which turned the whole fate of the war. And thus they continued either openly or covertly, ſometimes to help one, and ſometimes to help the other, in order to weaken and waſte both, till *Cyrus* came to be chief governor of the *Aſian* provinces.

An. 410. Darius Nothus 14.

AMYRTÆUS having ſettled himſelf in the kingdom of *Egypt*, by a total expulſion of the *Perſians* out of that countrey, [c] made great preparations to follow them into *Phœnicia*, and had the *Arabians* in confederacy with him for this purpoſe. Of which the King of *Perſia* having received advice, the fleet with which he had ſtipulated to help the *Lacedæmonians*, was recalled to defend his own territories. But the war ſeems not to have broken out there till the year following.

An. 409. Darius Nothus 15.

IN the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus* ended the firſt ſeven weeks of

[b] Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. Cteſias. Thucydides, lib. 8. Plutarchus in Alcibiade.
[c] Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 335.

the ſeventy weeks of *Daniel*'s prophecy. For then the reſtoration of the church and ſtate of the *Jews* in *Jeruſalem* and *Judea* was fully finiſhed, in that laſt act of reformation, which is recorded in the xiii[th] chapter of *Nehemiah*, from the 23[d] verſe to the end of the chapter, juſt forty nine years after it had been firſt begun by *Ezra*, in the ſeventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. And this reformation was the removal of all unlawful marriages from among the people. For altho' the law[d] ſtrictly forbad them to make inter-marriages with any foreign nation, either by giving their daughters to them for wives, or by taking their daughters to themſelves, yet ſince their return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity they had given little regard hereto, but took to them wives of all the nations round about them, with whom God had ſtrictly commanded them not to make any alliances. It ſeems moſt likely, that while they were mixed with the ſtrange nations of thoſe countries of the eaſt, into which they were carried captive by the *Babylonians*, they there firſt made theſe ſtrange marriages, and from thence brought with them this forbidden uſage on their return. *Ezra* found[e] it ſpread among them on his firſt coming to *Jeruſalem*, and altho' for a while he had brought it to a thorough reformation, yet by the time that *Nehemiah* came to ſucceed him[f] the corruption was grown up again; and altho' he did then again reform it, and made all the people enter into a covenant with God, and ſeal it with an oath and a curſe upon themſelves, ſtrictly to obſerve the rule of God's law herein for the future; and a little after his laſt return to his government, he had made another reformation herein,[g] by ſeparating from *Iſrael* all the mix'd multitude, yet this did not wholly root out the evil, but it grew up again, and[h] at length came to ſuch an height, that the pontifical houſe, which of all others ought to have been keep the cleareſt from all ſuch impure commixtures, was polluted therewith. For one of the ſons of *Joiada* the high-prieſt, whom[i] *Joſephus* calls *Manaſſeh*, had married the daughter of *Sanballat the Horonite*; whereby an ill example being given for the breach of the law, by ſuch as were moſt concerned to ſee to the obſervance of it, *Nehemiah* came in with the utmoſt ſtretch of his power to remedy this enormity, and forced all who had taken ſuch ſtrange wives forthwith to part with them, or depart the countrey; whereon *Manaſſeh* being unwilling to quit his wife, fled to *Samaria*; and many others, who being in the ſame caſe with him, were alſo of the ſame mind, accompanied him thither, and there ſettled under the protection of *Sanballat*, who was the governor of the place.

IT may be here objected, that I put the laſt reformation of *Nehemiah* too low, and the marriage of *Manaſſeh* too high, and therefore it will be neceſſary, before I proceed any farther, to clear theſe two particulars.

As to the firſt of theſe, this laſt act of *Nehemiah*'s reformation, whereby he purged the land of ſuch as would not be obedient to the law of God in the caſe of their wives, *Nehemiah* himſelf tells us, it was[k] while *Joiada* was high-prieſt at *Jeruſalem*. But according[l] to the *Chronicon*

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[d] Exod. xxxiv. 16. Deut. vii. 3. [e] Ezra ix. x. [f] Nehem. x. 30.
[g] Nehem. xiii. 3. [h] Nehem. xiii. 28---31. [i] Antiq. lib. xi. c. 7.
[k] Nehem. xiii. 28. [l] *The number of years, which the* Chronicon Alexandrinum *aſcribes to each high-prieſt, brings down the firſt of* Joiada *to that year which is the eleventh of* Darius Nothus *in the canon of* Ptolemy.

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Alexandrinum, (which gives us [m] the trueſt account of the ſucceſſion of the high-prieſts of the *Jews*, from the captivity of *Babylon* to the reign of the *Seleucian* Kings) *Joiada* ſucceeded in the high-prieſthood on the death of *Eliaſhib* his father, only four years before this year, in which I place this act of reformation. And therefore higher than this, unleſs in one of theſe four years, it cannot be placed within the time of *Jehoiada*'s high-prieſthood. And that which determines me to place it in the fifth year of that prieſthood, rather than in any of the four preceding, is the prophecy of *Daniel*'s ſeventy weeks. For by that prophecy, from the going forth of the decree to reſtore and build *Jeruſalem*, (that is, to reſtore and build up again the church and ſtate of the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*, by a thorough reformation of both) to the end of that reformation, were to be ſeven of thoſe weeks, that is, forty nine years. And theſe forty nine years beginning in the ſeventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, when this decree was granted to *Ezra*, they muſt end in the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus* his ſon, which was the fifth year of the high-prieſthood of *Joiada*, and therefore here this reformation muſt have had its ending alſo. And ſince the expulſion of *Manaſſeh*, with ſuch others with him as would not be reformed, is the laſt act which is mentioned to have been done of this reformation in thoſe very ſcriptures, which are profeſſedly written to give us an account of the whole of it; what is more reaſonable than to infer, that in this act it had its concluſion? and that therefore this act muſt be there placed where that reformation ended, that is, forty nine years after it had its beginning, according to the prophecy of *Daniel*, which I have mentioned. And from the ſeventh of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to the fifteenth of *Darius Nothus* were juſt forty nine years. If any one ſhall ſay, that in the text of *Nehemiah* (chap. xiii. 28.) the word *high-prieſt* is put in appoſition with *Eliaſhib*, and not with *Joiada*, and that therefore this laſt act of *Nehemiah*'s reformation was in the high-prieſthood of *Eliaſhib*, and not in that of *Joiada* his ſon; my anſwer to it is, that the *Hebrew* original cannot bear this interpretation. For it having been the uſage of the *Jews*, as well as of all other nations of the eaſt, for the better diſtinguiſhing of perſons, to add the name of the father to that of the ſon, in the ſame manner as was lately practiſed by the *Welſh*, and ſtill is among the *Iriſh*, theſe words in the text, *Joiada Ben Eliaſhib*, i. e. *Joiada the ſon of Eliaſhib*, all together make but one name of the ſame perſon; and therefore the word high-prieſt, which followeth, can be put in appoſition with nothing but the whole of it.

As to the ſecond objection, that I place the marriage of *Manaſſeh* too high, my anſwer is, I place it there where the ſcriptures place it, that is, in the high-prieſthood of *Joiada*. *Joſephus* indeed placeth this marriage in the high-prieſthood of *Jaddua* the grandſon of *Joiada*, and ſaith, that he who contracted it was the brother of *Jaddua* and the ſon of *Johanan*. To reconcile this matter, ſome fancy that there were two *Sanballats*, the firſt the *Sanballat* of the holy ſcriptures, and the other the *Sanballat* of *Joſephus*, and that there were two marriages contracted by two different perſons, ſons of two different high-prieſts of the *Jews*, with two different women, who were each daughters of two different *Sanballats*; the firſt

[m] *It beſt agreeth both with the ſcripture and the prophane hiſtories of thoſe times.*

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the daughter of the *Sanballat* of the ſcriptures, and the other the daughter of the *Sanballat* of *Joſephus*, and that he that married the firſt of them was a ſon of *Joiada*, but that he that married the ſecond of them was the ſon of *Johanan*, and brother of *Jaddua*. But as I have ſhewn before, that there could be but one *Sanballat*, and that the *Sanballat* of *Joſephus* was the ſame with the *Sanballat* of the holy ſcriptures, but that *Joſephus*, by a miſtake in his chronology, placed him in the time of *Darius Codomannus*, whereas he ſhould have placed him in the time of *Darius Nothus*; ſo it muſt follow from hence, that he was one and the ſame high-prieſt's ſon, that married his daughter. For each, who is ſaid to have contracted this marriage, being the ſon of an high-prieſt of the *Jews*, each marrying the daughter of a *Sanballat* governor of *Samaria*, and each being expelled *Jeruſalem* for it; theſe three characters ſufficiently prove both to be the ſame perſon. The ſcriptures indeed give him no name, but *Joſephus* calls him *Manaſſeh*, and therefore I call him ſo too. The queſtion therefore being reduced to this, whether this marriage is to be placed in the high-prieſthood of *Joiada*, and the reign of *Darius Nothus*, where the ſcriptures place it, or elſe in the high-prieſthood of *Jaddua*, and the reign of *Darius Codomannus*, where *Joſephus* placeth it; I hope there will be no difficulty in determining which authority to follow.

THE war being [n] carried on between the *Egyptians* and the *Perſians*, and each contending to enlarge and ſtrengthen their barrier on the borders, it ſeems moſt likely that *Darius* on this occaſion came in perſon into *Phœnicia*, and that then it was, that *Sanballat* attending him, ſo far inſinuated himſelf into his favour, [o] as to obtain from him a grant to build on mount *Gerizim*, near *Samaria*, a temple like that at *Jeruſalem*, and to make *Manaſſeh* his ſon-in-law high-prieſt of it; and that herein all that had its foundation, which *Joſephus* by miſtaking the time attributes to *Darius Codomannus* and *Alexander the Great*. And perchance this war might ſome time after produce that ſiege of *Gaza*, at [p] which *Sanballat* died. For even at this time he muſt have been a very old man. *Gaza* being the common inlet between *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, for the paſſing of each to other, the poſſeſſion of it was of great importance on either ſide. If held by the *Egyptians*, it would be a gate to let them in to ravage *Judea*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*; and if by the *Perſians*, it would be a ſtrong barrier to keep them out, and alſo be a like gate for the paſſage of the *Perſian* forces into *Egypt*. And therefore if *Amyrtæus* had now poſſeſſed himſelf of this important poſt, it concerned the King of *Perſia* to do his utmoſt to recover it. For without it he could neither defend the territories which he had remaining in thoſe parts, nor paſs into *Egypt* to recover what he had there loſt. For he that was maſter of this paſs could obſtruct the paſſage either way. And therefore [q] *Alexander* himſelf, after his victory at *Iſſus*, could not paſs into *Egypt* till he had taken it.

SANBALLAT having built this temple, and made *Manaſſeh* high-prieſt of it, *Samaria* thenceforth became [r] the common refuge and aſylum of the refractory *Jews*; ſo that if any among them were found guilty of violating the law, as in eating forbidden meats, the breach of the ſabbath,

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[n] Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 355. [o] Joſeph. lib. 13. c. 8. [p] Joſeph. ibid.
[q] Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 6. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrian. lib. 2. edit. Blancard, p. 150.
[r] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

OR

or the like, and were called to an account for it, they fled to the *Samaritans*, and there found reception, by which means it came to paſs, that after ſome time the greateſt part of that people were made up of apoſtate *Jews*, and their deſcendants. The firſt of theſe *Samaritans* were the *Cutheans*, and ſuch others of the eaſtern nation, as *Eſerhaddon* planted there after the deportation of the *Iſraelites*. But when theſe apoſtate *Jews* flocked to them, they became a mungrel ſort of people made up of both. But the mixing of ſo many *Jews* among them ſoon made a change in their religion. For whereas they had hitherto[t] worſhipped the God of *Iſrael* only in conjunction with their other gods, that is, the gods of thoſe nations of the eaſt from whence they came; after a temple was built among them, in which the daily ſervice was conſtantly performed in the ſame manner as at *Jeruſalem*, and the book of the law of *Moſes* was brought to *Samaria*, and there publickly read to them, they ſoon[u] left off worſhipping their falſe gods, and conformed themſelves wholly to the worſhip of the true God, according to the rule which was in that book preſcribed to them, and were more exact in it (as[x] ſome of the *Jewiſh* doctors acknowledge) than the *Jews* themſelves. However, the *Jews* looking on them as apoſtates, hated them above all the nations of the earth, ſo as[w] to avoid all manner of converſe and communication with them. This hatred firſt began from the oppoſition which the *Samaritans* made againſt them, on their return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity, both in their rebuilding of the temple, and their repairing of the walls of *Jeruſalem*, of which an account hath been above given; and it was afterwards much encreaſed by this apoſtacy of *Manaſſeh*, and thoſe who joined with him in it, and by their erecting hereon an altar, and a temple, in oppoſition to theirs at *Jeruſalem*. And all others, who at any time after fled from *Jeruſalem* for the violating of the law, always finding reception among them, this continually farther added to the rancour which the *Jews* had entertained againſt them, till at length it grew to that height, that the *Jews* publiſhed a curſe and an anathema againſt them, the bittereſt that ever was denounced againſt any people. For thereby they forbad all manner of communication with them, declaring all the fruits and products of their land, and every thing elſe of theirs, which was either eaten or drank among them, to be as ſwines fleſh, and prohibited all of their nation ever to taſte thereof; and alſo excluded all of that people from being ever received as proſelytes to their religion. And in the laſt place proceeded ſo far, as even to the barring of them for ever from having any portion in the reſurrection of the dead to eternal life, as if this alſo were in their power. This curſe, they ſay, was firſt denounced againſt them by *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhua*, on the oppoſition which they gave them in the rebuilding of the temple, and by them tranſmitted to the *Jews* of *Babylon*, where it being alſo ratifyed and confirmed, it became thereby the act and ſentence of the whole *Jewiſh* church. This account is given of it[y] in *Pirke R. Eliezer*, which is[y] reputed one of the ancienteſt of their books. And ever ſince, they

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[t] 2 Kings xvii. [u] Epiphanius hær. 9. Hottingeri exercitationes anti-morinianæ, §. 16. [x] Maimonides in tractatum miſnicum Beracoth. c. 8. §. 8. Obadiah Bartenora in eundem tractatum, cap. 7. §. 1. [w] John iv. 9. [x] Cap. 38. & vide Animadverſiones Vorſtii ad locum prædictum, p. 226—230. *Lightfoot*, vol. 1. p. 599. [y] *The* Jews *ſay this book was writ before the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem, *but there being mention made therein of the* Saracen *empire, it muſt have been written at leaſt ſix hundred years after.*

ſay,

ſay it hath been renewed, and alſo by adding curſe upon curſe continually aggravated among them. But it is not likely that this was done by *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhua*, in the manner as related by *R. Eliezer*. If it were done at all, it was done afterwards, when the hatred of the *Jews* againſt them was grown to the utmoſt height from the cauſes mentioned. But thus much is certain, that for many ages paſt, the conduct of the *Jews* towards the *Samaritans* hath been according to the tenor of this anathema, they conſtantly refuſing all manner of converſe or communication with them, and ſo it was even in our Saviour's time. For why elſe ſhould the woman of *Samaria* ask our Saviour, *How is it that thou being a* Jew *askeſt drink of me who am a woman of* Samaria? but that it was even then forbidden among the *Jews*, either to eat or drink any thing of that which was the *Samaritans*. And the words immediately following are to this purpoſe; for they tell us, that *the* Jews *had no dealings with the* Samaritans. The common name by which they call theſe people, is that of *Cutheans*, which is a name of ſo great infamy among them, that whenever they are provoked to expreſs the utmoſt of their rancour againſt any one, they call him *Cuthean*, in the ſame manner as we often call thoſe whom we deteſt *Jews* or *Turks*; but that of *Cuthean* imports a much greater degree of deteſtation among them, than either of the other two do among us. And that this humour was very ancient among them appears from hence, that when the *Jews* expreſſed their utmoſt averſion to our Saviour, they ſaid unto him, [a] *Thou art a* Samaritan *and haſt a devil*; as if to be a *Samaritan* and have a devil were things of equal reproach. And the author of the book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, when he reckons up the nations which were moſt deteſtable to the *Jews*, [x] names *the fooliſh people that dwell in* Shechem, to be thoſe who were chiefly ſo. However the *Samaritans* themſelves will not own their original from thoſe eaſtern colonies of *Eſerhaddon*, but claim to be deſcended from the ſons of *Joſeph*, and therefore call *Jacob* their father; and ſo the woman of *Samaria* [b] calls him in her diſcourſe with our Saviour. But *Joſephus* [c] tells us, they uſed to do this only when the *Jews* were in proſperity. But if at any time they fell under difficulties or oppreſſions, they then diſclaimed all relation to them, ſaying they were of another nation, as [d] was notoriouſly done by them in the time of *Antiochus*'s perſecution. The particulars in which they and the *Jews* differ from each other in their religion, are theſe following.

I. THE *Samaritans* [e] receive none other ſcriptures than the five books of *Moſes*, rejecting all the other books, which are in the *Jewiſh* canon. And theſe five books they ſtill have among them, written in the old *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* character, which was in uſe among them before the *Babyloniſh* captivity, and in which both theſe, and all other ſcriptures were written, till *Ezra* tranſcribed them into that of the *Chaldeans*. And this hath led many learned men into a miſtake, as if the *Samaritan* copy, becauſe written in the old character, were the true authentic copy, and that *Ezra*'s was only a tranſcript; whereas in truth, the *Samaritan* pentateuch is no more than a tranſcript, copied in another character from that

[a] John viii. 48. [x] Eccleſiaſticus v. 25. [b] John iv. 12. [c] Antiq. lib. 9. c. 14. & lib. 11. c. 8. [d] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7. [e] Hieronymus in Dialogo adverſus Luciferanios. Epiphanius Hæreſ. 9. Benjaminis itinerarium, p. 38. Eutychius, &c.

of *Ezra*, with ſome variations, additions, and tranſpoſitions made therein. That it was copied from that of *Ezra* is manifeſt from two reaſons. For, firſt, It hath all the interpolations that *Ezra*'s copy hath; and that he was the author of thoſe interpolations is generally acknowledged: And therefore had it been ancienter than *Ezra*'s copy, it muſt have been without them. Secondly, There are a great many variations in the *Samaritan* copy, which are manifeſtly cauſed by the miſtake of the ſimilar letters in the *Hebrew* alphabet; which letters having no ſimilitude in the *Samaritan* character, this evidently proves thoſe variations were made in tranſcribing the *Samaritan* from the *Hebrew*, and not in tranſcribing the *Hebrew* from the *Samaritan*. It ſeems from hence to be beyond all doubt that *Manaſſeh*, when he fled to the *Samaritans*, firſt brought the law of *Moſes* among them. *Eſarhaddon*, indeed, [f] ſent to his new colony, which he had planted in *Samaria*, an *Iſraelitiſh* prieſt, to teach them the way of worſhipping God according to the manner of the former inhabitants; but it appears not that he did this by bringing the law of *Moſes* among them, or that they were any otherwiſe inſtructed in it, than by tradition, till *Manaſſeh* came among them. For had they received the law of *Moſes* from the firſt, and made that the rule of worſhip, which they paid the God of *Iſrael*, from the time of the coming of that prieſt among them; how could they have continued in that groſs idolatry of worſhipping other Gods in conjunction with him, which that law doth ſo often and ſo ſtrictly forbid? And yet in this idolatry, it is agreed on all hands, they continued till the building of the temple on mount *Gerizim*; and therefore it ſeems clear, that till then they had not a copy of this law, but that when *Manaſſeh*, and ſo many apoſtate *Jews* with him, came over to them, and ſettled in *Samaria*, they firſt brought it among them; and becauſe the old *Phœnician* character was that only which the *Samaritans* were accuſtomed to, they cauſed this law, for their ſakes, to be written out in that character, and in this they have retained it ever ſince. This *Samaritan* pentateuch was well known to many of the fathers, and ancient chriſtian writers. For it is quoted by *Origen*, *Africanus*, *Euſebius*, *Jerom*, *Diodor* of *Tarſus*, *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, *Procopius Gazæus*, and others. That which made it ſo familiar to them, was a *Greek* tranſlation of it then extant, which now is loſt. For as there was a *Greek* tranſlation of the *Hebrew* ſcriptures made for the uſe of the helleniſtical *Jews*, which we call the *Septuagint*, ſo alſo was there a like *Greek* tranſlation of the *Samaritan* ſcriptures, (that is, the pentateuch, which they only allowed for ſuch) made for the uſe of the helleniſtical *Samaritans*, eſpecially for thoſe of *Alexandria*, [g] where the *Samaritans* dwelt in great numbers, as well as the *Jews*. *Origen* indeed, and *Jerom*, underſtood the *Hebrew* langugae, and therefore might have conſulted the *Samaritan* text, that being none other than *Hebrew* in another character. But the reſt of thoſe mentioned underſtanding nothing of it, could no otherwiſe have any knowledge of this *Samaritan* pentateuch, but from the tranſlation of it. And there is alſo an old ſcholiaſt upon the *Septuagint*, that makes frequent mention of it. But this as well as the other ancient books, in which any mention of this *Samaritan* pentateuch is to be found, were all written before the end of the ſixth century. From that time for above a thouſand years after, it hath lain wholly in the dark, and

[f] 2 Kings xvii. 28. [g] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. & lib. 13. c. 6.

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in an abſolute ſtate of oblivion among all chriſtians both of the weſt and eaſt, and hath been no more ſpoken of after that time by any of their writers, till about the beginning of the laſt century, when *Scaliger*, having gotten notice that there was ſuch a *Samaritan* pentateuch among thoſe of that ſect in the eaſt, [h] made heavy complaints, that no one would take care to get a copy of it from thence, and bring it among us into theſe parts. A little after this [i] archbiſhop *Uſher* procured ſeveral copies of it out of the eaſt, and not long after *Sancius Harley* a prieſt of the oratory at *Paris*, and afterwards biſhop of St. *Malo*'s in *Britany*, [k] brought another copy into *Europe*, and repoſited it in the library belonging to that order in *Paris*. From which copy *Morinus*, another prieſt of the ſame order, publiſhed it in the *Paris Polyglot*. This *Sancius Harley* had been embaſſador from the *French* King at *Conſtantinople*, where having reſided in that quality ten years, he made uſe of the opportunity which he had there, of making a good collection of oriental books, which he brought home with him on his return, and having a while after enter'd himſelf among the oratorians at *Paris*, he did put all theſe books into their library, and among them was this copy of the *Samaritan* pentateuch, which *Morinus* publiſhed.

THE *Samaritans*, beſides the pentateuch in the original *Hebrew* language, have alſo [l] another in the language that was vulgarly ſpoken among them. For as the *Jews* after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, degenerated in their language from the *Hebrew* to the *Babyloniſh* dialect, ſo the *Samaritans* did the ſame; whether this happened by their bringing this dialect out of *Aſſyria* with them, when they firſt came to plant in *Samaria*, or that they firſt fell into it, by conforming themſelves to the ſpeech of thoſe *Phœnician* and *Syrian* nations who lived next them, and with whom they moſtly converſed, or elſe had it from the mixture of thoſe *Jews* who revolted to them with *Manaſſeh*, we have not light enough to determine. But however it came to paſs, after it ſo happened, the vulgar no longer underſtood what was written in the *Hebrew* language. And therefore, as the *Jews* for the ſake of the vulgar among them, who underſtood nothing but the vulgar language, were forced to make *Chaldee* verſions of the ſcriptures, which they call the *Targums* or *Chaldee Paraphraſes*; ſo the *Samaritans* were forced for the ſame reaſon to do the ſame thing, and to make a verſion of their pentateuch into the vulgar *Samaritan*, which is called the *Samaritan* verſion. And this *Samaritan* verſion, as well as the original *Samaritan* text, *Morinus* publiſhed together in the *Polyglot* above-mentioned. The *Samaritan* text he printed from *Sancius Harley*'s copy, but the *Samaritan* verſion he had from *Peter a Valle*, a gentleman of *Rome*, who having many years travelled over the eaſt, brought it thence with him, and communicated it to *Morinus*. But that work being precipitated with too much haſte, it had paſſed the preſs before ſuch other helps came to him from *Pereſcius*, Dr. *Comber* dean of *Carliſle*, and others, as would have enabled him to have made it much more perfect; but what was wanting therein, was afterwards rectifyed in the *London Polyglot*, in which the *Samaritan* text, and the *Samaritan* verſion, and the *Latin* tranſlation of both, are publiſhed all together, much more complete and correct than they were

[h] De emendatione Temporum, lib. 7. p. 669.
[i] Waltoni Prolegom. xi. ad Biblia Polyglotta Lond. §. 10.
[k] Morini exercitatio prima in Pentateuchum Samaritanum cap. 1.
[l] Vide Waltonum & Morinum, ibid.

before. This *Samaritan* verſion is not made, like the *Chaldee* among the *Jews*, by way of paraphraſe, but by an exact rendering of the text word for word, for the moſt part without any variation. So that *Morinus* thought one *Latin* tranſlation might ſerve for both, and the *London Polyglot* hath followed the ſame method; only where there any variations, they are marked at the bottom of the page.

As to the variations, additions and tranſpoſitions, whereby the *Samaritan* copy differs from the *Hebrew*, they are all enumerated in *Hottinger*'s book againſt *Morinus*, and in the collation made of both texts in the laſt volume of the *London Polyglot*. It is not to be ſo much wondered at, that there are theſe differences between thoſe two copies, as that there ſhould not have been many more, after thoſe who had adhered to the one, and thoſe who had adhered to the other, had not only broken off all manner of communication, but had conſtantly been in the bittereſt variance poſſible with each other for above two thouſand years. For ſo long had paſſed from the apoſtacy of *Manaſſeh* to the time when theſe copies were firſt brought into *Europe*. After the ſeries of ſo many ages paſt, many differences might have happened by the errors of the tranſcribers, and the moſt that are between theſe two copies, are of this ſort. As to the reſt, ſome are changes deſignedly made by the *Samaritans*, for the better ſupport of their cauſe againſt the *Jews*, of which ſort one that is notoriouſly ſuch, will be taken notice of by and by in its proper place. Others are interpolations for the better explication of the text, added either from other parts of ſcripture, or elſe by way of paraphraſe upon it, to expreſs explicitly what was thought to be implicitly contained therein. Of the firſt ſort are, 1ſt, The addition which we find in the xviiith chapter of *Exodus*, where between the 25th and the 26th verſes is inſerted, what we have from the 9th to the 14th verſe of the 1ſt of *Deuteronomy* incluſively; And, 2dly, That which we find in the xth of *Numbers*, where between the 10th and 11th verſes is inſerted, all that which we read in the 6th, 7th and 8th veſes of the 1ſt of *Deuteronomy*; both which inſertions are wanting in the *Hebrew*. And of the other ſort are what we find the ivth chapter of *Geneſis*, ver. 8. and in the xiith chapter of *Exodus*, ver. 40. In the firſt of theſe, after what is ſaid in the *Hebrew* text, *And* Cain *ſpake* (or ſaid) *to* Abel *his brother*; the *Samaritan* text adds, *Let us go into the field*. And in the latter, inſtead of theſe words in the *Hebrew* text; *Now the inhabiting of the children of* Iſrael, *whereby they inhabited in* Egypt, *were four hundred and thirty years*; The *Samaritan* text hath it, *Now the inhabiting of the children of* Iſrael, *and their fathers, whereby they inhabited in the land of* Canaan, *and in the land of* Egypt, *were four hundred and thirty years*. Both theſe additions, it is manifeſt, mend the text, and make it more clear, and intelligible, and ſeem to add nothing to the *Hebrew* copy, but what muſt be underſtood by the reader, to make out the ſenſe thereof. As to the other variations, the moſt conſiderable of them are thoſe which we find in the ages of the patriarchs before *Abraham*, in which the *Samaritan* computation comes nearer to the *Septuagint* than to the *Hebrew*, though it differs from both. How theſe, or the tranſpoſitions of verſes, or the other alterations and additions which are found in the *Samaritan* copy, and the differences which from thence ariſe between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* pentateuch, came about, many conjectures have been offered; but no certain judgment being to be made about them, without a better

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light to direct us herein, than we can now have, I will trouble the reader with none of them; but ſhall add only this farther upon this head, that none of theſe differences can infer, that the *Samaritan* copy which we now have, is not truly that which was anciently in uſe among them. For moſt, if not all of thoſe paſſages, which were quoted out of it above eleven hundred years ſince, by thoſe writers I have mentioned, as differing from, or agreeing with the *Hebrew* text, and by ſome of them much earlier, are now to be found in the preſent *Samaritan* copies in the ſame words, as quoted by them, and in the ſame manner differing from, or agreeing with that text. There is an old copy of the *Samaritan* pentateuch now ſhewn at *Sheehem*, (or *Naplous* as they now call it) the head ſeat of that ſect, which would put this matter beyond all diſpute, were that true which is ſaid of it. For [m] they tell us, that therein are written theſe words; *I* Abiſhua *the ſon of* Phineas, *the ſon of* Eleazar, *the ſon of* Aaron *the high-prieſt, have tranſcribed this copy at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, in the thirteenth year of the children of* Iſrael's *entrance into the holy land.* But Dr. *Huntington*, late biſhop of *Rapho* in *Ireland*, having, while chaplain to the *Turkey* company at *Aleppo*, been at *Shechem*, and there examined this copy upon the ſpot, found no ſuch words on the manuſcript, nor thought the copy ancient. Whether the *Samaritans* did in ancient times abſolutely reject all the other ſcriptures beſides the pentateuch, ſome do doubt; becauſe it is certain [n] from the diſcourſe of the woman of *Samaria* with our Saviour, that they had the ſame expectations of a *Meſſiah*, that the *Jews* had, and this, they ſay, they could no where clearly have but from the prophets. And it cannot be denyed, but that there is ſome force in this argument. Perchance altho' they did read the pentateuch only in their Synagogues, yet anciently they might not have been without a due regard to the other ſacred writings, whatſoever their ſentiments may be of them at preſent.

II. THE ſecond point of difference in religion, between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*, anciently was, and ſtill is, that the *Samaritans* reject all traditions, and adhere only to the written word it ſelf; and in the obſervance of that they are acknowledged by the *Jews* themſelves to be more exact than they are, and good reaſon is there for them ſo to ſay. For the *Jews* often make the law [o] of none effect by their traditions, whereas the *Samaritans* always kept themſelves ſtrictly to the written word, and never admitted any ſuch corrupt gloſſes to draw them from it. And becauſe in this they agreed with the *Sadducees* (for they alſo denied all traditions, and adhered to the written letter of the Law only) hence the *Jews* have taken an handle of calumniating them, as if they agreed in other particulars with the *Sadducees* alſo, and [p] denied with them the reſurrection of the dead, which led [q] *Epiphanius* and [r] St. *Gregory* into the error of aſſerting this to be their opinion, whereas the reſurrection of the dead hath always been a doctrine as firmly held, and as certainly believed among them, as by the *Jews* themſelves.

III. THE third point of difference in religion, between the *Samaritans*

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[m] Waltoni Prolegom. xi. ad Biblia Polyglotta Lond. §. 17. Hottingeri Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ, §. 37. Baſnage's *Hiſtory of the* Jews, *Book* ii. *chap.* 2. *p.* 81. [n] John iv. 25.
[o] Matth. xv. 6. Mark vii. 13. [p] Joſeph. Albo, §. 31. Serm. 4. [q] Hæref. 9.
[r] Moral. in Job, lib. 1. cap. 15.

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and the *Jews*, was about the place of their worſhip. The words of the woman of *Samaria*, in the goſpel of St. *John*, ſtate this matter exactly right. For in her diſcourſe with our Saviour, ſhe ſaith to him, *Our fathers worſhipped in this mountain, but ye* (meaning the *Jews*) *ſay that in* Jeruſalem *is the place where men ought to worſhip*. The law given by *Moſes* was, that they ſhould perform all their ſacrifices and oblations [t] *in the place that God ſhould chooſe out of all their tribes to put his name there*, and that place was *Jeruſalem*. For [u] there the temple, by the direction of God himſelf, was built, and [v] there God conſecrated it by the habitation of his divine preſence therein, and there all the tribes of *Iſrael*, that adhered to the true worſhip of God, offered up their ſacrifices; and there the temple was again rebuilt after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, and the ſame ſervice there carried on in a unity and uniformity of worſhip by all of that nation, till *Manaſſeh* made the ſchiſm that hath been mentioned, and fleeing to *Samaria*, did there ſet up altar againſt altar, and temple againſt temple. For after he had built that temple on mount *Gerizim*, and therein erected an altar in oppoſition to that at *Jeruſalem*, the *Samaritans* and apoſtate *Jews*, who revolted to them, would no longer allow *Jeruſalem* to be the place which God had choſen; but contended that mount *Gerizim* was that place, and argued for it in the ſame manner as the woman of *Samaria* did unto our Saviour, that is, that their fathers worſhipped in that mountain. For they plead that there [w] *Abraham*, and there [x] *Jacob* built altars unto God, and by their offering up of ſacrifices on them, conſecrated that place above all others to his worſhip, and that therefore it was appointed by God himſelf to be the hill [y] of bleſſing on the coming of the children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*; and that accordingly *Joſhua* on his entering the land of *Canaan* had cauſed the bleſſings of God to be declared thereon; and alſo that on his having paſſed the river *Jordan*, he built an altar on it, of twelve ſtones taken out of that river in his paſſage, [z] according as God had commanded by *Moſes*. And this they hold to be the very altar upon which they ſtill ſacrifice on that mountain, even to this day. But to make out this laſt part of the argument, and thereby reconcile the greater veneration to mount *Gerizim*, and their place of worſhip thereon, they have been guilty of a very great prevarication in corrupting the text. For whereas the command of God is (*Deut.* xxvii. 4.) that they ſhould ſet up the altar upon mount *Ebal*, they have there made a ſacrilegious change in the next, and inſtead of mount *Ebal* have put mount *Gerizim*, the better to ſerve their cauſe by it. This corruption the *Jews* loudly charge them with, and the *Samaritans* do as loudly retort it upon them, and ſay that the *Jews* have corrupted the text in that place, by putting mount *Ebal* in their copies, where it ſhould be mount *Gerizim*; and bring this argument for it, that mount *Gerizim* having been the mountain that was appointed whereon to declare the bleſſings of God, and mount *Ebal*, whereon to denounce his curſes; the mountain of bleſſing was very proper, and the mountain of curſing very improper for an altar of God to be built upon. But notwithſtanding this allegation in their be-

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[t] Deuter. xii. 5, 11, 14, 18, 26. xv. 26. xvi. 2, 6, 7, 15, 16, &c. [u] 1 Chron. xxii. 1.
[v] 1 Kings viii. 10. 2 Chron. vii. 1, 2, 3. [w] Gen. xii. 6, 7. xiii. 4. [x] Gen. xxxiii. 20.
[y] Deuter. xxvii. 12. [z] Deuter. xxvii. 2---7.

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half, all other copies and tranſlations of the *Pentateuch* make againſt them, and prove the corruption to be on their ſide. And it very much aggravates their guilt herein, that they have not only corrupted the ſcriptures in this place, but have alſo interpolated them with this corruption in another, that is, in the xx^th^ chapter of *Exodus*, where [z] after the tenth commandment they have ſubjoined, by way of an additional precept thereto, words taken out of the xi^th^ and xxvii^th^ chapters of *Deuteronomy*, to command the erecting of the altar in mount *Gerizim* inſtead of mount *Ebal*, and the offering of ſacrifices to God in that place. And in that they have thus voluntarily made a corrupt alteration in one place, and a corrupt addition in another, merely out of deſign to ſerve an ill cauſe, this gives the leſs authority to their copy in all other places, where either by alterations or additions it differs from that of the *Jews*.

THESE two mountains, called *Gerizim* and *Ebal*, are in the tribe of *Ephraim* near *Samaria*, and in the valley between them lyeth *Shechem*, now called *Naplous*, which hath been the head ſeat of the *Samaritan* ſect ever ſince *Alexander* expelled them out of *Samaria* for the death of *Andromachus*. This place the *Jews* in our Saviour's time, by way of reproach, called *Sichar*, and therefore we have it ſo named in St. *John*'s goſpel. It ſignifyeth the drunken city; and the prophet *Iſaiah* having called the *Ephraimites* (whoſe dwelling was in thoſe parts) [b] *Siccorim*, i.e. *Drunkards*, they have this text on their ſide for the juſtifying of that name. Near this place was the field [c] which *Jacob* bought of the children of *Hamor*, and gave unto *Joſeph* his ſon a little before his death. Therein *Joſeph*'s bones [d] were buried, when brought up out of the land of *Egypt*; and within the ſame plot of ground was the well, called *Jacob*'s well, [e] at which our Saviour ſat down when he diſcourſed the woman of *Samaria*. But after all the conteſt that is made between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*, about theſe two mountains, [f] *Jerom* is poſitive, that neither of them were the *Gerizim* and *Ebal* of the holy ſcriptures, but that the two mountains ſo called in them, and on which the bleſſings and the curſings were proclaimed by the children of *Iſrael*, on their firſt paſſing over *Jordan* into the land of *Canaan*, were two ſmall mountains or hills lying near *Jericho*, at a great diſtance from *Shechem*. And *Epiphanius* was of the ſame opinion with *Jerom* in this matter; and they having been both upon the place, may well be thought the beſt able to paſs a true judgment about it. Their arguments for it are, 1^ſt^, That the ſcriptures place theſe two mountains over againſt that part of the river *Jordan* where the children of *Iſrael* paſſed into the land of *Canaan*, and near *Gilgal*; but *Shechem* is at a great diſtance

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[z] *The words added by the* Samaritans, *after the tenth commandment in the* xx^th^ *chapter of* Exodus, *are as followeth,*------*And it ſhall be, when the Lord thy God hath brought thee into the land of the* Canaanites, *whither thou goeſt to poſſeſs it, that thou ſhalt ſet up great ſtones, and plaiſter them with plaiſter, and thou ſhalt write upon theſe ſtones all the words of this law. And it ſhall be, when ye are gone over* Jordan, *that ye ſhall ſet up theſe ſtones which I command you this day, in mount* Gerizim, *and thou ſhalt build there an altar unto the Lord thy God, an altar of ſtones. Thou ſhalt not lift up any iron tool upon them. Thou ſhalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole ſtones. And thou ſhalt there offer burnt-offerings thereon to the Lord thy God, and thou ſhalt offer peace-offerings, and ſhalt eat there, and rejoice before the Lord thy God. This mountain is on the other ſide* Jordan, *by the way where the ſun goeth down, in the land of the* Canaanites, *who dwell in the champian over againſt* Gilgal, *beſides the plains of* Moreh, *which are over againſt* Shechem.

[a] John iv. 5.

[b] Iſaiah xxviii. 1.

[c] Gen. xxiii. 19. xlviii. 22. Joſh. xxiv. 32.

[d] Joſh. xxiv. 32.

[e] John iv. 6.

[f] Vide Scaligeri animadverſiones in Euſebii Chronicon ſub numero 1681.

from

from both. And, 2dly, That the mountains near *Shechem*, called mount *Gerizim* and mount *Ebal*, are at too great a diſtance from each other, for the people from either of them to hear either the bleſſings or the curſings which were pronounced from the other; but that it would be quite otherwiſe as to the hills near *Jericho*, which they conceive to be the hills by the names of *Gerizim* and *Ebal* meant in ſcripture. But that hill from which *Jotham*, the ſon of *Gideon*, made his ſpeech to the *Shechemites*, being [g] called *Gerizim*, and that certainly lying juſt over them (for otherwiſe they could not have heard him from thence) this clearly makes againſt this opinion, and evidently proves the mount *Gerizim* of the holy ſcriptures to be that very mount *Gerizim*, on which the temple of the *Samaritans* was built.

THE *Jews* accuſe the *Samaritans* of two pieces of idolatry, which [h] they ſay were committed by them in this place. The firſt, that they there worſhipped the image of a dove; and the other, that they paid divine adoration to certain *Teraphim*, or idol gods, there hid under that mountain. For the firſt charge, they took the handle from the idolatry of the *Aſſyrians*. For that people having worſhipped one of their deities *(Simiramis* [i] ſaith *Diodorus Siculus)* under the image of a dove, they reproached the *Samaritans* as worſhippers of the like image, becauſe deſcended from them, and perchance they were ſo while they worſhipped their other gods with the God of *Iſrael*, but never afterwards. And as to the ſecond charge, it's true *Jacob* having found out that *Rachel* had ſtollen her father's *Teraphim*, or idol gods, took them from her, [k] and buried them under the oak in *Shechem*, which they ſuppoſe to have been at the foot of the mountain *Gerizim*; and from hence, becauſe the *Samaritans* worſhipped God in that mountain, the *Jews* ſuggeſt that they worſhipped there for the ſake of theſe idols, and paid divine adoration unto them. But both theſe charges were malicious calumnies falſly imputed to them. For after the time that *Manaſſeh* brought the law of *Moſes* among them, and inſtructed them in it, the *Samaritans* became as zealous worſhippers of the true God, and as great abhorrers of all manner of idolatry, as the moſt rigorous of the *Jews* themſelves, and ſo continue even to this day.

AND with this laſt act of *Nehemiah*'s reformation, and the expulſion of thoſe refractory *Jews* that would not conform to it, not only the firſt period of *Daniel*'s ſeventy weeks, but alſo the holy ſcriptures of the *Old Teſtament* ending, I ſhall here alſo end this book, and proceed to relate what after followed from the beginning of the next.

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[g] Judg. ix. 7. [h] Talmud in tractatu Cholin. Vide etiam Waltoni prolegom. xi. ad biblia polyglotta Lond. §. 7. & Hottingeri exercitationes anti-morinianas, §. 16. & 17.
[i] Lib. 2. p. 66. & p. 76. [k] Gen. xxxv. 2, 3, 4.

THE

THE *Old* and *New* TESTAMENT

Connected in the

HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS and Neighbouring Nations,

FROM THE

Declenſion of the Kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah* to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK VII.

THUS far we have had the light of ſcripture to follow. Henceforth the books of the *Maccabees*, *Philo Judeus*, *Joſephus*, and the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, are the only guides which we can have to lead us thorough the future ſeries of this hiſtory, till we come to the times of the goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*. How long after this *Nehemiah* lived at *Jeruſalem*, is uncertain; it is moſt likely, that he continued in his government to the time of his death, but when that happened is no where ſaid, only it may be obſerved, that at the time where he ends his book, he could not be much leſs than ſeventy years old. After him, there ſeems not to have been any more gover- *An.* 408. Darius Nothus 16.

nors of *Judea*, but that this countrey being added to the prefecture of *Syria*, was thenceforth wholly ſubjected to the governor of that province, and that under him the high-prieſt had the truſt of regulating all affairs therein.

WHILE *Darius* was making war againſt the *Egyptians* and the *Arabians*, the [a] *Medes* revolted from him, but being vanquiſhed in battel they were ſoon forced again to return to their former allegiance; and for the puniſhment of their rebellion, ſubmit to an heavier yoke of ſubjection than they had on them before; as is always the caſe of revolting ſubjects, when reduced again under the power againſt which they rebelled.

An. 407. Darius Nothus 17.

AND the next year after *Darius* ſeems to have had as good ſucceſs againſt the *Egyptians*. For *Amyrtæus* being dead (perchance ſlain in battel) *Herodotus* [b] tells us, his ſon *Pauſiris* ſucceeded him in the kingdom by the favour of the *Perſians*; which argues, that before they granted him this, they had reduced *Egypt* again under them, otherwiſe *Pauſiris* could not have been made King of it by their favour.

DARIUS having thus ſettled his affairs in *Media* and *Egypt*, [c] ſent *Cyrus* his younger ſon to be commander in chief of all the provinces of *leſſer Aſia*, giving him authority paramount over all the lieutenants and governors afore placed in them. He was a very young man to be entruſted with ſo large an authority. For having been born after his father's acceſſion to the throne, he could not have been now above ſixteen years old. But being the darling, and beſt beloved ſon of *Paryſatis*, who had an abſolute aſcendant over the old King her husband, ſhe obtained this commiſſion for him, with an intention, no doubt, to put him into a capacity of contending for the crown after his father's death, and this uſe he accordingly made of it, to the great damage and diſturbance of the whole *Perſian* empire, as will be hereafter related.

ON his receiving his commiſſion, [d] he had this chiefly given him in charge by his father, that he ſhould help the *Lacedæmonians* againſt the *Athenians*, contrary to the wiſe meaſures hitherto obſerved by *Tiſſaphernes*, and the other governors of the *Perſian* provinces in thoſe parts. For their practice hitherto had been, ſometimes by helping one ſide and ſometimes by helping the other, ſo to balance the matter between both parties, that each being kept up to be a match for the other, both might continue to harraſs and weaken each other by carrying on the war, and neither be at leiſure to diſturb the *Perſian* empire. This order of the King's, for a contrary practice, ſoon diſcovered the weakneſs of his politics. For the *Lacedæmonians* having by the help which *Cyrus* gave them, according to his father's inſtructions, ſoon overpowered the *Athenians*, and gain'd an abſolute conqueſt over them, they were no ſooner at leiſure from this war, but they ſent firſt *Thimbro*, and after him *Dercyllidas*, and at laſt *Ageſilaus* their King, to invade the *Perſian* provinces in *Aſia*; where they did the *Perſians* a great deal of damage, and might at length have endangered the whole empire, but that the *Perſians* by diſtributing vaſt ſums of money among the *Grecian* cities, and the demagogues that governed them, found

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[a] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 1. Herodotus, lib. 9. [b] Lib. 3. [c] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 1. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe & Lyſandro. Cteſias. Juſtin, lib. 5. c. 5. Diodor, Sic. lib. 13. p. 368. [d] Xenophon. ibid. Diodor. Sic. ibid. Thucydides, lib. 2. Juſtin. ibid. Plutarchus in Lyſandro.

means to rekindle the war again in *Greece*, which neceſſitated the *Lacedæmonians* to recal their forces for their own defence, juſt when they were going to march into the heart of that empire, and there ſtrike at the very vitals of it. So dangerous a thing is it in neighbouring ſtates to break the balance of power which is between them, ſo as to put any one of them into a capacity of oppreſſing and over-powering the reſt. And this inſtance alſo ſhews, that it is no new thing for the managers of publick affairs, to barter away their national intereſt for their private gain, and ſell it for money, even to thoſe whom they have moſt reaſon always to hate, and always to be aware of.

CYRUS at *Sardis*[e] having put to death two noble *Perſians*, who were ſons to a ſiſter of *Darius*, for no other reaſon, but that they did not on their meeting of him wrap up their hands within their ſleeves, as was uſed to be done among the *Perſians* on their meeting of the King: *Darius*, on complaint made hereof by the parents of the ſlain, was grievouſly offended, not only for the death of his two nephews, but alſo for the preſumption of his ſon, in challenging to himſelf the honour which was due only to the King; and therefore not thinking it fit any longer to truſt him with that government, recalled him to court, on pretence that he was ſick, and therefore deſired to ſee him. But before *Cyrus* did put himſelf upon this journey, he ordered ſuch large ſubſidies to *Lyſander* general of the *Lacedæmonians*, as enabled him to pay his fleet, and ſtrengthen it ſo far, as to put it in that condition, by virtue whereof he gained that memorable victory over the *Athenians* at the *Goats River* in the *Helleſpont*, whereby he abſolutely overthrew the *Athenian* ſtate. For after this they being no longer able to defend themſelves, he took from them all their cities in *Aſia*, and having beſieged *Athens* it ſelf, forced them to a ſurrender, on the very hard conditions of diſmantling their city, and giving up their fleet, which did put an end to the *Athenian* power, and veſted the government of *Greece* wholly in the *Lacedæmonians*; after they and the *Athenians* had contended for it in a very bitter war full ſeven and twenty years. This was called the *Peloponneſian* war, and is made very famous by the excellent accounts which are written of it by *Thucydides* and *Xenophon*, two of the beſt hiſtorians *Greece* ever had, their writings having ennobled it in the ſame manner as *Homer*'s did the war of *Troy*.

An. 405. Darius Nothus 19.

ABOUT the time of the ending of this war[f] died *Darius Nothus* King of *Perſia*, after he had reigned nineteen years. Before his death *Cyrus* was come to him, and his mother *Paryſatis* the Queen, to whom he was the beſt beloved of all her children, not being content to have made his peace with his father, whom he had greatly offended by his male-adminiſtration in his government, preſſed hard upon the old King to have him declared the heir of his crown, upon the ſame pretence whereby *Xerxes* had obtained the preference before his elder brothers in the time of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*; that is, that he was born after his father came to the crown, and the other before. But *Darius* refuſing to comply with her herein, bequeathed to *Cyrus* only the government of thoſe provinces which he had before, and left his crown to *Arſaces* his eldeſt ſon by the ſame *Pary-*

[e] Xenophon Hellenicorum, lib. 2. lib. 2. Diodorus Sic. lib. 13. Juſtin, lib. 5. c. 8. & c. 11. Cteſias.

[f] Plutarchus in Lyſandro. Xenophon Hellenic. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodorus Sic. lib. 13.

ſatis, who on his aſcending the throne took the name of *Artaxerxes*, and is the ſame to whom the *Greeks*, for his extraordinary memory, gave the name of *Mnemon*, *i. e.* the rememberer. When his father lay a dying, and he was attending on him at his ded-ſide, he deſired to be inſtructed by him, by what art it was that he had ſo happily managed the government, and ſo long preſerved himſelf in it, to the end that he, by following the ſame rule, might attain the ſame ſucceſs; to which [h] he had this memorable anſwer give him by the dying King, *That it was by doing in all things that which was juſt both towards God and man*; a ſaying worthy to be written up in letters of gold in the palaces of princes, that having it conſtantly in their view, they might be put in mind to order all their actions according to it.

An. 404. Artaxerxes I.

CYRUS [i] being diſcovered to have laid a plot for the murdering of *Artaxerxes* in the temple at *Paſargada*, when he was to come thither according to the ancient cuſtom to be inaugurated King, was taken into cuſtody for the treaſon, and ordered to be put to death for it. But his mother *Paryſatis* was ſo importunate with *Artaxerxes* for the ſaving of his life, that at length by her means he obtained his pardon, and was ſent again into the leſſer *Aſia*, unto the government left him by his father's will. But carrying thither with him his ambition, and alſo his reſentments for the danger of his life which he was put into, he took ſuch courſes for the gratifying of theſe paſſions, which ſoon made his brother repent of his clemency towards him.

As ſoon as *Artaxerxes* was ſettled in the throne, [k] *Statira* his Queen, who for her great beauty was very much beloved by him, made uſe of her power with him to be revenged on *Udiaſtes*, for the death of her brother *Teritæuchmes*. The whole matter had its riſe in the reign of *Darius*, and was a complication of adultery, inceſt and murther, which cauſed great diſturbances in the royal family, and ended very tragically upon all that were concerned in it. The father of *Statira* was *Hidarnes* a noble *Perſian*, and governor of one of the principal provinces of the empire. *Artaxerxes*, the King's eldeſt ſon, then called *Arſaces*, falling in love with her took her to wife; and *Teritæuchmes*, her brother, about the ſame time married *Hameſtris*, one of the daughters of *Darius*, and ſiſter of *Arſaces*; by reaſon of which marriage on the death of his father he ſucceeded him in his government. But having a ſiſter named *Roxana* of as great beauty as *Statira*, and excellently ſkill'd in archery and the throwing of the dart, he fell deſperately in love with her, and that he might with the greater freedom have the enjoyment of his luſt upon her, he reſolved to make away with *Hameſtris*, and rebel againſt the King. Of which wicked deſigns *Darius* having notice, engaged *Udiaſtes*, a chief confident of *Teritæuchmes*, by great rewards and greater promiſes, to endeavour to prevent both by cutting off *Teritæuchmes*. This *Udiaſtes*, to earn the rewards, readily undertook, and falling upon *Teritæuchmes* ſlew him, and thereon had the government of his province conferred on him for his reward. *Mithridates*, the ſon of *Udiaſtes*, being one of *Teritæuchmes*'s guard, and engaged much in friendſhip and affection to him, on the hearing of this fact of his father's, bitterly imprecated vengeance upon him for it; and in ab-

[g] Athenæus, lib. 12. [h] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Xenophon de expeditione Cyri, lib. 1. Juſtin, lib. 5. c. 11. Cteſias. [i] Cteſias.

horrence

horrence of what was done ſeized the city *Zaris*, and there declaring for the ſon of *Teriteuchmes* rebelled againſt the King. But *Darius* having ſoon maſtered this revolt, and ſhut up *Mithridates* within his fortreſs, got all the family of *Hidarnes*, excepting the ſon of *Teriteuchmes*, whom *Mithridates* protected, into his power, and delivered them into the hands of *Paryſatis* to execute her revenge upon them for the ill uſage of her daughter; who having cauſed *Roxana* in the firſt place to be ſawn in two, who was the chief cauſe of all the miſchief, ordered all the reſt to be put to death, only at the earneſt entreaty and importunate tears of *Arſaces* ſhe ſpared *Statira* his beloved wife, contrary to the ſentiments of *Darius*, who told her, that ſhe would afterwards have reaſon to repent of it, and ſo accordingly it hapned. Thus this matter ſtood at the death of *Darius*; but *Arſaces* was no ſooner ſettled on the throne, but *Statira* prevailed with him to have *Vdiaſtes* delivered into her hands, whereon ſhe commanded his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and thus cruelly did put him to death, in revenge for the part which he acted in the ruin of her family, and made *Mithridates* his ſon, for the affection he expreſſed to it, governor of the province in his ſtead. But *Paryſatis* bitterly reſenting this fact, in revenge hereof poiſoned the ſon of *Teriteuchmes*, and not long after *Statira* herſelf, in the manner as will be hereafter related. This gives us inſtances of the bitterneſs of woman's revenge, and alſo of the exorbitant liberties which ſuch are apt to run into of doing all manner of wickedneſs, who being put above all reſtraint of laws, have nothing but arbitrary will and pleaſure to govern themſelves by.

CYRUS deſigning a war againſt his brother,[l] employed *Clearchus* a *Lacedæmonian* captain to raiſe an army of *Greeks* for his ſervice, which he liſted with a pretence of making war with the *Thracians*; but they being maintained by *Cyrus*'s money, were kept on foot for the executing of thoſe deſigns which he was forming againſt the King. *Alcibiades* the *Athenian*[m] finding out the true end for which theſe levies were made, paſſed over into the province of *Pharnabazus* with purpoſe to go to the *Perſian* court, there to make known to *Artaxerxes* what was a brewing againſt him. But thoſe who were the partizans of the *Lacedæmonians* at *Athens*, fearing the great genius of that man, did let them know, that their affairs could not long ſtand unleſs he were cut off; whereon they ſent to *Pharnabazus* to have him put to death, and he accordingly executed what they deſired; and in his death the *Athenians* loſt the great hopes they had conceived of ſpeedily again recovering by him their former ſtate. For had he got to the *Perſian* court, he would ſo far have merited the favour of *Artaxerxes*, by the diſcovery which he intended to make unto him, as no doubt he would have gotten his aſſiſtance for the reſtoration of his countrey; and with that aſſiſtance, a perſon of his valour and other great abilities would have turned the ſcales, and again ſet the *Athenians* as high as ever, and brought the *Lacedæmonians* as low as they had brought them; for the preventing of which the *Lacedæmonians* took the courſe of having him cut off, in the manner as I have mentioned.

An. 403. Artaxerxes 2.

THE cities that were under the government of *Tiſſaphernes* revolting from

An. 402. Artaxerxes 3.

[l] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Xenophon de expeditione Cyri, lib. 1. Diodorus Sic. lib. 14.
[m] Plutarchus in Alcibiade. Diodorus Sic. & Xenophon, ibid. Cornelius Nepos in Alcibiade.

from him to *Cyrus*, [n] this produced a war between them; and *Cyrus*, under the pretence of arming againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, went more openly to work in getting forces together; and to blind the matter the more, he wrote letters of heavy complaints to the King againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, and prayed in the humbleſt manner his favour and protection againſt him; by which *Artaxerxes* being deceived, thought all the preparations which he was making were againſt *Tiſſaphernes* only, and not being at all diſpleaſed that they ſhould be at variance with each other, took no farther care of the matter, but permitted his brother to go on ſtill to raiſe more forces, till at length he had got an army on foot ſufficient to put his deſigns in execution, for the dethroning of him, and the ſetting up of himſelf in his ſtead. And ſince he had helped the *Lacedæmonians* againſt the *Athenians*, and thereby put them into a capacity of gaining thoſe victories over them, whereby they had made themſelves maſters of *Greece*, in confidence of the friendſhip which he had merited from them thereby, he communicated his deſigns unto them, and asked their aſſiſtance for the accompliſhing of them, which they readily granted, and ordered their fleet to join that under *Tamus*, *Cyrus*'s admiral, and obey ſuch orders as that prince ſhould give them. But this they did without declaring any thing againſt *Artaxerxes*, or pretending to know at all of the deſigns which *Cyrus* was carrying on againſt him. With this caution they thought fit to act, while the event of the war was uncertain, that in caſe *Artaxerxes* gained the victory, they might not, by what they did in favour of his enemy, draw on them his reſentments for it.

An. 401. Artaxerxes 4. At length *Cyrus* having raiſed all thoſe forces which he thought ſufficient for his deſigns, and muſtered them all together, [o] he marched with them directly againſt his brother. He was followed in this expedition by thirteen thouſand *Greeks*, under the command of *Clearchus* (which were the flower and main ſtrength of his army) and by an hundred thouſand of other forces, raiſed from among the *Barbarians*. *Artaxerxes* having notice of this from *Tiſſaphernes*, who poſted to the *Perſian* court to give him information of it, prepared to meet him with a numerous army. *Cyrus*'s greateſt difficulty was to paſs the ſtreights of *Cilicia*, where *Sienneſis*, King of that countrey, was making ready to ſtop his progreſs, and would certainly have effected it, but that *Tamus*, and the *Lacedæmonians* with their fleet, coming upon the coaſts of that countrey, diverted him to defend his own territories. For a ſmall guard, in thoſe narrow paſſes, might be ſufficient to impede the march of the greateſt army. But after *Cyrus* had by this means got through them, he then marched on without any farther difficulty or obſtruction, till he came to the plains of *Cunaxa*, in the province of *Babylon*, where *Artaxerxes* meeting him with an army of nine hundred thouſand men, it there came to a deciſive battel between them, in which *Cyrus*, raſhly venturing his perſon too far into the heat of the battel, was unfortunately ſlain, after his auxiliary *Greeks* had in a manner gotten the victory for him. This put thoſe *Greeks* into a great diſtreſs. For they were now at a great diſtance from their own homes, in the heart of the *Perſian* empire, and there ſurrounded with the numerous forces of a

[n] Plutarchus, Xenophon & Diodor. ibid. [o] Xenophon de expeditione Cyri. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Cteſias. Juſtin. lib. 5. c. 11.

conquering

conquering army, and had no way to return again into *Greece*, but by breaking thorough them, and forcing their retreat through a vaſt tract of their enemies countrey, which lay between them and home. But their valour and reſolution maſtered all theſe difficulties. For the next day after, having on conſultation together reſolved to attempt their return by the way of *Paphlagonia*, they immediately ſet themſelves on their march, and in ſpight of all oppoſitions from a numerous army of *Perſians*, which coaſted them all the way, made a retreat of two thouſand three hundred twenty five miles, all the way through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got ſafe to the *Grecian* cities on the *Euxin* ſea, which was the longeſt and the moſt memorable retreat that was ever made through an enemy's countrey. *Clearchus* firſt commanded in it, but he having in the beginning of it been cut off by the treachery of *Tiſſaphernes*, it was afterward conducted chiefly by *Xenophon*, to whoſe valour and wiſdom it was principally owing, that they at length got ſafely again into *Greece*. The ſame *Xenophon* having written a large account of this expedition, the preparations that were made for it, and the retreat of the *Greeks* from the place of the battle after it was loſt, and that book being ſtill exant, and publiſhed in the *Engliſh* language, I need ſay no more, than refer the reader to it for a full hiſtory of all this matter.

[r] *PSAMMITICHUS*, who was deſcended from the ancient *Pſammitichus* that was King of *Egypt* ſome ages before, and of whom I have ſpoken in the firſt book of this hiſtory, reigned over the *Egyptians* after *Pauſiris*. To him fled *Tamus*, *Cyrus*'s admiral. For after the death of that prince, *Tiſſaphernes* being ſent down into his former government, with an enlargement of power, (as having, in reward of the great ſervice which he had done the King in the late war, the ſame command given him in thoſe parts that *Cyrus* had,) all the governors of thoſe cities and diſtricts, within the verge of his authority, who had eſpouſed the intereſt of *Cyrus*, fearing the account which he might call them to for it, ſent their agents to make their peace with him on the beſt terms they could. Only *Tamus*, who was the moſt powerful of them, took another courſe. He was by birth an *Egyptian* of the city of *Memphis*, and being a perſon of great valour, and of great skill in maritim affairs, he was firſt employed by *Tiſſaphernes* in the *Perſian* fleet, and afterwards, under *Cyrus*, became chief commander of it, and alſo governor of *Ionia*; by which means having amaſſed great wealth, inſtead of courting the favour of *Tiſſaphernes*, or at all truſting to his clemency, he put his wife, children, and ſervants, with all elſe that he had, on board his ſhips, and made his retreat into his own countrey, much confiding in the friendſhip of *Pſammitichus*, which he had merited by many good offices that he had done him, while he ſerved the *Perſians*. But the perfidious man having no regard to former obligations, or the common laws either of humanity or hoſpitality, as ſoon as he had received an account of his arrival, and of the great riches which he brought with him, for the ſake of them, inſtead of receiving him as a friend, he fell upon him as an eneny, and having ſlain him, with all his family and followers, made a prey of all that they had. Only *Gaus*, one of his ſons, ſtaying behind in *Aſia*, eſcaped this maſſacre, and afterwards

[r] Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

became

became admiral of the *Perſian* fleet in the *Cyprian* war; all the reſt were barbarouſly murthered for the ſake of what they had. Such horrid wickedneſſes doth the greedy deſire of gain too often prompt men to, when they give up their minds to it. But providence, no doubt, ſuffered it not to go unpuniſhed, though we have no account of it; this barbarous murther being the only act that hiſtory hath recorded of this prince.

STATIRA being very troubleſome to *Paryſatis* her mother-in-law, in expreſſing her reſentments and reproaches, for the countenance which ſhe gave unto *Cyrus* her younger ſon againſt King *Artaxerxes*, to be revenged for this, and other grudges formerly conceived againſt her, [q] ſhe cauſed her to be poiſoned, which was effected by this ſtratagem. They ſupping both together, and a certain bird being ſerved up at table, which was a great rarity among the *Perſians*, it was divided between her and her daughter-in-law, by a knife poiſoned on one ſide only; that part which was cut off on the unpoiſoned ſide of the knife was given to *Paryſatis*, and ſhe having eaten it, this encouraged *Statira* without any ſuſpicion to eat the other part, which was cut off on the poiſoned ſide of the knife, and ſhe died of it within a few hours after. The loſs of this his much beloved wife greatly afflicted *Artaxerxes*, and therefore afterwards full diſcovery having been made how it came to paſs, he baniſhed his mother to *Babylon* for it, and for ſome years after never ſaw her; but at length, time having mollified his grief and reſentments, he permitted her again to return to court, and from that time ſhe made it her chief buſineſs to humour him in every thing, right or wrong, and no more croſſed him in any thing, whatſoever it was, that he had an inclination to do; and by this means ſhe regained her intereſt with him, and held it to her death. She was a moſt crafty woman, and of great underſtanding and penetration in all affairs, and of as great wickedneſs, as what is above related of her doth ſufficiently ſhew.

An. 400. Artaxerxes 5. *TISSAPHERNES* being ſettled in his government, and with that enlargement of power which I have mentioned, [r] he began to ſet hard upon the *Grecian* cities in thoſe parts; whereon they ſent to the *Lacedæmonians* to pray their protection againſt him, and they being now freed from that long war which they had with the *Athenians*, gladly laid hold of this occaſion of again breaking with the *Perſians*, and ſent *Thimbro* into thoſe parts with an army againſt them, which being ſtrengthened by the conjunction of thoſe forces to it which *Xenophon* brought back from *Perſia*, and ſuch others as were raiſed out of the *Grecian* cities which he came to protect, he took the field with it againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, and wore out the time of his government in ſeveral military actions in that countrey, in which he had ſome few, but not any great ſucceſſes.

An. 399. Artaxerxes 6. But [t] he having kept very bad diſcipline in his army, and permitted his ſoldiers to make great depredations on the allies, complaint was made hereof to the *Lacedæmonians*, whereon they ſent *Dercyllidas* to take charge of that war in his ſtead, who being an able general, as well as a moſt excellent engineer, (which laſt he was more particularly famous for) he managed it with better order, and much better ſucceſs; and *Thimbro* being

[q] Cteſias. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. [r] Xenophon Hellenicorum, lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. [t] Xenophon & Diodorus, ibid.

called

called home to anſwer for what he was accuſed of, and convicted of it, was ſent into baniſhment for the puniſhment of his crime.

DERCYLLIDAS, after he had entered on his charge, [t] finding that he was not ſtrong enough to wage war with *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* both together, reſolved to agree with one of them, that thereby he might be the better enabled to encounter the other; and therefore having, according to this ſcheme, made peace with *Tiſſaphernes*, he marched againſt *Pharnabazus* with all his forces, and took from him all *Æolis*, and diſpoſſeſſed him of ſeveral cities beſides in thoſe parts; whereon *Pharnabazus*, fearing that he might invade *Phrygia* alſo, where was the chief ſeat of his government, was glad to make a truce with him, to be ſecured from his farther inſults.

ABOUT [v] this time *Conon*, by the means of *Cteſias the Cnidian*, who was chief phyſician to *Artaxerxes*, procured peace from that King for *Euagoras* of *Salamine* in the iſland of *Cyprus*. This *Euagoras* having expelled *Abdymon the Citian* out of that city, where he was governor for the *Perſian* King, ſet himſelf up in his ſtead, and reigned there as King of that place many years. *Conon* having been one of the generals of the *Athenians* at the battel of the *Goates River*, [w] as ſoon as he ſaw all was there brought to a deſperate point, made his eſcape with nine of the *Athenian* ſhips, and having ſent one of them to *Athens*, to acquaint his citizens with the ill fate of the battel, fled with the reſt to this *Euagoras*, with whom he had contracted a former friendſhip, and there continuing with him, made uſe of the intereſt he had with the ſaid *Cteſias* at the *Perſian* court, to do his friend this good office. For *Cteſias* being chief phyſician to *Artaxerxes* (as I have already ſaid) was much in his favour, and had a great intereſt with him. He was [x] at firſt phyſician to *Cyrus* his brother, and followed him to the battel in which he was ſlain, where being taken priſoner, he was made uſe of to cure *Artaxerxes* of the wounds received by him in that battel, in which having well ſucceeded, he was retained as chief phyſician in ordinary to that King, and lived with him in that quality ſeventeen years. While he reſided at this court, having well informed himſelf in the hiſtories of thoſe countries [y] he wrote them in twenty three books. The ſix firſt of them contained an account of the empire of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, from the time of [z] *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, to that of *Cyrus*; the other ſeventeen were of the affairs of *Perſia*, from the beginning of the reign of *Cyrus*, to the third year of the ninety fifth olympiad, which was coincident with the year before *Chriſt* 398, the very next immediately following after this of which I now write. For here *Diodorus Siculus* [a] tells us it ended. And he wrote alſo an hiſtory of *India*. Out of both theſe *Photius* hath written extracts, and theſe are all the remains which are extant of his writings. He often [b] contradicts *Herodotus*, and in ſome things alſo differs from *Xenophon*. We find but a poor character of him among the ancients, [c] they generally ſpeaking of him as a fabulous writer; yet

[t] Xenophon Hellen. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.
[v] Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. Cteſias. Theopompus in excerptis Photii, n. 176.
[w] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. Plutarchus in Lyſandro. Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Iſocrates in Euagora.
[x] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84.
[y] Diodor. Sic. ibid. Photius Cod. 62. Suidas in Κτησίας.
[z] Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84. & lib. 14. p. 421.
[a] Lib. 14. p. 421.
[b] Photius, ibid.
[c] Ariſtoteles in Hiſtoria Animalium, lib. 8. c. 28. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

Diodorus Siculus and *Trogus Pompeius* take moſt of that from him which they have written of the *Aſſyrian* affairs. For he having profeſſed,[a] that all which he wrote was taken out of the royal records of *Perſia*, in which all tranſactions were, according to a law there ordained for this purpoſe, faithfully regiſtred, this impoſed on many to give him more credit than he deſerved. For that there were ſuch royal records then in *Perſia*, in which all the affairs and tranſactions of the government were faithfully entered, was a thing well known; and the books of *Ezra* and *Eſther*[e] give us a teſtimony of them. And his appealing to thoſe records for the truth of what he wrote, was the readieſt way he could take to gain authority thereto. While he lived in the *Perſian* court, he was employed by the *Grecians*, as their common ſollicitor in moſt of the buſineſſes which they had there depending; and in this quality *Conon* made uſe of him in the affair I have mentioned.

THIS year[f] the *Athenians* put *Socrates* to death for contemning their gods. He was the father of the moral philoſophy of the *Greeks*, and a very excellent perſon; but finding the theology of his countrey-men too groſs for a wiſe man to follow, he endeavoured to reform it among his ſcholars; for which being accuſed, as one that believed not in the gods that the city believed, and corrupted the youth, he was condemned to death for it, and accordingly executed, being then full ſeventy years old. But afterwards the *Athenians* repenting of it did put all to death that had an hand in the proſecution that was made againſt him.

DERCYLLIDAS having made the truce with *Pharnabazus* that is above mentioned, marched into *Bithynia*,[g] and there took up his winter quarters. While he was there, meſſengers came to him from *Lacedæmon* to let him know, that his command was continued for another year; and by them he was alſo acquainted, that it had been deſired by the *Grecian* cities in the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, that the *Iſthmus* of that *Peninſula* might be fortified with a wall, to ſecure them from the *Thracian* free-booters, who continually made inroads upon them, and laid their lands waſte, ſo that they were diſcouraged from manuring them.

An. 398. Artaxerxes 7. AND therefore having the next ſpring again made a truce with *Pharnabazus*,[h] he marched with his army into the *Cherſoneſus* or *Peninſula* above mentioned, and there built the wall which was deſired; within which he included eleven *Grecian* cities; whereby they being ſecured from all farther ravages of the barbarians, thenceforth ſafely manured their lands, and in great plenty reaped the fruits of them. On his return into *Ionia*, after this work was finiſhed, he found that a company of banditi having fortified the city of *Atarna* againſt him, from thence made great depredations on the adjoining countries; this neceſſitated him to ſit down in a formal ſiege before it, which coſt him eight months time before he could reduce it.

PHARNABAZUS, after the ſecond truce with *Dercyllidas*,[i] made a journey to the *Perſian* court, and there accuſed *Tiſſaphernes* to the King,

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[a] Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84. [e] Ezra iv. 15. Eſther vi. 1. [f] Diogenes Laertius in Socrate. Plato in Apologia pro Socrate & in Phædone. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. Stanley's *Hiſtory of Philoſophy*, *Part* 3. [g] Xenophon Hell. lib. 3. [h] Xenophon, ibid. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. [i] Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 417. Juſtin, lib. 6. c. 1. Pauſanias in Atticis. Iſocrates in Euagora & in Oratione ad Philippum.

for

for the peace which he had made with *Dercyllidas*, blaming him, that whereas he ought to have joyned with him, for the driving of thoſe *Grecians* out of *Aſia*, he had ſcandalouſly bought a peace of them, and thereby contributed to the maintaining of them there at the King's expences, and to the great damage of his affairs. This no doubt contributed much to the creating of that ſuſpicion in the King, of that great commander of his, which being afterwards encreaſed by other cauſes, at length made him reſolve on his ruine. And at the ſame time conſultation being had, how the miſchiefs which the King ſuffered from this invaſion of the *Lacedæmonians* might be beſt remedied, *Pharnabazus* earneſtly preſſed him forthwith to equip a great fleet, and make *Conon* the *Athenian*, then an exile in *Cyprus*, admiral of it, who was looked upon as the ableſt commander of his time for a ſea war, telling him, that hereby he would make himſelf maſter of the ſeas, and that this would put him in a condition to obſtruct the paſſages of all farther recruits from the *Lacedæmonians* into *Aſia*, which would ſoon put an end to their power in thoſe parts. And *Euagoras* the *Cyprian* having at the ſame time made the ſame propoſal, and offered his aſſiſtance in it, *Artaxerxes* was prevailed upon by their concurrent advice, to reſolve upon what they propoſed. And therefore having delivered to *Pharnabazus* five hundred talents out of his treaſury, he ſent him with orders to get ready ſuch a fleet as he had adviſed, and to make *Conon* the admiral of it. And accordingly *Conon* had his commiſſion, and all hands were ſet to work on the coaſts of *Phœnicia*, *Syria* and *Cilicia*, to make ready the fleet that was to be under his command.

DERCYLLIDAS, after he had reduced *Atarna*, and ſet a ſtrong garriſon therein, [k] marched into *Caria*, where *Tiſſaphernes* had the chief ſeat of his reſidence. For the *Lacedæmonians* being made believe, that in caſe he were attacked there, he would, for the ſaving of that province, yield to all their demands, they ſent ſpecial orders to *Dercyllidas* for the making of this expedition, wherein he had like to have loſt all his army. For *Pharnabazus* having joyned *Tiſſaphernes*, they marched both after him with a great army, and ſoon had him at ſuch an advantage, that had they made uſe of it, and immediately fallen on him, they could not have failed of cutting him and all his forces in pieces. *Pharnabazus* was very earneſt for making the aſſault; but *Tiſſaphernes* having experienced the extraordinary valour of the *Grecian* troops, that followed *Cyrus* to the battel of *Cunaxa*, dreaded all *Grecians* in arms ever ſince, thinking all of that nation to be of the ſame valour and reſolution with thoſe which he had encountered with at that battel, and therefore could not be brought to hazard any conflict with them; but inſtead of making uſe of the opportunity which he had in his hands, and abſolutely deſtroying them, ſent Heralds to *Dercyllidas* to invite him to a parley, in which propoſals of peace having been offered on both ſides, time was given for each to conſult their principals, and in the interim a truce was agreed on between them. And thus *Dercyllidas* eſcaped ruine only by the cowardice of his enemy, when there was nothing elſe that could have delivered him from it. *An.* 397. Artaxerxes 8.

ONE [l] *Herod* a *Syracuſian* being in *Phœnicia*, and ſeeing a great many ſhips there a new building, and learning that a great many more were *An.* 396. Artaxerxes 9.

[k] Diodor. Sic. ibid. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Ageſilao.

[l] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3.

preparing on all the coaſts of *Phœnicia*, *Syria* and *Cilicia*, to make up a fleet for ſome extraordinary expedition, and ſuppoſing it could be only againſt the *Greeks*, he went on board the firſt ſhip he could meet with that was bound for *Greece*, and haſtening to *Lacedæmon*, informed the *Lacedæmonians* of what was a doing in thoſe parts; at which news they being terrifyed, and much confounded, as not knowing what courſe to take for the preventing of the miſchief that was coming upon them, *Lyſander* propoſed to them the ſending *Ageſilaus*, who was one of their Kings, into *Aſia*, that by making a ſtrong aſſault there he might divert the ſtorm, wherever elſe it was intended. Which advice being approved of, " *Ageſilaus* was accordingly ſent with a great augmentation of forces into *Aſia*, there to take upon him the command which *Dercyllidas* then had, and proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour he could in thoſe parts; and *Lyſander*, with ſeveral others of the principal *Lacedæmonians*, to the number of thirty in all, were ſent with him, to aſſiſt him with their counſel in this expedition. And this whole matter was diſpatch'd with that ſpeed and ſecrecy, that *Ageſilaus* arrived at *Epheſus* before any of the King's officers had the leaſt intimation of it. So that there being no preparations made to obſtruct him, he took the field as ſoon as he arrived with ten thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, and bore all before him where-ever he went. Whereon *Tiſſaphernes* ſending to him, to know for what end he came thither, *Ageſilaus* anſwered, that it was to reſtore the *Grecian* cities in *Aſia* to their liberty; hereon a parley being appointed to treat of this matter between them, *Tiſſaphernes* prayed a truce, till he ſhould ſend to the King, and receive his inſtructions what to do herein. Accordingly a truce was agreed, and ſworn on both ſides. But *Tiſſaphernes* having little regard to his oath, made no other uſe of this truce, than to ſend to the King for more forces; and to gain a reſpite till they ſhould arrive, was all that he intended by it. For as ſoon as thoſe auxiliaries were joined him, he ſent to *Ageſilaus*, to denounce war againſt him, unleſs he immediately left the countrey; at which the *Lacedæmonians* and confederates then preſent were very much concerned, as fearing that the forces of *Tiſſaphernes*, now augmented with his new auxiliaries, might be too much ſuperior to be withſtood by theirs, who ſcarce amounted to a fourth part of their number. But *Ageſilaus* not being at all moved or diſmayed thereat, with a pleaſant countenance, bid the embaſſadors who came with the meſſage tell *Tiſſaphernes*, that he was very much beholden to him, in that by his perjury he had made the Gods enemies to himſelf, and friends to the *Grecians*. And thereon immediately drawing all his forces together, he made a feint, as if he intended to invade *Caria*; but as ſoon as he underſtood that he had thereby drawn all the *Perſian* forces into that province to defend it againſt him, he turned ſhort, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, a province of the government of *Pharnabazus*, and where he had the chief ſeat of his Reſidence. His coming thither being wholly unexpected, he found nothing there in a poſture to reſiſt him, and therefore over-run a great part of the province without any oppoſition, till he came to *Daſcylium*, the place of *Pharnabazus*'s uſual abode, where ſome of his horſe meeting with a defeat, he marched back by the ſea-coſt into *Ionia*,

" Plutarchus in Ageſilao & Lyſandro. Cornelius Nepos in Ageſilao. Pauſanias in Laconicis. Juſtin, lib. 6. c. 2. Xenophon, ibid.

carrying

carrying with him vaſt ſpoils gotten in this expedition, and wintered at *Epheſus*.

NEPHEREUS ſucceeding *Pſammitichus* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, [n] the *Lacedæmonians* ſent to him to ſollicit his aid in their war againſt the *Perſians*, who thereon preſented them with an hundred gallies for their ſea war, and ſix hundred thouſand buſhels of corn for the ſubſiſtence of their forces. At this time *Pharax*, admiral of the *Lacedæmonians*, held the maſtery of the ſeas, with a fleet of one hundred and twenty ſail, who hearing at *Rhodes*, where he put in, that *Conon* was with forty ſhips at *Caunus*, a city of *Caria*, ſet ſail thither, and beſieged him in that place. But an army of *Perſians* coming to his ſuccour, *Pharax* was forced to raiſe the ſiege with diſadvantage, and return again to *Rhodes*; whereon *Conon* having augmented his fleet to the number of eighty ſail, took the ſeas and ſailed to the *Doric Cherſoneſus*; but he had not long been there, before he was recalled by the *Rhodians*. For they being weary of the *Lacedæmonians*, for ſome diſorders and inſolencies there committed, drove them thence, and ſent for *Conon* to protect them, and received him with all his fleet into their harbour. While he was there the ſhips which were carrying *Nephereus*'s gift of corn to the *Lacedæmonians* put in at *Rhodes*, not knowing of the change of the party which had been there lately made; whereon *Conon* having ſeized them all, plentifully furniſhed both his fleet, and alſo that city, with the freight they were loaded with. After this he was re-inforced with ninety other ſhips, which came to him from *Phœnicia* and *Cilicia*, whereby he was made much ſuperiour to the *Lacedæmonians*, and ſtrong enough to have effected all that was expected from him; but he was hindered by the mutiny of his ſoldiers, occaſioned for their want of pay, which they, whom the King had entruſted with the care of this matter, fraudulently detained from them. *An.* 395. Artaxerxes 10.

IN the interim [o] *Ageſilaus* coming out of his winter quarters, prepared to invade the *Perſians* in the ſtrongeſt part of the countrey which they were poſſeſſed of in thoſe parts; and accordingly gave out his orders for his march towards *Sardis*. *Tiſſaphernes*, thinking that this was intended only to deceive him with another feint, like that of the laſt year, took it that now he really intended for *Caria*, becauſe he had given out to go another way, and therefore marched into that province to defend it againſt him. But *Ageſilaus*, now truly acting as he had given out, led his army into *Lydia*. *Tiſſaphernes* hereon recalled his forces from their former rout. But *Caria* being a very rugged countrey, and unfit for horſe, he had gone thither only with his foot, leaving his horſe behind upon the borders of that countrey, and therefore on their marching back for the relief of *Lydia*, the horſe being much before the foot, *Ageſilaus* took the advantage of falling upon the former, before the latter could come up to their aſſiſtance, and thereby having gotten a great victory over them, and taken the *Perſian* camp, he became abſolute maſter of the field, and having thereon over-run all the countrey, brought back from thence vaſt ſpoils, with which he enriched both himſelf and all his army.

THE loſs of this battel [p] very much incenſed the King againſt *Tiſſapher-*

[n] Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 438. Juſtin, lib. 6. c. 2. Orosius, lib. 3. [o] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 439. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Ageſilao.

[p] Diodor. ibid. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe & Ageſilao. Xenophon, ibid.

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nes, and augmented the ſuſpicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had other deſigns than truly were for his maſter's intereſt; and *Conon* coming at this time to the *Perſian* court much heightened the King's diſpleaſure by farther accuſations which he there brought againſt him. For the depriving the ſoldiers of their pay on board *Conon*'s fleet, diſabling him from doing the King any ſervice, and he having often in vain wrote to court of it, [q] at length being encouraged thereto by *Pharnabazus*, and having a commiſſion from him for this purpoſe, he went himſelf to the *Perſian* court then at *Babylon*, and by the means of *Tithrauſtes*, captain of the guards, ſo repreſented the matter to the King, as procured full redreſs; and the blame of what had been hitherto done amiſs in this matter reſting on *Tiſſapernes*, this completed his ruin. For the King forthwith [r] ſent *Tithrauſtes* into the maritime provinces of the *lower Aſia*, with orders to put *Tiſſaphernes* to death, and ſucceed him in his government; which he accordingly executed, and ſent his head to the King, of which he made a very acceptable preſent to his mother, who could never pardon him for the aſſiſtance he gave the King, againſt *Cyrus* her moſt beloved ſon. But this very conſideration ought to have moved *Artaxerxes* not to have dealt thus with him, ſince to that aſſiſtance he owed both his life and his crown. But no merit can be ſufficient to ſecure any one, either in his life or fortunes, where arbitrary will and pleaſure reign without controul, and princes are at a full looſe to execute whatſoever their groundleſs ſuſpicions, their extravagant humours, or their wild capricio's may prompt them to.

As ſoon as *Tiſſaphernes* was cut off, [s] *Tithrauſtes* ſent to *Ageſilaus*, that the King having inflicted due puniſhment upon him that was the cauſe of the war, he ought to be content with it, and return home, promiſing on this condition to grant full liberty to the *Grecian* cities in *Aſia*, to live according to their own laws, they paying their uſual tribute to the King, which was all the *Lacedæmonians* deſired when they firſt began the war. But *Ageſilaus* thirſting after greater conqueſts would not hearken hereto, but to put off the matter, referred him to the magiſtrates of *Lacadæmon*, telling him he could do nothing herein without them. However, for the price of thirty talents paid him by *Tithrauſtes*, the ſtorm was diverted from his provinces, and *Ageſilaus* ordered his army to prepare for a march into *Phrygia*.

But while he was making ready for this war, [t] a new commiſſion came to him from *Lacedæmon*, whereby he was made generaliſſimo of their fleet, as well as of their armies, and had all their forces in *Aſia*, both by ſea and land, put under his command, that by thus having the entire direction of the whole war, he might conduct it with a greater uniformity for the good of the ſtate. This drew him down to the ſea-coaſt to take care of the fleet, which having put in good order, he made *Piſander* his wife's brother admiral of it, and ſent it to ſea under his command. And in this it is certain he was more influenced by private affection to his brother-in-law,

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[q] Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Juſtin, lib. 6. c. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 438, 439.
[r] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Diodor. ibid. Polyænus Stratagem. lib. 7. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe & Ageſilao. [s] Xenophon, ibid. Plutarchus in Ageſilao. [t] Pauſanias in Laconicis. Xenophon & Plutarchus, ibidem.

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or ſome other by-end of his own, than by that due regard which he ought to have had for the publick good of the ſtate. For altho' *Piſander* were a man of valour, and great courage, yet he was in other reſpects no way adequate to that truſt, as the event afterwards ſufficiently proved.

AGESILAUS having thus ſettled the ſea-affairs, [v] purſued his deſigns of invading *Phrygia*, where having taken ſeveral cities, and made great waſtes and depredations in the province, he paſſed on into *Paphlagonia*, being invited thither by *Spithridates*, a noble *Perſian*, who had revolted from the King; where having made a league with *Cotys*, the King of that countrey, and married the daughter of *Spithridates* to him, he returned into *Phrygia*, and taking the city of *Daſcylium*, there wintered in the palace of *Pharnabazus*, and fed his army with the ſpoils which he there got from the circumjacent countrey.

TITHRAUSTES [w] ſeeing that *Ageſilaus* was for carrying on the war in *Aſia*, to divert him from it ſent emiſſaries into *Greece*, with large ſums of money, to corrupt the leading men in the chief cities, and thereby induce them to re-kindle a war in *Greece* againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, that ſo *Ageſilaus* might be called home to defend his own countrey; which had that effect, that *Thebes*, *Athens*, *Argus* and *Corinth*, with other cities of *Greece*, entering into a confederacy together, raiſed ſuch a war againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, as produced all that was intended by *Tithrauſtes* in his ſtratagem, as will by and by be related in its proper place. And the putting of the people of the ſame nation and intereſt together by the ears, hath elſewhere been found the moſt ſucceſsful means to advance the intereſt of a neighbouring tyrant. And money will never fail of this effect, where there are minds corrupted with vice, luxury, and irreligion to prepare men for it.

IN the beginning of the next ſpring, *Ageſilaus* being ready to take the field, [x] a parley was procured between him and *Pharnabazus*, at which *Pharnabazus* having recited the great ſervices which he had done the *Lacedæmonians* in their war with the *Athenians*, and reproached them with the ill requital they had returned him for it, eſpecially in the devaſtations which they had made in his palace, park, gardens, and eſtate at *Daſcylium*, that were his own proper inheritance; and all this being truths which could not be denyed, *Ageſilaus* and his *Lacedæmonian* council that attended him at the conference, were ſo confounded at it, that they wanted an anſwer to excuſe the ingratitude which they were charged with. However, to make him the beſt amends they could, they made him a ſolemn promiſe that they would no more invade him, nor any of the provinces under his Government, as long as there were any elſe againſt whom they might proſecute the war which they had with the *Perſian* King; and then immediately withdrew out of thoſe parts, and thereon formed a deſign of invading the upper provinces of *Aſia*, and carrying the war into the very heart of the *Perſian* empire. But [y] while *Ageſilaus* was projecting this expedition, there came meſſengers to him from *Lacedæmon*, to recal him thither. For the *Perſian* money having procured a very ſtrong

An. 394. Artaxerxes II.

[v] Plutarchus in Ageſilao. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4. [w] Pauſanias in Laconicis & Meſſenicis. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Plutarchus in Ageſilao & Artaxerxe. [x] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4. [y] Plutarchus in Ageſilao & Artaxerxe. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4. Cornelius Nepos in Ageſilao. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441. Juſtin, lib. 6. c. 4.

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confederacy of ſeveral of the *Grecian* ſtates and cities againſt them, they needed him at home to defend his own countrey; and accordingly he made all the haſte thither that he could, complaining at his departure out of *Aſia*, that the *Perſians* had driven him thence by thirty thouſand archers, meaning ſo many *Darics*, which were pieces of gold that had the impreſſion of an archer upon them; but ſo ſmall a ſum did not do this job, it coſt the *Perſians* much more, and they could not have beſtowed their money better to their own advantage. For hereby they ſaved vaſtly greater expences, which otherwiſe they muſt have been at in the war, had they not this way got rid of it. And there are inſtances of other crafty princes, who by following the ſame methods have gained the ſame ſucceſs, and in the way of bribery and corruption have done that by hundreds of pounds in the councils of their adverſaries, which they could never bring to paſs by millions in the open field.

CONON, on his return from the *Perſian* court, [z] having brought money enough with him to pay the ſoldiers and mariners of his fleet all their arrears, and ſupply it with every thing elſe that was wanting, took *Pharnabazus* on board him, and forthwith ſet ſail to ſeek the enemy; and finding their whole fleet riding near *Cnidus*, under the command of *Piſander*, he fell upon them, and obtained a complete victory, having ſlain *Piſander* himſelf in the fight, and taken fifty of his ſhips, which did put an end to the empire of the *Lacedæmonians* in thoſe parts, and was a prelude to their loſing it every where elſe. For after this it continued to decline, till at length the overthrows which they received at *Leuctra* and *Mantinea* put an abſolute period to it. But it is not my purpoſe to treat of what was done in *Greece*, any farther than as the affairs of *Greece* interfere with what is the main deſign of this hiſtory.

AFTER [a] this victory, *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* ſailed round the iſles and maritime coaſts of *Aſia*, and took in moſt of the cities which the *Lacedæmonians* had in thoſe parts; only *Seſtus* and *Abydus*, two cities in the mouth of the *Helleſpont*, being under the command of *Dercyllidas*, held out againſt them; whereon *Pharnabazus* aſſaulted them by land, and *Conon* by ſea; but not ſucceeding in the attempt, *Pharnabazus* on the approach of winter returned home, and *Conon* was left to take care of the fleet, with orders to recruit and augment it, with as many ſhips from the cities on the *Helleſpont* as he could get from them againſt the next ſpring.

An. 393. Artaxerxes 12.

AND *Conon* having according to this commiſſion, gotten ready a ſtrong fleet of ſhips by the time appointed, [b] *Pharnabazus* went on board it, and ſailing through the iſlands, landed on *Melos* the fartheſt of them, and having taken in that iſland, as lying convenient for the invading of *Laconia*, the countrey of the *Lacedæmonians*, they from thence made a deſcent upon its maritime coaſts, and having ravaged them all over, loaded their fleet with the ſpoils which they there got. After this *Pharnabazus* being on his return home into his province, [c] *Conon* obtained of him to ſend him with eighty ſhips of the fleet, and fifty talents of money, to rebuild the

[z] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4. Juſtin, lib. 6. c. 3. Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441. Iſocrates in Euagora & in oratione ad Philippum. [a] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441. [b] Xenophon & Diodor. Sic. ibid.

[c] Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Plutarchus in Ageſilao. Juſtin, lib. 6. c. 5. Iſocrates in Euagora. Xenophon & Diodor. ibid. Pauſanias in Atticis.

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walls of *Athens*, having made him to underſtand, that nothing could conduce more to the bringing down the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, than by this means to put *Athens* again in a condition to rival their power. And therefore being arrived at *Piræus*, the port of *Athens*, he immediately ſet about the work, and having gotten together a great number of workmen, and made all that could be ſpared from on board the fleet, as well as the people of the city, to ſet to their helping hand, he rebuilt both the walls of *Athens* and the walls of the port, with the walls alſo called the long walls, leading from the former to the latter, and diſtributed the fifty talents which he had received from *Pharnabazus* among his citizens, whereby he reſtored that city again to its priſtine ſtate, and may on this account be reckoned as the ſecond founder of it.

THE *Lacedæmonians* being exceedingly moved at the hearing of this, forthwith diſpatch'd *Antalcidas*, a citizen of theirs, to *Tiribazus*, then governor for the *Perſian* King at *Sardis*, to propoſe terms of peace. And the confederates on the other hand, on notice hereof, ſent their embaſſadors thither alſo, and among them *Conon* was one from the city of *Athens*. The terms [d] which *Antalcidas* propoſed were, that the King ſhould have all the *Grecian* cities in *Aſia*, and that all the reſt, both in the iſles and in *Greece*, ſhould be reſtored to their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. Which being a peace that would be very advantageous to the King, and very diſadvantageous and diſhonourable to the *Greeeks* in general, none of the other embaſſadors would conſent to it. And therefore they all returned without effecting any thing, excepting *Conon*. For the *Lacedæmonians* bearing an implacable ſpight to him for what he had done in the reſtoration of *Athens*, accuſed him of purloining the King's money for the carrying on of that work, and alſo of having deſigns for the taking of *Æolis* and *Ionia* from the *Perſians*, and ſubjecting them again to the *Athenian* ſtate; whereon [e] *Tiribazus* clapped him in chains, and then going to the *Perſian* court to communicate to the King the proceedings of this treaty, he acquainted him alſo of the accuſation which he had received againſt *Conon*; hereon *Conon* being ordered to be brought to *Suſa*, [f] was there put to death by the King's command.

WHILE *Tiribazus* was attending the court, [g] *Struthas* was ſent down from thence to take care of the maritime coaſts of *Aſia*; where finding the great devaſtations which the *Lacedæmonians* had made in thoſe parts, he conceived from hence ſuch an averſion againſt them, as carried him wholly over to the *Athenian* ſide. Whereon the *Lacedæmonians* ſent *Thymbro* into *Aſia* again to renew the war there, but they not being able at that time to furniſh him with ſtrength ſufficient for the undertaking, he was ſoon cut off by the ſuperior power of the *Perſians*, and all his forces broken and diſſipated. After him *Dephridas* came thither to gather up the remains of this army, and carry on the war; and after him others were ſent with the ſame commiſſion. But all their doings in *Aſia*, after the battel of *Cnidus*, were only as the faint ſtrugglings of a dying power, and therefore they were at length forced to give up all there, when they could no longer

An. 392. Artaxerxes 13.

[d] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4. Plutarchus in Ageſilao. [e] Xenophon, ibid. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 442. Cornelius Nepos in Conone. [f] Cornelius Nepos, ibid. Iſocrates in Panegyrico. [g] Xenophon ibid. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 447.

hold it, by a treaty of peace, which was very disadvantagious, as well as very dishonourable to all that were of the *Grecian* name.

An. 391. Artaxerxes 14. AND therefore *Artaxerxes* being in a manner almoſt wholly eaſed of the *Grecian* war, [h] turned his whole power againſt *Euagoras* King of *Cyprus*, and began a war againſt him which he had long deſigned, but was not till now at leiſure to proſecute it. How *Euagoras* ſeized *Salamine*, by expelling the *Perſian* governor, and made himſelf King of that city, and procured by the means of *Conon* to be confirmed herein by *Artaxerxes*, I have already given an account. But *Euagoras* being a man every way qualified for great undertakings, in a little time ſo enlarged his ſtrength, and his power, that he made himſelf in a manner King of the whole iſland of *Cyprus*. The *Amathuſians*, the *Solians*, and the *Citians*, were thoſe only that held out againſt him; and *Artaxerxes* becoming jealous of the growing power of this active and wiſe prince, firſt countenanced them herein, and afterwards openly embraced their cauſe, and declared war againſt *Euagoras*, in which, *Iſocrates* tells us, he expended above fifty thouſand talents, which may be reckoned at ten millions of our money.

An. 390. Artaxerxes 15. THE *Athenians*, notwithſtanding the alliance they now had with the *Perſians*, and the Benefits they had lately received from them, [i] would not deny their aſſiſtance to *Euagoras*, who had much befriended them, eſpecially in the kind reception which thoſe, who fled with *Conon* from the battel of the *Goats* river, had found with him; and perchance their reſentments againſt the King, for the death of that gallant *Athenian* their reſtorer, did not a little move them to this reſolution. And therefore they forthwith equipped ten ſhips of war, and ſent them to the aid of *Euagoras*, under the command of *Philocrates*. But a fleet which the *Lacedæmonians* had at ſea, under the command of *Telautias* the brother of *Ageſilaus*, falling in with them in the iſle of *Rhodes*, took them all; whereby it came to paſs, that thoſe who were enemies to the King of *Perſia*, deſtroyed thoſe who were going from his friends to make war againſt him.

An. 389. Artaxerxes 16. *ACHORIS* ſucceeding *Pſammitichus* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, [k] *Euagoras* drew him, and alſo the *Barceans*, a people of *Libya*, into confederacy with him againſt the *Perſians*, and all of them engaged in conjunction together to carry on the war with vigour againſt them.

An. 388. Artaxerxes 17. *PHILOCRATES* having miſcarried in his attempt of carrying ſuccours to *Euagoras*, in manner as hath been related, the *Athenians* [l] ſent *Chabrias* into the ſame ſervice with another fleet, and a good number of land forces on board of it, who arriving ſafe in *Cyprus*, managed the war with that ſucceſs, that he reduced the whole iſland under the power of *Euagoras* before he again left it; which redounded much to the honour of his own conduct, and alſo to that of the *Athenian* arms.

An. 387. Artaxerxes 18. THE *Lacedæmonians* finding themſelves hardly preſſed by the confederacy of the *Grecian* cities againſt them, became deſirous of a peace with the *Perſian* King, and [m] appointed *Antalcidas* again to treat with *Tiribazus*

[h] Iſocrates in Euagora. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 458.
[i] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4.
[k] Theopompus in excerptis Photii. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 459.
[l] Cornelius Nepos in Chabria. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 5.
[m] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 5. Plutarchus in Ageſilao & Artaxerxe. Iſocrates in Panathenaico. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 452, 453. Juſtin, lib. 6. c. 6.

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about it; and reſolving to make it on ſuch terms as ſhould neceſſarily engage that potent monarch on their ſide, inſtructed their embaſſador accordingly; and having made him admiral of their fleet, under that blind ſent him with it into *Aſia* to tranſact this matter. On his arrival at *Epheſus*, having appointed *Nicolochus* his lieutenant to take care of the fleet, he went to *Sardis*, and there communicated to *Tiribazus* the commiſſion on which he was ſent. But *Tiribazus* having no powers to enter into ſuch a treaty, inſtead of ſending for orders about it from the *Perſian* court, they both went thither; where on their arrival the matter was ſoon concluded. For *Artaxerxes* being at that time as much deſirous of a peace as the *Lacedæmonians*, that ſo he might be the better at leiſure to proſecute the *Cyprian* war, which he had then his heart much ſet upon, greedily accepted of the propoſal, upon the ſcheme which *Antalcidas* offered. And accordingly peace was made thereupon. The terms of it were, That all the *Grecian* cities in *Aſia*, with the iſlands of [n] *Clazomenæ* and *Cyprus* ſhould be under the power of the *Perſian* King; and that all the other Cities of *Greece*, and the iſles, as well ſmall as great, ſhould be free, and wholly left to be governed by their own laws, except the iſlands of *Scirus*, *Lemnus* and *Imbrus*, which having been anciently ſubject to the *Athenians*, ſhould ſtill continue ſo to be; and that *Artaxerxes* ſhould join with the *Lacedæmonians*, and all others that accepted of this peace, to make all the reſt of *Greece* ſubmit thereto. Which peace being ratified under the ſeal of King *Artaxerxes*, *Tiribazus* and *Antalcidas* returned with it, and cauſed it to be proclaimed in all the cities of *Greece*. Hereby the *Grecian* cities in *Aſia* finding themſelves betrayed by the *Lacedæmonians*, were forced to ſubmit; and ſcarce any other of the *Grecian* ſtates were pleaſed therewith, it being very diſadvantageous to many of them, and diſhonourable to all. The *Athenians* and *Thebans* of all others were the moſt diſſatisfied with it. But not being able alone to cope with the *Perſians*, now joined with the *Lacedæmonians*, their allies, to ſee it executed, were forced for a while to acquieſce therein. And it was not long that the *Lacedæmonians* themſelves were well pleaſed with it; but at this time being preſſed on the one hand by the *Perſians*, and on the other hand by the confederacy of the *Grecian* cities againſt them, and not being able to withſtand both, they had no other way to extricate themſelves from the ruine which ſeemed to threaten them, than by making this peace. For hereby they eagaged the *Perſians* into an alliance with them; and by virtue thereof, made all the confederated cities of *Greece* deſiſt from that war, which they were preparing againſt them; and by this means they ſaved themſelves from the preſent danger, but at the ſame time they betrayed the common intereſt of *Greece*, and alſo their own, as far as it was involved in it. And *Antalcidas* at laſt met with his ruine from it. For the [o] *Lacedæmonians*, after the blow they had received from the *Thebans* at *Leuctra*, needing the aſſiſtance of the *Perſian* power to ſupport them, and being made believe, that *Antalcidas* could do every thing at that court ſince the making of this peace, ſent him thither, to ſolicit for money to help bear them up in that diſtreſs. But King *Artaxerxes* finding his intereſt no way

[n] *The city of* Clazomenæ *then ſtood on an iſland, but afterwards that Iſland was joined to the continent in the ſame manner as were the iſlands of* Tyrus *and* Pharus. Strabo, lib. 1. p. 58.

[o] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

concerned in this propoſal, as it was in the former, rejected it with ſcorn and contempt. And therefore being ſent away without ſucceſs, either out of ſhame for being thus diſappointed, or out of fear of the reſentments of his fellow-citizens for his failing in this negotiation of what they expected from it, he famiſhed himſelf, and ſo put an end to his life. This peace, [p] *Polybius*, [q] *Trogus Pompeius*, [r] *Diodorus Siculus*, and [s] *Strabo*, tell us, was made in the ſame year that *Rome* was taken by the *Gaſls*. It was called, from the author of it, the peace of *Antalcidas*, but it was not with any honour, but rather with infamy to his name; becauſe of the prejudice and diſhonour which it brought with it to all *Greece*.

An. 386. Artaxerxes 19. THE *Athenians*, on their accepting of this peace, were forced to call home *Chabrias* out of *Cyprus*; and [t] *Artaxerxes*, now freed of all trouble from the *Greeks*, bent his whole force againſt *Evagoras* King of that iſland. For having drawn together an army of three hundred thouſand men, and a fleet of three hundred ſail, he made *Gaus* the ſon of *Tamus* (who hath been before ſpoken of) admiral of the fleet, and *Orontes* one of his ſons-in-law general of the army, and *Tiribazus* generaliſſimo over both, and ſent them to invade *Cyprus*; and accordingly they landed this great army on that iſland for the reducing of it. *Evagoras* being preſſed with ſo great a power, ſtrengthened himſelf for the war the beſt he could, having drawn into confederacy with him the *Egyptians*, *Libyans*, *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and other nations, who were then at enmity with the *Perſians*; and with his money, of which he had amaſſed a vaſt treaſure, he hired a great number of mercenaries, out of all places wherever he could get them, which all together made a very numerous army. And he alſo got together a conſiderable fleet of ſhips. Theſe at firſt he ſent out in parties to intercept the tenders and victualers, which brought proviſions to the *Perſian* army from the continent, which in a few days reduced them to that diſtreſs, that the ſoldiers mutinied, and ſlew many of their officers and commanders for their want of bread. For the remedying of this, their whole fleet was forced to ſet to ſea to fetch proviſions from *Cilicia*, whereby the army being plentifully ſupplyed, an end was put to the mutiny. In the interim *Evagoras* received a great ſupply of corn from *Egypt*, and fifty ſail of ſhips, which, with others that he fitted up at home, making up his fleet to two hundred ſail, he adventured with them to engage the whole naval force of the *Perſians*, though in ſtrength and number much ſuperior to him. He had fought a part of the *Perſian* army and gained the victory, and being flaſh'd with this, and ſome other advantages which he had obtained at land, he was emboldened hereby to make this attempt upon them by ſea. But here he had not the ſame ſucceſs. In the firſt cloſe he had the advantage, and took and deſtroyed ſeveral of their ſhips. But *Gaus* at length having brought up his whole fleet into the fight, his valour and his conduct bore all before him, and drove *Evagoras* out of the ſea, with the loſs of the greateſt part of his fleet; with the remainder he eſcaped to *Salamine*, where the *Perſians*, after this victory, ſhut him up in a cloſe ſiege both by ſea and land, and *Tiribazus* went to the *Perſian* court with the news of this ſucceſs, and having there obtained two

[p] Lib. 2. [q] Juſtin. lib. 6. c. 6. [r] Lib. 14. [s] Lib. 6. [t] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15.

thouſand talents for the uſe of the army, he returned with them farther to carry on the war. During his abſence, *Euagoras*, to relieve himſelf in the diſtreſs he was reduced to, got thorough the enemies fleet in the night with ten ſhips, and ſailed for *Egypt*, leaving *Protagoras* his ſon to manage all affairs in his abſence. His end in this voyage was to engage *Acoris* to join his whole power with him for the raiſing of this ſiege.

An. 385. Artaxerxes 20.

BUT failing in the main of what he there expected, he was ſent back only with ſome ſupplies of money, which were far ſhort of what he needed to relieve him in his preſent diſtreſs; and therefore being returned to *Salamine*, and got again into the place by the favour of the night, in the ſame manner as he came out, and finding himſelf deſerted by his allies, and deſtitute of all other helps for the raiſing of the ſiege, he ſent to *Tiribazus* to treat of peace, but could be allowed no other terms, than to be diveſted of all that he had in *Cyprus*, excepting the city of *Salamine* only, and to hold that of the King as a ſervant of his lord, and pay him tribute for it. However conſidering the neceſſity of his affairs, he yielded to all this, excepting only the holding of *Salamine* as a ſervant under his lord; he deſired it might be as a King under a King. But *Tiribazus* not conſenting to this the war went on. In the mean time *Orontes*, who commanded the land army, not brooking the ſuperiority which *Tiribazus* had over him, as being generaliſſimo, and having the chief conduct of the whole war; and envying alſo the ſucceſs which he had in it, and the honour which he had gotten thereby, wrote ſecretly calumniating letters to the King, accuſing him of having ſecret deſigns againſt the King's intereſt; and that for this purpoſe he held private correſpondence with the *Lacedæmonians*, and had cauſedly procraſtinated the war, had admitted a treaty with *Euagoras*, when it was in his power to have ſuppreſſed him by force, and by courting the affection of the officers and commanders of the army, had engaged them all to him for the promoting of his hidden purpoſes; whereon he was taken into cuſtody by order from the King, and ſent priſoner to the court, and *Orontes* had the chief command conferred on him, which was the thing he deſired, as what he thought belonged to him, much rather than to the other, as being the King's ſon-in-law. But the army being very much diſſatisfied with the change, things went very heavily on under his conduct. For all his orders through this diſcontent of the ſoldiery were very negligently executed, and the enemy recovered courage and ſtrength hereby; ſo that at length *Orontes* was forced to renew the treaty with *Euagoras*, for which he had accuſed his predeceſſor, and concluded it upon terms which the other had refuſed. For he conſented that he ſhould hold *Salamine* of the King of *Perſia* as King of that city, yielding only tribute to him for it. So peace was made with *Euagoras*, but this did not put an end to the war in thoſe parts. For [v] *Gnus* taking ill the unjuſt uſage of *Tiribazus*, whoſe daughter he had married, and fearing that this affinity might involve him alſo in the ſame proſecution, he entered into a confederacy with the *Egyptians* and the *Lacedæmonians*, and revolted from the King, and a great part both of the fleet and army joined with him herein. The *Lacedæmonians* entered gladly into this confederacy, becauſe of the diſlike which they now had of the peace of *Antalcidas*. For by this time diſcerning all the diſadvantages of it, eſpe-

[v] Diodor. ibid. [w] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15.

cially

cially the ill conſequence which it had in alienating the affections of all the other *Greeks* from them, becauſe of the diſhonour, as well as the damages, which it brought with it to all of the *Grecian* name, they would, for the redeeming of this fault, and the recovery of the credit which they loſt by it, have gladly laid hold of this opportunity of again renewing the war with the *Perſians*. But *Gaus* the next year after, when he had brought his matters in ſome meaſure to bear, being treacherouſly ſlain by ſome that were under him, and *Tachos*, who ſet himſelf up to carry on the ſame deſign, ſoon dying, the whole of it fell to nothing; and after this the *Lacedæmonians* no more meddled with the *Aſian* affairs.

Ant. 384. Artaxerxes 21.

ARTAXERXES having thus finiſhed the *Cyprian* war, [x] led an army of three hundred thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe againſt the *Caduſians*. But the countrey, by reaſon of its barrenneſs, not affording proviſions enough to feed ſo large an army, he had like to have loſt them all for want thereof, but that *Tiribazus* extricated him from this danger. He followed the King in this expedition, or rather was led with the court in it as a priſoner, being in great diſgrace becauſe of *Orontes*'s accuſation; and having received information, that whereas the *Caduſians* had two Kings, they did not act in a thorough concert together, by reaſon of the jealouſie and miſtruſt which they had of each other, but that each led and encamped his forces apart from the other, he propoſed to *Artaxerxes* the bringing of them to ſubmiſſion by a treaty; and having undertaken the management of it, he went to one of the Kings, and ſent his ſon to the other, and ſo ordered the matter, that making each of them believe, that the other was treating ſeparately with the King, brought both ſeparately to ſubmit to him, and ſo ſaved him and all his army. Theſe people [y] inhabited ſome part of the mountainous countrey, which lies between the *Euxin* and the *Caſpian* ſeas to the north of *Media*, where [z] they having neither ſeed-time nor harveſt, liv'd moſtly upon apples and pears, and other ſuch tree-fruits, the land, by reaſon of its ruggedneſs and unfertility, not being capable of tillage. And this was that which brought the *Perſians* into ſuch diſtreſs when they invaded them, the countrey not being capable of affording proviſions for ſo great an army. *Fuller* [a] hath a conceit, that theſe *Caduſians* were the deſcendants of the *Iſraelites* of the ten tribes, which the Kings of *Aſſyria* carried captive out of the land of *Canaan*; but his reaſon for it being only, that he thinks they were called *Caduſians* from the *Hebrew* word *Keduſhim*, which ſignifieth *holy people*, this is not foundation enough to build ſuch an aſſertion upon. It would have been a better argument for this purpoſe, had he urged for it, that [b] the *Colchians* and neighbouring nations are ſaid anciently to have uſed circumciſion. For not far from the *Colchians* was the countrey of the *Caduſians*.

ARTAXERXES loſt a great number of men in this ill-projected expedition; among others who periſhed in it was *Camiſſares*, by nation a *Carian*, and a very gallant man. He was governor of *Leuco-Syria*, a province lying between *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, and was on his death ſucceeded therein by *Datames* his ſon, who was alſo with *Artaxerxes* in this

[x] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 462. [y] Strabo, lib. 11. p. 507, 508, 510, 523, 524. [z] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. [a] Miſcel. lib. 2. c. 5. [b] Herodot. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 1.

expedi-

expedition, and did him great ſervice in it, for the reward of which he had his father's government conferred on him. He was for valour and military skill the *Hannibal* of thoſe times. *Cornelius Nepos* hath given us his life at large, by which it appears, no man ever exceeded him in ſtratagems of war, or in the valour and activity by which he executed them. But theſe eminent qualities raiſed that envy againſt him in the *Perſian* court, as at laſt cauſed his ruine; as it hath been the fate of too many gallant men to have been thus undone by their own merit.

ON the King's return to *Suſa*, the ſervice which *Tiribazus* did him in this expedition [e] procured him a fair hearing of his cauſe, and it having been thoroughly examined before indifferent judges appointed by the King for it, he was found innocent, and honourably diſcharged; and *Orontes* his accuſer was condemned of calumny, and with diſgrace baniſhed the court, and put out of the King's favour for it.

ARTAXERXES being now free from all other wars, reſolved on the reducing of the *Egyptians*, they having freed themſelves from the yoke of the *Perſians*, and ſtood out in revolt againſt them now full thirty ſix years; and [f] accordingly he made great preparations for it. *Acoris* foreſeeing the ſtorm, provided againſt it the beſt he could, having armed not only his own ſubjects, but drawn alſo a great number of *Greeks* and other mercenaries into his ſervice, under the command of *Chabrias* the *Athenian*. *Pharnabazus* having the care of this war committed to his charge, ſent embaſſadors to *Athens* to make complaint againſt *Chabrias*, for engaging in this ſervice againſt the King, threatning them with the loſs of the King's friendſhip, unleſs he were forthwith recalled. And at the ſame time he demanded *Iphicrates* another *Athenian*, and the ableſt general of his time, to be ſent to him, to take on him the command of the mercenary *Greeks* in the *Perſian* army for this war. The *Athenians* at that time much depending on the favour of the *Perſian* King, for the ſupport of their affairs at home, amid the broils which they had with the other cities of *Greece*, readily complyed with both theſe demands. For they immediately recalled *Chabrias*, ſetting him a day for his return, and at the ſame time ſent *Iphicrates* into the *Perſian* army, to take on him the charge he was deſigned for. On his arrival, he having muſtered his men, applied himſelf to exerciſe them in all the arts of war, in which he made them ſo expert, that thenceforth under the name of *Iphicrateſian* ſoldiers, they became as famous among the *Greeks*, as formerly the *Fabian* were among the *Romans* for the ſame reaſon. And they had time enough before they entered on action, to grow up hereto by the inſtruction that was given them.

An. 377. Artaxerxes 28.

FOR the *Perſians* being very ſlow in their preparations, it was two years after e'er the war commenced; in the interim died *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, and was ſucceeded by *Pſammuthis* in that kingdom, who reigned only one year.

An. 376. Artaxerxes 29.

AFTER *Pſammuthis*, reiged in *Egypt* [f] *Nepherites*, the laſt of the *Mendeſian* race in that kingdom. For after a reign of four months, he was ſucceeded by *Nectanabis*, the firſt of the *Sebennite* race, who reigned twelve years.

An. 375, Artaxerxes 30.

ARTAXERXES, that he might the eaſier get *Grecian* auxiliaries

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[e] Diodor. Sic. p. 463. [a] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 471. Cornelius Nepos in Chabria & Iphicrate. [e] Euſebius in Chronico. Syncellus, p. 257. [f] Euſebius in Chronico.

for

for his *Egyptian* war, ſent embaſſadors into *Greece* to put an end to all war there, requiring that all the different ſtates and cities in that countrey ſhould live in peace with each other, upon the terms of the peace of *Antalcidas*, and that all garriſons being withdrawn, all ſhould be left to enjoy their liberty, and be governed according to their own laws. This propoſal was readily accepted by all the cities of *Greece*, excepting the *Thebans*, who having then in view the gaining the empire over all, were the only *Grecian* people that refuſed to comply herewith.

An. 374. Artaxerxes 31.

ALL things being now ready for the *Egyptian* war, [g] the *Perſian* army was all drawn together at *Ace*, afterwards called *Ptolemais*, and now *Acon*, in *Paleſtine*; and were there muſtered to be two hundred thouſand *Perſians*, under the command of *Pharnabazus*, and twenty thouſand *Grecian* mercenaries under the command of *Iphicrates*, and their forces by ſea were proportionable hereto. For their fleet conſiſted of three hundred gallies, and two hundred ſhips, beſides a vaſt number of victuallers and tenders, which followed to furniſh both the fleet and army with all things neceſſary. At the ſame time the army marched by land, the fleet ſet alſo to ſea, that ſo they might the better act in concert with each other; for the carrying on of the war. The firſt attempt which they made was upon *Peluſium*. Their deſign was to beſiege it by ſea and land; but the *Perſians* having been long in preparing for this war, gave *Nectanabis* time enough to provide for the defence of the place, which he did ſo effectually, that they could not come at it either by land or ſea. And therefore their fleet, inſtead of making a deſcent at this place, as was firſt intended, ſailed from thence to the *Mendeſian* mouth of the *Nile*. For that river then diſcharged it ſelf into the *Mediterranean* by ſeven mouths, (tho' now there are but [h] two) each of theſe was guarded by a fortreſs and a garriſon; but the *Mendeſian* mouth not being ſo well fortified againſt them as the *Peluſian*, becauſe they were not here expected, they eaſily landed at this place, and as eaſily took the fortreſs which guarded it, deſtroying all thoſe who were there ſet for its defence. After this action *Iphicrates* adviſed, that they ſhould immediately have ſailed up the *Nile* to *Memphis*, the capital of *Egypt*. And had they followed his advice, before the *Egyptians* had recovered from the conſternation which this powerful invaſion and the firſt ſucceſs thereof had put them into, they would have found the place wholly unprovided for its defence, and therefore muſt have certainly taken it; and with it, all *Egypt* muſt again have fallen under their power. But the main of the army not being yet come up, *Pharnabazus* would not engage till he had gotten all his ſtrength together, thinking that then his power would be invincible, and he muſt neceſſarily carry all before him. But *Iphicrates* rightly judging, that by that time the opportunity would be loſt, preſſed hard for leave to attempt the place with the mercenaries only that were under his command. But *Pharnabazus* envying him the honour which would redound to him from hence, ſhould he ſucceed in the enterpriſe, would not hearken to the propoſal. In the interim, the *Egyptians* having gotten all their forces together, and put a ſufficient guard into *Memphis*, with the reſt took the field, and ſo harraſſed the *Perſians*, that they kept them from making any farther progreſs,

[g] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 478. Cornelius Nepos in Iphicrate.

[h] *That is* Damietta *and* Roſetta.

till

till at length [i] the *Nile*, in its proper ſeaſon, overflowing all the countrey, forced them to withdraw again into *Phœnicia*, with the loſs of a great part of their army. And ſo this expedition, in which were expended ſuch vaſt ſums of treaſure, and ſo much time in preparing for it, all miſcarried and came to nothing. This produced great diſſentions between the two generals. For *Pharnabazus*, to excuſe himſelf, laid the whole blame of this miſcarriage upon *Iphicrates*; and *Iphicrates*, with much more reaſon, on *Pharnabazus*. But *Iphicrates* being aware, that *Pharnabazus* would be believed before him at the *Perſian* court, and remembring the caſe of *Conon*, that he might not meet with the like fate, privately hired a ſhip, and got ſafely away to *Athens*. Hereon *Pharnabazus* ſent embaſſadors after him, to accuſe him of making this expedition into *Egypt* miſcarry, to which the *Athenians* gave only this anſwer, That if he were found guilty of this, they would puniſh him for it according to his demerit. But it ſeems they were ſo far convinced of his innocency, as to this matter, that they never called him to a tryal for it; and a little while after they made him ſole admiral of their whole fleet.

THAT which made moſt of the expeditions of the *Perſians*, under this empire, miſcarry, was their ſlowneſs in the execution of their deſigns. For the generals having nothing left to their own diſcretion, but being in all things ſtrictly tied up to orders, durſt not proceed on any emergency without inſtructions from court, and uſually before theſe could arrive the opportunity was loſt. And this was ſignally the caſe in this war. And therefore *Iphicrates* obſerving *Pharnabazus* to be very quick in his reſolves, and very ſlow in the execution of them, and having thereon asked him how it came to paſs that he was ſo forward in his words and ſo backward in his actions, [k] had the whole truth told him in this memorable anſwer, That his words were his own, but his actions wholly depended on his maſter. And many like inſtances may be given, wherein noble opportunities of acting great things for the good of the publick have been wholly loſt, by too ſtreightly tying up the hands of thoſe who are to execute them.

THE ſame year that theſe things were done in *Egypt*, [l] *Euagoras* King of *Salamine*, in the iſland of *Cyprus*, being murthered by one of his eunuchs, *Nicocles* his ſon reigned in his ſtead, and is the ſame for whoſe ſake two of *Iſocrates*'s orations were compoſed, and they ſtill bear the title of his name. In the firſt of theſe is propoſed the duty of a King to his ſubjects; in the ſecond, the duty of ſubjects to their King; for which *Nicocles* gave him [m] twenty talents, *i. e.* three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pound of our money.

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[i] *The nature of this river is to be ſix months a riſing, and ſix months a falling; and when it is at the height, it doth for two months together overflow the whole countrey, and then there is no marching or encamping of an army in any part of it. This is cauſed by the rains, which for ſix months together fall in the upper parts of* Ethiopia, *where the riſe of the* Nile *is. Theſe rains begin to fall in* April, *and continue till* October, *and ſend great floods into the* Nile, *which beginning to reach* Egypt *in the* April *following, do there cauſe this riſing or increaſe of the* Nile, *which from thence continues to riſe higher and higher, till the beginning of* October *following, and then it again falls in the ſame gradual manner as it roſe, till the* April *following. The months of the overflow are* Auguſt *and* September, *and ſome part of* October. *It muſt riſe ſixteen cubits to make a fertile year; but ſometimes it riſeth to three and twenty. If it riſeth no higher than twelve or thirteen cubits, a famine followeth in that countrey.*

[k] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 478. [l] Ariſtoteles, Politic. lib. 5. c. 10. Theopompus in bibliotheca Photii. N. 176. [m] Plutarchus in vita Iſocratis.

An. 373. Artaxerxes 32. THE [n] next year after, which was the thirty ſecond of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Joiada* the high-prieſt of the *Jews* being dead, [o] *Johanan* his ſon, called alſo [p] *Jonathan*, ſucceeded him in his office, and held it thirty two years.

An. 371. Artaxerxes 34. *ARTAXERXES* [q] again ſent embaſſadors into *Greece*, to exhort the ſtates and cities, which were there at war with each other, to lay down their arms and come to an accord upon the terms of the peace which he had made with *Antalcidas*. All expreſſed a readineſs to ſubmit hereto, except the *Thebans*. That which made them at that time diſſent, was, that by that peace it was provided, that all the cities of *Greece* ſhould be left to enjoy their own liberties, and be governed according to their own laws. Upon this article, the *Lacedæmonians* preſſed the *Thebans* to ſet all the cities of *Bœotia* free, and to rebuild *Platæa* and *Theſpia*, two cities of that countrey, which they had demoliſhed, and reſtore them again to the former inhabitants, with the territories appertaining to them. And on the other ſide, the *Thebans* retorting upon the *Lacedæmonians* the ſame argument, preſſed them to permit all the towns of *Laconia* to enjoy their liberties, and reſtore *Meſſena* to its ancient owners. For they urged, that the article of the peace inſiſted on, did as much require the one as the other, and that therefore if the *Lacedæmonians* would not execute this article on their part, neither would they on theirs. But the *Lacedæmonians*, not being ſufficiently humbled by the loſs of their fleet at *Cnidus*, would not underſtand this way of arguing, but looking on themſelves ſtill as much ſuperior to the *Thebans*, would have them ſubmit to that, which they would not do themſelves; and therefore ſent an army againſt them, to force them to it, which produced the battel at *Leuctra*, [r] in which the *Lacedæmonians* were overthrown, with the loſs of *Cleombrotus* one of their Kings, and above four thouſand of their citizens; which was the greateſt blow they had received in many ages paſt. For it brought the *Thebans* in purſuit of this victory into *Laconia*, which they waſted all over, even home to the city of *Lacedæmon* it ſelf, where they had not ſeen an enemy in five hundred years before; and it was with difficulty that they preſerved this their capital from falling under the ſame devaſtation.

An. 370. Artaxerxes 35. THE *Lacedæmonians* being brought to this diſtreſs, [s] ſent *Ageſilaus* into *Egypt*, and *Antalcidas* to the *Perſian* court, to ſollicit for ſuccours. But the *Lacedæmonians*, ſince their overthrow at *Leuctra*, becoming contemptible to the *Perſians*, *Antalcidas* had that ill ſucceſs in his embaſſy, as cauſed him to put an end to his life, in the manner as hath been above related.

An. 369. Artaxerxes 36. HOWEVER, this embaſſy prevailed ſo far with *Artaxerxes*, that *Philiſcus* of *Abydus* [t] was by his order the next year after ſent into *Greece*, to endeavour the compoſing of the wars which were there riſen, and the bringing of all to peace upon the terms agreed on by *Antalcidas*. But the *Lacedæmonians* refuſing to conſent that *Meſſena* ſhould enjoy its liberty, (to which it had been reſtored by the *Thebans*, in their late expedition in-

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[n] Chronicon Alexandrinum. [o] Nehem. xii. 22. *and* xiii. 28. [p] Nehem. xii. 11. [q] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 483. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 6. [r] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. Xenophon ibid. Plutarchus in Pelopida. Cornelius Nepos in Epaminonda & Pelopida. [s] Plutarchus in Ageſilao & Artaxerxe. [t] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 494.

to *Peloponneſus*, after the battel of *Leuctra*; and the *Thebans* refuſing to come to peace on any other terms, this embaſſy ended without any effect; only *Philiſcus* thinking the *Thebans* ſtood upon too high terms, and being much offended thereat, ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians* two thouſand mercenaries, which he had raiſed with the King's money, and ſo returned.

THE truth of the caſe was, the *Thebans* being elevated with their late ſucceſs, and much confiding in their two generals, *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*, (the latter of which was one of the greateſt men that ever *Greece* produced) aimed now at nothing leſs than the empire of *Greece*. And therefore to ſtrengthen themſelves for the obtaining of it, [u] they ſent *Pelopidas* and *Iſmenias*, two of the eminenteſt of their citizens, in an embaſſy to King *Artaxerxes*, to ſecure him on their ſide. And on the hearing of this, the *Athenians* ſent *Timagoras* and *Leontes*, and the other cities of *Greece* other embaſſadors, to take care of their reſpective intereſts at that court on this occaſion. At their admiſſion to audience, they being required to adore the King, *Iſmenias* on his entrance into the preſence of the King dropped his ring, and ſtooping to take it up, thought by this trick to ſatisfy the ceremonial, and ſave his honour at the ſame time. But *Timagoras*, the *Athenian*, to gain the greater favour with *Artaxerxes*, directly, without any trick or ſubterfuge, paid him that ceremony of adoration which was required, for [w] which he was put to death on his return, the *Athenians* thinking the honour of their whole city fullied by this low act of ſubmiſſion in one of their citizens, though made to the greateſt of Kings. *Pelopidas* and *Leontes* would not ſubmit to the *Perſian* ceremonial in this particular. However, they often had free acceſs to the King, and [x] *Pelopidas*, by the fame of his great actions, as well as by his noble demeanour at this court, got that aſcendant above all the other embaſſadors, both in the King's eſteem and favour, that he obtained all that he deſired in behalf of his citizens, and returned with full ſucceſs from his embaſſy. For he brought back letters from the King under his ſeal royal, whereby it was required that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould let *Meſſena* be free, and that the *Athenians* ſhould recall their fleet, and that all the other cities of *Greece* ſhould have the full enjoyment of their liberties; and war was threatned againſt all that ſhould not comply herewith. The ſucceſs of this embaſſy was much to the ſatisfaction of the *Thebans*, they thinking hereby moſt certainly to gain the ſuperiority over all the other cities and ſtates of *Greece*. For ſhould the peace be accepted of on theſe terms, and the *Meſſenians* thoroughly reſtored, the *Lacedæmonians* would loſe one half of their territory, and thereby would be brought too low to be any more a match for them; and ſhould the other cities of *Greece*, as well ſmall as great, be all ſet at liberty, and made diſtinct ſtates, free, and independent of each other, this would ſo divide their power, that none of them would be in a condition to contend with them, but all muſt ſubmit to them. And if the peace were not accepted of, then the King being engaged in this caſe to joyn with them to force all to it, they thought by this addition of ſtrength they ſhould eaſily overpower all, and thereby gain to themſelves the ſame

An. 368. Artaxerxes 37.

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[u] Plutarchus in Pelopida & Artaxerxe. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 7. [w] Valerius Maximus, lib. 5. c. 3. [x] Plutarchus in Pelopida. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 7.

empire over the reſt of *Greece*, as firſt the *Athenians*, and afterwards the *Lacedæmonians*, had for ſome time enjoyed. But they failed of their expectations in both theſe particulars. For the cities of *Greece*, when met together by their delegates to hear the contents of the King's letters, all refuſed to ſwear to the peace on thoſe terms. And *Artaxerxes* not being at leiſure to execute the other part of the treaty, did not, on this refuſal of the *Grecian* cities to come into his meaſures, proceed to make that war upon them which he threatned; and ſo this whole embaſſy came to nothing, and the *Thebans* failed of all that they deſigned by it. For

An. 366. Artaxerxes 39. ALL that *Artaxerxes* did hereupon, was to ſend another embaſſy into *Greece* about two years after, whereby although he could not draw all the cities to ſubſcribe to his terms, and ſwear to the peace upon them, yet he prevailed ſo far, that all laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to be at quiet with each other on the ſcheme propoſed.

ABOUT this time[1] a wicked fact of *Johanan* the high-prieſt of the *Jews* brought a great oppreſſion upon the temple at *Jeruſalem*. For *Jeſhua* his brother having much inſinuated himſelf into the favour of *Bagoſes*, then governor of *Syria* and *Phœnicia* for the *Perſian* King, obtained of him a grant of the high prieſthood, with which *Johanan* had been inveſted ſeveral years, and came with this grant to *Jeruſalem*, to take poſſeſſion of the office, and depoſe his brother from it. But *Johanan* not ſubmitting hereto, the matter came to a great contention between them, and while the one endeavoured by force to enter on the execution of the office, and the other by force to keep him from it, it happened that *Johanan* ſlew *Jeſhua* in the inner court of the temple; which was a very wicked act in it ſelf, but aggravated and rendered much more ſo, by the great prophanation which was brought hereby on the holy place where it was committed. *Bagoſes* hearing of this, came in great wrath to *Jeruſalem*, to take an account of the fact. And when on his going into the temple, to ſee the place where it was perpetrated, they would have hindred his entrance, (all *Gentiles* being reckoned by them as impure, and prohibited to enter thither) he cryed out with great indignation, *What, am I not more pure than the dead carcaſs of him whom ye have ſlain in the temple*? whereon entering without any farther oppoſition, and having taken a thorough cognizance of the fact, he impoſed a mulct on the temple for the puniſhment of it, obliging the prieſts to pay out of the publick treaſury, for every lamb they offered in the daily ſacrifice, the ſum of fifty drachms, which is about one pound eleven ſhillings and three pence of our money. This, if extended only to the ordinary ſacrifices which were offered every day, amounted to thirty ſix thouſand five hundred drachms for the whole year, which is no more than one thouſand one hundred and forty pounds twelve ſhillings and ſix pence of our money. But if it extended alſo to the extraordinary ſacrifices, which were added to the ordinary on ſolemn days, it will come to about half as much more. For the ordinary ſacrifices, which were offered every day, and called the daily ſacrifices, were a lamb in the morning, which was called the morning ſacrifice, and a lamb in the evening, which was called the evening ſacrifice, and theſe in the

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[1] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 497. [2] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7. [3] Exod. xxix. 38. Numb. xxviii. 3—8.

whole

whole year came to ſeven hundred and thirty. But beſides theſe, there were added [b] on every ſabbath two lambs more, on [c] every new moon ſeven, on [d] each of the ſeven days of the paſchal ſolemnity ſeven, beſides [e] one more on the ſecond day, when the wave ſheaf was offered, on [f] the day of pentecoſt ſixteen, on [g] the feaſt of trumpets ſeven, on [h] the great day of expiation ſeven, on [i] each of the ſeven days of the feaſt of tabernacles fourteen, and [k] on the eighth day ſeven. So that the additional lambs being three hundred ſeventy and one, theſe if reckoned to the other make the whole number annually offered at the morning and evening ſacrifices to be eleven hundred and one. And therefore if the mulct of fifty drachms a lamb was paid for them all, it would make the whole of it to amount to fifty five thouſand and fifty drachms, which is of our money ſeventeen hundred and twenty pounds ſix ſhillings and three pence. But this ſum being too ſmall for a national mulct, and far ſhort of what governors of provinces on ſuch occaſions are apt to exact from their provincials, it ſeems probable, that all lambs that were offered in the temple, in any ſacrifice whatſoever, were taken into the reckoning; and without this, there will be no ſufficient cauſe for that complaint which *Joſephus* makes hereof. For he ſpeaks of it as ſuch a calamity and grievance upon the *Jews*, which a payment of ſeventeen hundred and twenty pounds a year upon the whole nation of them could not amount to. *Capellus* [l] reckons this mulct at ſixty talents. This proceeds from his laying it at five hundred drachms a lamb inſtead of fifty, which is a plain miſtake of his. For the text of *Joſephus* in all copies hath πεντήκοντα fifty, and not πεντακόσια five hundred. But whatever this mulct was, the payment of it laſted no longer than ſeven years. For on the death of *Artaxerxes*, the changes and revolutions which then happened in the empire, having made a change of the governor in *Syria*, he that ſucceeded *Bagoſes* in that province no farther exacted it.

A new war having broke out in *Greece*, between the *Arcadians* and the *Elians*, and that having produced another among the *Arcadians* themſelves, [m] one party called in the *Thebans* to their aſſiſtance, and the other party the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Atheniens*. Hereon the *Lacedæmonians* ſet forth a great army under the command of *Ageſilaus*, to help that party which they favoured, and the *Thebans* another under the command of *Epaminondas* to ſupport the other party, which produced the famous battel of *Mantinea*, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* loſt the victory, and the *Thebans* their general *Epaminondas*, which was the greater loſs of the two. For with him all the vigour of the *Theban* ſtate expired, and they never more ſignified any thing after this. But as they had attained all their power and glory by the conduct and valour of this one great man, ſo they loſt it all again with him. Theſe loſſes being received on both ſides, they made both weary of the war, and therefore ſoon after this battel both parties, and with them all the reſt of the *Grecian* ſtates, came to a general peace among themſelves, and the *Meſſenians*, notwithſtanding what the *Lacedæmonians* endeavoured to the contrary, were alſo included in it, according as had been decreed by the King of *Perſia*.

An. 363. Artaxerxes 42.

[b] Numb. xxviii. 9, 10. [c] Numb. xxviii. 11. [d] Numb. xxviii. 16---24.
[e] Levit. xxiii. 12. [f] Levit. xxiii. 17, 18. Numb. xxviii. 27. [g] Numb. xxix. 2.
[h] Numb. xxix. 8. [i] Numb. xxix. 13, 17, 20, 23, 26, 29, 32. [k] Numb. xxix. 36.
[l] Hiſtoria Sacra & Exotica ſub A. M. 3639. [m] Plutarchus in Ageſilao. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 501, 502. Cornelius Nepos in Epaminonda.

WHILE

WHILE theſe things were doing in *Greece*, [a] *Tachos* ſucceeded *Nectanabis* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and gathered together all the ſtrength he could, to defend himſelf in it againſt the King of *Perſia*, who ſtill purſued his deſigns of recovering that kingdom again to his empire, notwithſtanding he had ſo often miſcarried in them.

An. 362. Artaxerxes 43.

AND to make himſelf the ſtronger againſt ſo potent an enemy, he ſent into *Greece* to raiſe mercenaries, and prevailed with the *Lacedæmonians* [b] to aid him with a good number of their forces under the command of *Ageſilaus*. For the *Lacedæmonians* being angry, that *Artaxerxes* had forced them to include the *Meſſenians* in the late peace, were glad to lay hold of this occaſion to expreſs their reſentments for it. And *Ageſilaus*, either out of fondneſs ſtill to be at the head of armies, or elſe out of a greedy deſire of gaining riches by it, galdly accepted of the employment, tho' it neither ſuited his age (which was above eighty) to be engaged in ſuch an undertaking, nor the dignity of his perſon, thus to become a mercenary, and let himſelf to hire to a barbarous King. That which chiefly tempted him to it was, *Tachos* promiſed him to make him generaliſſimo of all his forces; but when he was landed in *Egypt*, and inſtead of a great and glorious King, which his great actions had repreſented him to be, the *Egyptians* found him a little old man, ill cloathed, and of a contemptible preſence, and living without pomp and ceremony, they very much deſpiſed him, and *Tachos* would allow him no other command, but that of his mercenaries at land, committing to *Chabrias* the *Athenian* the charge of his fleet, and reſerving to himſelf the chief command over all. And when he had joined the *Grecian* mercenaries to the reſt of his army, he marched with his whole ſtrength into *Phœnicia*, thinking it better to meet the war there, than to expect till it ſhould be brought home to him to his own doors; and *Ageſilaus* was forced to attend him thither. But the old *Grecian* King ſaw the ill conſequence of this reſolution, and adviſed him againſt it, telling him, that in the preſent unſettled ſtate of his kingdom, it was his intereſt to tarry in *Egypt*, and look well to his affairs there, and manage the war abroad by his lieutenants. But *Tachos* contemning his advice in this particular, and ſlighting him in moſt things elſe, this ſo far alienated *Ageſilaus* from him, that when in his abſence in *Phœnicia*, the *Egyptians* revolted from him, and ſet up *Nectanebus* his kinſman to be King in his ſtead, *Ageſilaus* joined with the revolters, and drove *Tachos* out of his kingdom; who thereon fled to *Sidon*, and from thence went to the *Perſian* court. *Plutarch* condemns *Ageſilaus* as guilty of treachery, in thus turning his arms againſt the perſon into whoſe ſervice he was hired. *Ageſilaus*'s excuſe for it was, that he was ſent to aid the *Egyptians*, and that therefore the *Egyptians* having armed againſt *Tachos*, he could not fight againſt them, unleſs he had new inſtructions from *Lacedæmon*; whereon meſſengers being ſent thither, the orders returned by them were, that *Ageſilaus* ſhould act herein according to what he judged would be beſt for the intereſt of his countrey; whereon *Ageſilaus* going over to *Nectanebus*, *Tachos* was forced to make his flight out of *Egypt*, in the manner as hath been related.

[a] Cornelius Nepos & Plutarchus in Ageſilao. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 504.
[b] Plutarchus, Cornelius Nepos & Diodor. ibid.

AND

AND he was no ſooner gone, [p] but another from among the *Mendeſians* did ſet up in his ſtead againſt *Nectanebus*, and got together an army of an hundred thouſand men to ſupport his pretenſions. *Ageſilaus*'s advice to *Nectanebus* was, that he ſhould fall on them immediately, before they were well formed and diſciplined; and they being moſt of them raw and unexperienced men, they might eaſily have been diſſipated and broken, had this advice been followed. But *Nectanebus* miſtruſting it to be given with an ill deſign, and growing jealous that *Ageſilaus* intended to betray him, as he had *Tachos* before, would not hearken to him, but delayed the matter to gain more ſtrength. In the interim, his adverſary having brought his army into form and order, grew too ſtrong for him, whereon he was forced to coop himſelf up with all his forces in one of his towns, and the other ſat down before it to beſiege him therein, and began to draw lines of circumvallation about it. *Nectanebus* ſeeing the danger, would then have had *Ageſilaus* engage the enemy to extricate him out of it. This he refuſed for ſome time to do, which encreaſed the jealouſy of that prince againſt him. But when the lines were ſo far drawn round, as only to leave a ſufficient ſpace for the beſieged to draw up their army in, then *Ageſilaus* told *Nectanebus*, that this was his only time to fall on, that the lines which the enemy had drawn, ſecured him from being encompaſſed, and that the gap which was ſtill left void, allowed room enough for him to bring all his forces to the battel; whereon an engagement enſuing the beſiegers were put to the rout, and after this *Ageſilaus* managed the reſt of the war with that ſucceſs, that he every where vanquiſhed the other King, and at length took him priſoner. And thereon having ſettled *Nectanebus* in full and quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom, returned homeward in the enſuing winter; but being in his way driven by contrary winds on the *African* ſhore, at a place called the haven of *Menelaus*, he there ſickned and died, being full eighty four years old. *An.* 361. Artaxerxes 44.

TOWARDS the latter end of the reign of *Artaxerxes* great diſturbances grew in the *Perſian* court, which [q] were occaſioned by the contention of his ſons, in making parties among the nobility about the ſucceſſion. For he had an hundred and fifteen ſons by his concubines, and three by his Queen; the names of the latter were *Darius*, *Ariaſpes* and *Ochus*. For the ſtilling of theſe commotions, *Artaxerxes* declared *Darius* the eldeſt of them to be his ſucceſſor; and for the firmer ſettling of the matter, allowed him to aſſume the name of King, and wear the [r] royal *Tiara* even in his life time. But this not contenting him, and there being alſo ſome diſguſt about one of the King's concubines, which he would have had from him, he formed a deſign againſt his father's life, and drew in fifty of his brothers into the ſame conſpiracy with him. He was chiefly excited to this by *Tiribazus*, whoſe name hath been often above-mentioned. *Artaxerxes* had promiſed him one of his daughters, but falling in love with her, he had married her himſelf, and to make him amends, having promiſed him another of his daughters, he married this alſo; ſuch abominable inceſt was in thoſe times allowed in *Perſia*, by the religion which they then pro- *An.* 360. Artaxerxes 45.

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[p] Plutarchus in Ageſilao. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. [q] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Cteſias. Juſtin. lib. 10. cap. 1, 2. [r] *This* Tiara *was a turbant or cap with the peke upright. For the ſeven counſellors wore their turbants with the peke forward, all others with the peke backward, excepting the King, who wore it always with the peke upright.*

feſſed. Theſe two diſappointments greatly diſcontenting *Tiribazus*, and provoking his reſentments againſt the King for them, to be revenged of him, he excited the young king to this flagitious act. But the whole being diſcovered, *Darius* was cut off in ſuch manner as he deſerved, and all his accomplices with him..

An. 359. Artaxerxes 46. AFTER the death of *Darius*, [r]the ſame contention was again revived, which was in the *Perſian* court before his being declared King, three of his ſurviving brothers in the ſame manner making parties for the ſucceſſion. Theſe were *Ariaſpes*, *Ochus*, and *Arſames*; the two former being the King's ſons by his Queen, claimed as the lawful heirs, but the other only by the favour of his father, to whom he was the moſt beloved of the three, tho' born to him only by one of his concubines. But the reſtleſs ambition of *Ochus* prompting him to all manner of ways to obtain the crown, he carried it from the other two by the wickedeſt and the worſt of means. For *Ariaſpes* being an eaſy and credulous prince, he terrified him ſo by menaces, which he ſuborned the eunuchs of the court to bring to him as from his father, that apprehending himſelf to be juſt ready to be uſed by him in the ſame manner as *Darius* had been, he poiſoned himſelf to avoid it. But *Arſames* ſtill remaining to rival him in his pretenſions, and being in the opinion of his father, as well as of all others, both for his wiſdom and all other accompliſhments, the worthieſt of the throne, to remove this obſtacle, he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated by *Harpates* the ſon of *Tiribazus*. This loſs added to the former, and both aggravated by the wickedneſs, whereby they were cauſed, ſo overwhelmed the old King with grief, that being now ninety four years old, he had not ſtrength enough to ſupport himſelf under it, but broke his heart and died. He [s]was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great clemency and juſtice, and therefore being honoured and revered through the whole empire, he had a fixed and thorough ſettled authority in all the parts of it; which *Ochus* being ſenſible of, and knowing that it would be quite otherwiſe with him on his ſucceeding, (the death of his two brothers having rendred the generality of the people, as well as the nobility, ill affected to him) for the avoiding of the inconveniences which might from hence follow, he dealt with the eunuchs, and all others that were about the dead King, [t]to conceal his death, and took on him to govern as under his direction; and giving out orders, and ſealing decrees in his name, as if he had ſtill been alive, in one of thoſe decrees he cauſed himſelf, as by his father's command, to be proclaimed King through the whole empire. And when he had governed in this manner about ten months, thinking now his authority fully eſtabliſhed, he owned his father's death, and openly aſcending the throne took the name of *Artaxerxes*; but by the name of *Ochus* is he moſtly ſpoken of in hiſtory.

An. 358. Ochus 1. BUT this artifice had not that full ſucceſs which he propoſed. For as ſoon as it was known that the old King was dead, and that *Ochus* had taken poſſeſſion of the throne, [v]all *leſſer Aſia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, and ſeveral other provinces of the empire, refuſed him their obedience, and fell off from him, which very much diſtreſſed him. For hereby one half of

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[r] Cteſias & Plutarchus, ibid.
[s] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 506.
[t] Polyænus Stratagem, lib. 7.
[v] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 504, 505, 506.

the

the revenues of his crown were cut off, and the remainder could not have ſufficed to carry on the war againſt ſo many revolters, had they continu'd firm to each other. But this union being wanting, they had not long been in the revolt, e'er thoſe who were the firſt promoters of it were at a ſtrife which ſhould ſooneſt betray each other, and thereby reconcile themſelves to the King. The provinces of *leſſer Aſia*, when they firſt fell off from him, reſolving on a joint confederacy for their mutual defence, choſe *Orontes* governor of *Myſia* for their common head, and having agreed on the raiſing of twenty thouſand mercenaries, to be added to their other forces, they committed the care of it to him; but when he had received for this purpoſe a ſum ſufficient, both for the raiſing of theſe forces, and alſo for the maintaining of them for a year's time, he put the money in his own pocket, and betrayed thoſe to the King that brought it to him from the revolted provinces. And *Rheomithres*, another prime leader in this revolt in *leſſer Aſia*, being ſent from thence into *Egypt*, to gain ſuccours in that kingdom for the carrying on of this rebellion, practiſed the ſame treachery. For on his return with five hundred talents, and fifty ſhips of war, having called together at *Leucas*, a city in *leſſer Aſia*, ſeveral of the prime ringleaders of the revolt, on pretence of giving them an account of his agency, he there ſeized them all, and made his peace with the King by betraying them into his hands, and kept the money for a prey unto himſelf. And by theſe means the danger of this formidable revolt, which threatned the *Perſian* empire with abſolute ruin, was all blown over, and *Ochus* became ſettled in the throne much firmer than he deſerved. For he was the cruelleſt and the worſt of all that had reigned of that race in *Perſia*, which his actions ſoon made appear. For he had not been long on the throne e'er he fill'd the palace, and all parts of the empire, with a great number of murthers. That the revolted provinces might have none other of the royal family to ſet up in his ſtead, and that there might not be any of them left on any other pretence whatſoever to give him any diſturbance, [x] he cut them all off, without having any regard to ſex, age, or nearneſs of blood. For he cauſed *Ocha*, his own ſiſter, who was alſo his mother-in-law, (for he had married her daughter) to be buried alive; and having ſhut up one of his uncles, with an hundred of his ſons and grandſons, in an empty yard, he there cauſed them by his archers to be all ſhot to death. This ſeems to have been the father of *Siſigambis* the mother of *Darius Codomannus*. For [y] *Quintus Curtius* tells us, that *Ochus* ſlew eighty of her brothers, together with their father, in one day. And with the ſame cruelty he proceeded againſt all others through the whole empire, of whom he had any ſuſpicion, leaving none of the nobility alive whom he thought to be any way ill affected towards him. *Diodorus Siculus* placeth this revolt in the laſt year of *Artaxerxes*; but he being a prince, whoſe conduct in the government had thoroughly ſettled him in the eſteem and affection of all his people, it is not likely that ſo great an inſurrection againſt the royal authority ſhould have happened in his days. But *Ochus* giving reaſon enough for it, when the next year after he aſcended the throne, I have rather choſen here to place it. For his ill diſpoſi-

[x] Juſtin, lib. 10. c. 3. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. c. 2. Quintus Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 8.
[y] Lib. 10. cap. 8.

tions, and the wicked means whereby he made away with two of his brothers to come at the throne, were cauſes ſufficient to make many of the nobility, who had the government of the provinces of the empire, to abhor the man and refuſe their ſubmiſſion to him. And he having taken the name of *Artaxerxes*, this might lead *Diodorus* into the miſtake of placing that in the father's reign which was done in the ſon's. But this revolt was ſoon again quaſh'd by the means I have mentioned. Only *Datames*, governor of *Cappadocia*, having ſeized alſo *Paphlagonia*, gave him much trouble. But when he began his revolt, or when it ended, is no where clearly expreſſed. But by what is written of him by [a] *Cornelius Nepos*, and [a] *Polyænus*, it appears he maintained himſelf in both theſe provinces, in rebellion againſt the King of *Perſia* a long while; and it was not till the time of *Ochus*, and ſome years after he had been King, that he was by the treachery of *Mithridates*, one of his confidents, at length cut off.

An. 356. Ochus 3. IN the firſt year of the hundred and ſixth olympiad, about the middle of the ſummer quarter, *Alexander the Great*, who overthrew the *Perſian* empire, was born at *Pella* in *Macedonia*. [b] *Plutarch* and [c] *Juſtin* tell us, that at the time of his birth, King *Philip* his father had the news that his horſe had won the victory in the horſe-race at the olympick games, which proves him to be born a little after the celebrating of thoſe games. And [d] *Arrian* telling us out of *Ariſtobulus* (who accompanyed *Alexander* in all his expeditions) that he dyed in the one hundred and fourteenth olympiad, in the year when *Hegeſias* was archon of *Athens*, (which was the firſt year of that olympiad) after having lived thirty two years and eight months, theſe thirty two years and eight months being reckoned backward from the ſaid firſt year of the one hundred and fourteenth olympiad, and the month *Dæſius*, in which he died, will lead us directly to the ſame time for his birth which I have ſaid. But [e] *Euſebius*, and the [f] *Parian* chronicle, place it one year later, that is, in the ſecond year of the ſaid one hundred and ſixth Olympiad. On the ſame day in which he was born, [g] the famous temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus* was deſignedly burnt by one [h] *Eroſtratus*; when he was put upon the rack, to make him confeſs his inducements, he acknowledged it was, that by deſtroying ſo excellent a work he might perpetuate his name, and make it to be remembred in after-ages. Whereon the common council of *Aſia* made a decree, that no one ſhould ever name him: but this made him ſo much the more remembred; ſo remarkable an extravagance ſcarce eſcaping any of the hiſtorians, that have written of thoſe times.

ARTABAZUS, governor of one of the *Aſian* provinces, [i] being in rebellion againſt the King, drew *Chares* the *Athenian* to join him, with ſuch forces as he then commanded in thoſe parts, and by this aſſiſtance overthrew an army of ſeventy thouſand of the King's forces which were ſent to reduce him; for the reward of which ſervice, *Artabazus* gave unto *Chares* as much money as paid all his fleet, and the army which he had on board it. This greatly offended the King, and the *Athenians* being then

[a] In vita Datamis. [a] Stratagem, lib. 7. [b] In vita Alexandri.
[c] Lib. 12. c. 16. [d] Lib. 7. [e] In Chronico, p. 175. [f] Marm. Oxon.
[g] Plutarchus in Alexandro. Cicero de natura deorum, lib. 2. & de divinatione, lib. 1.
[h] Valerius Maximus, lib. 8. c. 14. Aulus Gellius, lib. 2. c. 6. Solinus, cap. 40.
[i] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 527, 528.

engaged

engaged in a war againſt the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, who were aſſociated in a revolt againſt them, threats were given out, that the King to be revenged of them was preparing a fleet of three hundred ſail, to help their enemies in this war. Whereon the *Athenians* not only recalled *Chares*, but came alſo to an accommodation with their revolted ſubjects, that thereby being freed from all embarraſments at home, they might be in a better poſture to defend themſelves from all ſuch invaſions as might be made upon them from abroad.

ARTABAZUS therefore being thus deſerted by the *Athenians*, [k] applyed himſelf to the *Thebans*, from whom having obtained a band of auxiliaries, to the number of five thouſand men, under the command of *Pammenes*, he did by their aſſiſtance gain two great victories over the King's forces, which redounded much to the honour of the *Thebans*, and their general that commanded in this expedition. *An.* 354. Ochus 5.

ABOUT the ſame time [l] hapned the death of *Mauſolus* King of *Caria*, which was rendered famous by the great grief which [m] *Artemiſia* (who was both his ſiſter and his wife) expreſſed hereat. For ſhe having gathered together his aſhes, and beaten his bones to powder, took a portion of them every day in her drink, till ſhe had in this manner drunk them all down, aiming hereby to make her body the ſepulchre of her dead huſband, and in two years time pined her ſelf to death in ſorrowing for him. But before ſhe died ſhe took care for the erecting of that famous [n] monument for him at *Halicarnaſſus*, which was reckoned among the ſeven wonders of the world, and from whence all monuments of more than ordinary magnificence are called *Mauſoleums*.

AS *Artemiſia* ſucceeded *Mauſolus* in the kindom, ſo on her death ſhe was ſucceeded by [o] *Idrieus* her brother, who married *Ada* his ſiſter, in the ſame manner as *Mauſolus* had married *Artemiſia*; it being uſual for the *Carian* Kings to marry their ſiſters, and for thoſe ſiſters on the death of their husbands to ſucceed them in the kingdom before their brothers or children. *An* 351. Ochus 8.

THE [p] *Sidonians*, and other *Phœnicians*, being oppreſſed, and ill uſed by thoſe whom the King of *Perſia* had ſet over them, revolted from him, and entred into confederacy with *Nectanebus* King of *Egypt* againſt him. The *Perſians* had long waged war with *Nectanebus*, in order to reduce *Egypt* again under their yoke, and were then preparing a great army to invade him. But there being no other way for them to enter *Egypt*, but through *Phœnicia*, the revolt of that countrey hapned very opportune for him; and therefore to encourage them to ſtand out in it he ſent *Mentor the Rhodian*, with four thouſand of the *Grecian* mercenaries to their aſſiſtance, hoping thereby to make *Phœnicia* a barrier to *Egypt*, and there keep the war out of his own countrey. The *Phœnicians*, ſtrengthened by theſe auxiliaries, took the field, and by their aſſiſtance overthrew the governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, two of the King's lieutenants, that were ſent to reduce them, and drove the *Perſians* wholly out of *Phœnicia*.

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[k] Diodor. ibid. [l] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 529. Plinius, lib. 36. c. 5. & 6.
[m] Valerius Maximus, lib. 4. c. 6. Aulus Gellius, lib. 10. c. 18. [n] Cicero Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. 3. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 656. A. Gellius, lib. 10. c. 18. Pauſanias in Arcadicis.
[o] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 534. Arrian de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 1. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 656.
[p] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 531, 532, & 533.

THE *Cyprians* being provoked by the like ill usage, were encouraged by this success of the *Phœnicians* [q] to revolt also; and therefore they joined with them and the *Egyptians* in the same confederacy. Hereon *Ochus* dispatched his orders to [r] *Idrieus* King of *Caria* to make war upon them, who having accordingly got ready a fleet, sent it with eight thousand *Grecian* mercenaries, under the command of *Phocion* the *Athenian*, and *Euagoras*, to invade that island; who having there landed, and augmented their army to double its number by other forces, which came to them from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, besieged *Salamine* by sea and land. Another *Euagoras* had formerly reigned in that city, of whom we have above spoken; on his death he was succeeded by *Nicocles* his son, and [s] this *Euagoras* seems to have been the son of *Nicocles*, and to have succeeded him in that kingdom; but being driven out by *Protagoras* his uncle, was in banishment when this war begun, and therefore gladly joined in it, as hoping thereby again to recover his crown. And the knowledge which he had of the countrey, and the party which he might still have in it, made him thought a very proper person to command in this expedition. *Cyprus* had then [t] nine chief cities, and each of them had its King, but subject to the King of *Persia*. All these joined together in this confederacy, with a view of getting rid of the *Persian* yoke, and making themselves each supreme in his own city.

OCHUS finding his wars with the *Egyptians* to have been unfortunately managed, and that this proceeded from the ill conduct of his lieutenants, [u] resolved thenceforth to lead his forces in person; and therefore having gotten together an army of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse, marched with them into *Phœnicia*. *Mentor*, who was then in *Sidon* with the *Grecian* mercenaries, being terrified with the approach of so great an army, sent privately to *Ochus* to make his peace with him, offering not only to deliver *Sidon* into his hands, but also to give him his assistance in his wars with *Egypt*, where through his knowledge of the countrey he was enabled to do him great services. *Ochus*, glad of this proffer, spared no promises to engage *Mentor* in his service. And he accordingly having received such assurances from *Ochus* as he desired, engaged *Tennes* King of *Sidon* into the same treason, and by his assistance delivered *Sidon* into his hands. The *Sidonians*, on his approach to lay siege to their city, had designedly burnt all their ships, that none might make use of any of them to withdraw from the defence of their countrey. And therefore, when they found they were betrayed, and that the enemy was within their walls, having no way now left to escape either by sea or land, they retired into their houses, and setting fire to them over their heads, were all consumed with them, to the number of forty thousand men, besides women and children; and *Tennes* escaped not any better than the rest. For *Ochus*, after he had thus subdued *Sidon*, having no more need of him, caused him to be put to death also, which was a reward the traitor sufficiently deserved, for thus selling his countrey to destruction; and may all those who practise the like courses meet the like fate. There

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[q] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 532. [r] *This being a petty prince was subject to the King of* Persia, *and reigned under his protection, and therefore was obliged to obey his orders.* [s] Vide Isocratem in Nicocle & Euagora, & Usserii Annales ad A. M. 3639. & 3654. [t] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 532. [u] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 531, 532, &c.

were

were vaſt riches of gold and ſilver in *Sidon* when this calamity happened to it, which being all melted down by the flames, *Ochus* ſold the aſhes of the city for great ſums of money. The terrible deſtruction of this city frightning the reſt of the *Phœnicians*, they all ſubmitted, and made their peace with the King, upon the beſt terms they could. And *Ochus* was the willinger to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from the deſigns which he had upon *Egypt*.

BUT before he marched thither, [w]he was recruited with ten thouſand mercenaries, which were ſent him out of *Greece*. For in the beginning of this expedition, *Ochus* had ſent thither for auxiliaries. The *Athenians* and the *Lacedæmonians* excuſed themſelves, telling the *Perſian* embaſſadors that were ſent to them for this purpoſe, that they ſhould be glad to maintain peace and friendſhip with the King, but could not ſend him any ſuccours at that time. But the *Thebans* ſent him a thouſand men under the command of *Nicoſtratus*. The reſt came from the *Grecian* cities of *Aſia*, and all theſe joined him immediately after his taking of *Sidon*.

THE *Jews* ſeem to have been engaged in this war of the *Phœnicians* againſt *Ochus*. For [x]after he had taken *Sidon* he marched into *Judea*, and beſieged and took *Jericho*, and making many of the *Jews* captives, he led part of them with him into *Egypt*, and ſent a great number of others into *Hyrcania*, and there planted them on thoſe parts of that countrey, which lay on the *Caſpian* ſea.

OCHUS at the ſame time alſo got rid of the *Cyprian* war: For having his mind wholly bent on the reducing of *Egypt*, that he might not be diverted from it by any other embarraſment, [y]he was content to come to a compoſition with the nine *Cyprian* Kings, and therefore having removed their grievances, they all again ſubmitted to him, and were confirmed by him in the government of their reſpective territories. The greateſt difficulty in the bringing of this matter to a compoſure, was to content *Euagoras*, who claimed to be reſtored to his kingdom of *Salamine*; but he being convicted before *Ochus* of great crimes there committed, for which he was juſtly ejected, *Protagoras* was continued at *Salamine*, and amends was made *Euagoras*, by conferring on him the government of another place. But having there run into the ſame miſdemeanours which he had been guilty of at *Salamine*, he was ejected thence alſo, whereon being forced to flee into *Cyprus*, he was there taken, and put to death for them.

CYPRUS, as well as *Phœnicia*, being thus wholly reduced, and ſetled again in peace, [z]*Ochus* ſet forward for the *Egyptian* expedition. In his way he loſt many of his men at the lake of *Serbonis*. This lake lay in the entrance into *Egypt* from *Phœnicia*, of the extent of about thirty miles in length. The ſouth wind blowing the ſand of the deſart upon it, made a cruſt upon the ſurface of the water, that in appearance looked like firm land, but if any went on upon it, they were ſoon ſwallowed up and loſt. And thus it happened to as many of *Ochus*'s men, as for want of good *An.* 350. Ochus 9.

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[w] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 533. [x] Solinus, cap. 35. Syncellus ex Africano, p. 256. Oroſius, lib. 3. cap. 7. Joſephus ex Hecatæo, lib. 1. Contra Apionem. Euſebius in Chronico.
[y] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 534. [z] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 534, 535.

guides

guides marched on upon it. And there are inſtances of whole armies which have been thus loſt in that place. On his arrival in *Egypt* he planted his camp near *Peluſium*, and from thence ſent out three detachments to invade the countrey, ſetting a *Grecian* and a *Perſian* in joint commiſſion over each of them. Over the firſt he put *Lachares* the *Theban*, and *Roſaces* governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*; over the ſecond *Nicoſtratus* the *Argive*, and *Ariſtazanes*; and over the third *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Bagoas* one of his eunuchs. To each of which having given his orders, he retained the main of the army about himſelf, in the place where he had firſt encamped, there to watch the events of the war, and to be ready from thence to relieve all the diſtreſſes, and proſecute all the advantages of it. In the interim, *Nectanebus* having ſufficient notice from theſe preparations againſt him, to provide for his defence, had gotten together an army of an hundred thouſand men, of which twenty thouſand were mercenaries out of *Greece*, and twenty thouſand out of *Libya*, and the reſt *Egyptians*. With ſome of theſe he garriſoned his towns on the borders, and with the reſt guarded thoſe paſſes, through which the enemy was to enter into the countrey. The firſt of *Ochus*'s detachments, under the command of *Lachares*, ſat down before *Peluſium*, which was garriſon'd with five thouſand *Greeks*. While this ſiege was carrying on, *Nicoſtratus* having put his detachment on board a ſquadron of the *Perſian* fleet, of eighty ſhips that attended him, ſailed up through one of the channels of the *Nile*, into the heart of the countrey, and having there landed his forces, ſtrongly encamped them in a place convenient for it. Whereon all the ſoldiers of the neighbouring garriſons taking the allarm, gathered together under the command of *Clinius* a *Grecian* of the iſland of *Cos*, to drive him thence. This produced a fierce battel between them, in which *Clinius* with above five thouſand of his men being ſlain, and all the reſt diſſipated and broken, this in a manner determined the whole fate of the war. For hereon *Nectanebus*, fearing leſt *Nicoſtratus* ſhould ſail up the river with his victorious forces, and take *Memphis* the metropolis of his kingdom, he haſtened thither for its defence, leaving thoſe paſſes into his countrey open, which it was his chief intereſt to have defended. When the *Grecians* who garriſon'd *Peluſium* heard of this retreat, they gave all for loſt, and therefore coming to a parley with *Lachares*, agreed upon terms of being ſafely conveyed into *Greece*, with all that belonged to them, to yield the town to him. And *Mentor* with the third detachment, finding the paſſes deſerted and left open, marched through them, and without any oppoſition took in all that part of the countrey. For having given it out through all his camp, that *Ochus* had given orders graciouſly to receive ſuch as ſhould yield unto him, but utterly to deſtroy all thoſe that ſhould ſtand out, in the ſame manner as he had deſtroyed the *Sidonians*, he permitted all his captives to eſcape, that they might carry the report of it all over the countrey; who accordingly returning to their reſpective cities, and diſperſing every where what they had heard was ordered by *Ochus*, and the brutal cruelty of the man making it believed; this ſo frighted the garriſons through all the countrey, that in every city both *Greeks* and *Egyptians* were at ſtrife, which of them ſhould firſt yield to the invader; which *Nectanebus* perceiving, deſpaired of any longer being able to defend himſelf, and therefore gathering together all the treaſure he could get into his hands, fled with it into *Ethiopia*, and never again returned.

And

And this was the laſt *Egyptian* that ever reigned in this countrey, it having been ever ſince enſlaved to ſtrangers, according [a] to the prophecy of *Ezekiel*, which hath been already taken notice of. *Ochus* having thus made an abſolute conqueſt of *Egypt*, he diſmantled their chief cities, and plundered their temples, and then returned in triumph to *Babylon*, loaded with vaſt treaſures of gold and ſilver, and other ſpoils gotten in this war, leaving *Pherendates*, one of his nobles, governor of the countrey. And here [b] *Manetho* endeth his commentaries, which he wrote of the *Egyptian* affairs. He was a prieſt of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, and wrote in the [c] *Greek* language an hiſtory of all the ſeveral *Dynaſties* of *Egypt*, from the beginning of that kingdom to this time, which is often quoted by *Joſephus*, *Euſebius*, *Plutarch*, *Porphyry*, and others; an epitome whereof is preſerved in *Syncellus*. He lived in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; for to him he dedicates his book.

THE chief cauſe of *Nectanebus*'s loſing of his kingdom, [d] was his overconfidence in himſelf. He had gained his kingdom by the aſſiſtance of *Ageſilaus*, and had preſerved himſelf in it by the prudence and valour of *Diaphantus* an *Athenian*, and *Lamius* a *Spartan*, who managing his wars, and commanding his armies for him, made him victorious againſt the *Perſians*, in all the attempts which they had hitherto made upon him; with which being elevated, he thought himſelf now ſufficient to conduct his own affairs, and therefore diſmiſſing thoſe by whoſe help he had hitherto ſubſiſted, he was now ruin'd for want of it.

OCHUS having thus maſtered this war, and recovered *Phœnicia* and *Egypt* again to his crown, he [e] nobly rewarded the ſervice of *Mentor the Rhodian*. The other *Greeks* he had ſent back into their countrey, with ample rewards, before he left *Egypt*; but the ſucceſs of the whole expedition being chiefly owing to *Mentor*, he not only gave him an hundred talents, with many other valuable gifts, but alſo made him governor of all the *Aſiatic* coaſts, and committed to his charge the management of the war, which he ſtill had with ſome of the provinces that had there revolted from him in the beginning of his reign, and made him generaliſſimo of all his forces in thoſe parts. *Mentor* having thus gained ſo great a ſhare in the favour of *Ochus*, he [f] made uſe of it to reconcile unto him *Memnon* his brother, and *Artabazus* who had married their ſiſter. For they had both been in war againſt him. Of the revolt of *Artabazus*, and the ſeveral victories which he had gained over the King's forces, I have already ſpoken; but he being at length overpowered, took refuge with *Philip* King of *Macedon*; and *Memnon*, who had joined with him in thoſe wars, was forced to bear with him the ſame baniſhment. After this reconciliation they both became very ſerviceable to *Ochus*, and his ſucceſſors of that race, eſpecially *Memnon*, who was a perſon of the greateſt valour and military skill of any of his time. And *Mentor* was not wanting in anſwering that confidence which the King had placed in him. For when ſettled in his province, he ſoon reſtored the King's authority in thoſe parts, and made all that had revolted again ſubmit to him. Some he circumvented by ſtratagem and military skill, and others he ſubdued by open force, and ſo wiſe-

An. 349. Ochus 10.

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[a] *Chap.* xxix. *ver.* 14, 15. [b] Syncellus, p. 256. [c] Vide Voſſium de hiſtoricis Græcis, cap. 14. [d] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 535. [e] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 537. [f] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 538.

ly

ly managed all his advantages, that at length he reduced all again under their former yoke, and thoroughly re-eſtabliſhed the King's affairs in all thoſe provinces.

An. 348. Ochus 11. IN [g] the firſt year of the hundred and eighth olympiad, died *Plato*, the famous *Athenian* philoſopher. The eminenteſt of his ſcholars was *Ariſtotle*, the founder of the peripatetic philoſophy. He [h] was by birth of *Stagira*, a ſmall city on the river *Strymon*, in the northern confines of *Macedonia*. He was born in the firſt year of the ninety ninth olympiad, (which was the year before *Chriſt* 384.) At the age of ſeventeen he came to *Athens*, and became one of the ſcholars of *Plato*, and heard him till his death. *Speuſippus* ſucceeding *Plato* in his ſchool, *Ariſtotle* went into *Aſia* to *Hermias* the eunuch, who was King of *Atarna* a city of *Myſia*, and having married his niece, lived with him three years; till at length *Hermias* being circumvented, and drawn into a ſnare by *Mentor the Rhodian*, who commanded for *Ochus* in thoſe parts, was taken priſoner, and ſent to the *Perſian* court, where he was put to death. Hereon *Ariſtotle* fled to *Mitylene*, and from thence went into *Macedonia*, and became præceptor to *Alexander the Great*, with whom he tarried eight years. After this he returned to *Athens*, and there taught the peripatetic philoſophy in the *Lyceum* twelve years. But being accuſed of holding ſome notions, contrary to the religion there eſtabliſhed, and not daring to venture himſelf on a tryal for fear of *Socrates*'s fate, he withdrew to *Chalcis* a town in *Eubœa*, and there died about two years after, being then ſixty three years old. While he lived with *Hermias* in *Aſia*, [i] he there fell acquainted with a *Jew* of wonderful wiſdom, temperance, and goodneſs; who came thither from the upper parts of *Aſia* upon ſome buſineſs, which he had on thoſe maritime coaſts, and having frequent converſation with him, learned much from him. This *Joſephus* tells us from a book written by *Clearchus*, who was one of the chiefeſt of *Ariſtotle*'s ſcholars. And from what he then learned from this *Jew*, it's moſt likely proceeded what *Ariſtobolus*, [k] and out of him *Clemens Alexandrinus*, have obſerved of *Ariſtotle*'s philoſophy, that is, that it contains many things which agree with what is written by *Moſes* and the prophets in the ſcriptures of the *Old Teſtament*.

An. 347. Ochus 12. *OCHUS*, after he had ſubdued *Egypt*, and reduced again all the revolted provinces, gave himſelf wholly up to his eaſe, ſpending the reſt of his life in luxury, lazineſs, and pleaſure; [l] and left the adminiſtration of his affairs wholly to his miniſters; the chiefeſt of which were *Bagoas* his favourite eunuch, and *Mentor the Rhodian*; who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the *upper Aſia*, and the latter thoſe of the *lower*.

An. 341. Ochus 18. *JOHANAN*, high-prieſt of the *Jews*, died in the eighteenth year of *Ochus*, after he had been in that office [m] thirty two years, and was ſucceeded [n] by *Jaddua* his ſon, who held it twenty years.

An. 338. Ochus 21. *OCHUS* died after he had reigned [o] one and twenty years, being [p] poiſoned by *Bagoas* the eunuch. This eunuch being an *Egyptian* by

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[g] Diogenes Laertius in Platone. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus in epiſtola ad Ammæum de Demoſthene. Athenæus, lib. 5. c. 13. [h] Diogenes Laertius in Ariſtotele. *See alſo Mr.* Stanley's *account of the life of* Ariſtotle, *in his hiſtory of philoſophy.* [i] Joſeph. lib. 1. contra Apionem. [k] In libro 5^to^ Stromatum. [l] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 537. [m] Chronicon Alexandrinum. [n] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7. [o] Can. Ptol. [p] Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.

birth,

birth, had a love for his countrey, and a zeal for his countrey religion, and thought to have influenced *Ochus* in favour of both, on the conqueſt of that kingdom; but not being able to over-rule the brutal ferity of that prince, thoſe acts were done in reſpect of each of them, which he deeply reſented ever after. For *Ochus*, on his conquering of *Egypt*, not only diſmantled their cities, robbed the inhabitants, and plundered their temples, (as hath been already mentioned) but alſo [q] carried away all their publick records, (which were repoſited and kept with great ſacredneſs in their temples) and in contempt of their religion ſlew their god *Apis*, that is, the ſacred bull which they worſhipped under that name. For [r] *Ochus* being as remarkable for his ſloth and ſtupid inactivity, as he was for his cruelty, the *Egyptians* for this reaſon nick-named him *the aſs*; which angered him ſo far, that he cauſed their *Apis* to be taken out of the temple where he was kept, and made him be ſacrificed to an aſs, and then ordered his cook to dreſs up the fleſh of the ſlain beaſt, to be eaten by his attendants. All this greatly offended *Bagoas*. The records he afterwards redeemed with a great ſum of money, and ſent them back again to their former archives. But the affront offered his religion he moſt reſented, and it is ſaid that it was chiefly in revenge of this that he poiſoned him. And his revenge did not reſt here; but [s] having cauſed another body to be buried inſtead of his, he kept the true carcaſs, and in revenge of his having cauſed the fleſh of their *Apis* to be eaten by his attendants, he cut his fleſh into bits, and gave it to be eaten by cats, and made of his bones handles for ſwords. And no doubt, when he did all this, there were other cauſes concurring to excite him hereto, which reviving the old reſentments, and creating new ones, provoked the traitor to all this villany againſt his maſter and benefactor, which he executed upon him.

AFTER the death of *Ochus*, *Bagoas*, [t] who had now the whole power of the empire in his hands, made *Arſes*, the youngeſt of his ſons, King in his ſtead, and put all the reſt to death; thinking that by thus removing all rivals, he might beſt ſecure to himſelf the authority which he had uſurped. For the name of King was all that he allowed to *Arſes*, the power and authority of the government he wholly reſerved to himſelf. *An.* 337. Arſes 1.

PHILIP King of *Macedon*, [u] having overthrown the *Thebans* and *Athenians*, in a great battel at *Chæronea*, made himſelf thereby in a manner lord of all *Greece*; and therefore [w] calling together at *Corinth* an aſſembly of all the *Grecian* cities and ſtates, he there cauſed himſelf to be choſen captain-general of all *Greece*, for the carrying on of a war againſt the *Perſians*, and made every city to be taxed at a certain number of men, which each of them was to ſend and maintain in this expedition.

AND the next year after [x] he ſent *Parmenio*, *Amyntas*, and *Attalus*, three of his chiefeſt captains, into *Aſia* to begin the war, purpoſing ſoon after to follow in perſon with all his forces, and carry the war into the heart of the *Perſian* empire. But when he was juſt ready to ſet forward on this expedition, he [y] was ſlain at home, while he was celebrating the *An.* 336. Arſes 2.

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[q] Diodor. lib. 16. p. 537 [r] Severus Sulpitius, lib. 2. Æliani varia hiſtoria, lib. 4. cap. 8. Suidas in Ὦχος. [s] Æliani varia hiſtoria, lib. 6. c. 8. [t] Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564. [u] Plutarchus in Demoſthene & Phocione. Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 555. Juſtin, lib. 9. cap. 3. [w] Juſtin, lib. 9. c. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 557. [x] Juſtin & Diodor. ibid. [y] Juſtin, lib. 9. cap. 6. Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 558, 559.

marriage of *Cleopatra* his daughter with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*. *Pauſanias*, a young noble *Macedonian*, and one of his guards, having had his body forced, and ſodomitically abuſed by *Attalus*, the chief of the King's confidents, he had often complained to *Philip* of the injury, but finding no redreſs, he turned his revenge from the author of the injury, upon him that refuſed to do him juſtice for it, and ſlew him as he was paſſing in great pomp to the theatre to finiſh the ſolemnities, whereby he honoured his daughter's marriage. It [a] is obſerved by *Diodorus*, that in this ſolemnity, the images of the twelve gods and goddeſſes being carried before him into the theatre, he added his own for the thirteenth, dreſſed in the ſame pompous habit, whereby he vainly arrogated to himſelf the honour of a god; but he being ſlain as ſoon as this image entered the theatre, this very ſignally proved him to be a mortal. After his death he was ſucceeded by *Alexander* his ſon, being then twenty years old.

ABOUT the ſame time, *Arſes* King of *Perſia* [a] was ſlain by the like treachery, but not for ſo juſt a cauſe. For *Bagoas* finding that *Arſes* began to be apprized of all his villanies and treaſons, and was taking meaſures to be revenged on him for them, for the preventing hereof, he came beforehand with him, and cut off him and all his family.

An. 335. Darius 1. AFTER *Bagoas* had thus made the throne vacant by the murther of *Arſes*, he placed on it [b] *Darius*, the third of that name that reigned in *Perſia*. His true name was *Codomannus*; that of *Darius* he took afterwards, when he came to be King. He is ſaid not to be of the royal family, becauſe he was not the ſon of any King that reigned before him. However, he was of the royal ſeed, as deſcended from *Darius Nothus*. For that *Darius* had a ſon called *Oſtanes*, of whom mention is made in [c] *Plutarch*, and he had a ſon called [d] *Arſanes*, who marrying *Syſigambis* his ſiſter, was by her the father of *Codomannus*. This *Oſtanes*, *Ochus* [e] put to death on his firſt aſcending the throne, and with him above eighty of his ſons and grandſons. How *Codomannus* came to eſcape this ſlaughter is no where ſaid; only it is to be obſerved, that in the former part of *Ochus*'s reign he made a very poor figure; for he was then no more than an [f] *Aſtanda*, that is, one of the publick poſts or couriers, that carried the royal diſpatches thorough the empire. If we ſuppoſe him to have been the chiefeſt of them, in the ſame manner, as there is a poſt-maſter in *England*, and a chaous-baſhee at *Conſtantinople*, over all the reſt of that order and employment, (which is the higheſt interpretation the word will bear) this will be but a low office for one of the royal blood to be employed in. But in the war which *Ochus* had with the *Caduſians*, toward the latter end of his reign, a [g] bold champion of that nation, having challenged the whole *Perſian* army to find him a man to fight a ſingle combat with him, and *Codomannus* having accepted the challenge after all others had refuſed, and ſlain the *Caduſian*, for the reward of this action he was made governor of *Armenia*, and from thence, after the death of *Arſes*, by the means of *Bagoas*, aſcended the throne in the manner as I have mentioned. But he had not been long on it, e'er *Bagoas*, finding that he was not one that would

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[a] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 558. [b] Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564. [c] In Artaxerxe. [d] Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564. [e] Diodor. ibid. [f] Plutarchus de fortuna Alexandri & in vita ejuſdem. [g] Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 5. [h] Diodor. ibid. Juſtin, lib. 10. cap. 3.

anſwer his purpoſe, in permitting him to govern all in his name, (which was the thing he aimed at in his advancement) reſolved to remove him in the ſame manner as he had his predeceſſor, and accordingly provided a poiſonous potion for him. But [h] *Darius* being adviſed of the deſign, when the potion was brought to him, made him drink it all himſelf, and ſo got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, and thereby became thoroughly ſettled in the kingdom, without any farther difficulty. The character given of him is, that he was for his ſtature and the make of his body the goodlieſt perſon in the whole *Perſian* empire, and of the greateſt perſonal valour of any in it, and of a diſpoſition mild and generous. But having the good fortune of *Alexander* to encounter with, he could not ſtand againſt it. And he had been ſcarce warm on the throne before he found this enemy preparing to diſmount him from it.

FOR *Alexander*, ſoon after his father's death, [i] having called the general council of all the ſtates and free cities of *Greece* to meet again at *Corinth*, there prevailed with them to be choſen his ſucceſſor in the ſame general command, which they had conferred on him before his death, for a war againſt the *Perſians*, and all excepting the *Lacedæmonians* conſented hereto. But the war which *Alexander* had with the *Illyrians* and *Triballians* calling him north, as far as the river *Danube*, in his abſence the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and ſome other cities, agreed to revoke this decree made in his favour, and entered into a confederacy againſt him. But *Alexander* returning conqueror from his northern war, ſoon brake this league. For [k] paſſing the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ* with his victorious army he terrified the *Athenians* into a ſubmiſſion, and ſeveral other cities following their example made their peace with him, only the *Thebans* ſtood out; whereon *Alexander* laying ſiege to their city took it by ſtorm, and abſolutely deſtroyed it, ſlaying ninety thouſand of the inhabitants, and ſelling the reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand more, into ſlavery. The ſeverity of which execution ſpread ſuch a terror of his arms over all *Greece*, as brought all to ſubmit. So that in a ſecond council which he called at *Corinth*, he was again choſen captain general of all *Greece* againſt the *Perſians* by an univerſal ſuffrage, and every city conſented to its quota both of men and money for the carrying on of the war.

HEREON *Alexander* returned into *Macedonia*, and having by the next ſpring there gotten his forces together, marched [l] with them to *Seſtus*, and there paſſed the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*. The army which he led thither, according to the higheſt account, amounted to no more than thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. And with ſo ſmall an army he attempted, and alſo accompliſhed, the conqueſt of the whole *Perſian* empire, and added *India* alſo to his acquiſition. But that which was moſt remarkable in this undertaking was, that he ſet out on it only with [m] ſeventy talents, which was ſcarce ſufficient to furniſh the army with neceſſaries for thirty days. For the reſt he wholly caſt himſelf upon providence, and providence did not fail him herein. For within a few days after having encountred the *Perſian* army at the river *Granicus*, he gained a great victory over them, though they were above five times his number, which

An. 334. Darius 2.

[h] Diodor. ibid. [i] Juſtin, lib. 11. cap. 2. Arrian, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.
[k] Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrian, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 566, 567, &c.
[l] Arrian, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Alexandro. [m] *At the higheſt reckoning it comes to no more than* 14437*l.* 10*s. of our money.*

put him in poſſeſſion not only of *Darius*'s treaſure at *Sardis*, but alſo of all the provinces of *Leſſer Aſia*. For immediately all the *Grecian* cities in thoſe parts declared for him, and after that ſeveral of the provinces made their ſubmiſſion to him, and thoſe which did not were ſubdued by force; and in theſe tranſactions was ſpent the remaining part of the year.

BEFORE he went into winter quarters, [a] he ordered all of his army that had married that year to return into *Macedonia*, and ſpend the winter with their wives, and return again in the ſpring, appointing three captains over them to lead them home, and bring them back again at the time appointed; which exactly agreeing with the *Jewiſh* law, (*Deut.* xxiv. 5.) and being without any inſtance of the like to be found in the uſages of any other nation, it's moſt likely *Ariſtotle* learnt it from the *Jew* he ſo much converſed with while in *Aſia*, and approving of it as a moſt equitable uſage, communicated it to *Alexander* while he was his ſcholar, and that he from hence had the inducement of practiſing it at this time.

An. 333. Darius 3. THE next [b] year after, in the beginning of the ſpring, he reduced *Phrygia* under his obedience, and after that *Lycia*, *Piſidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*, and ſettled all theſe provinces under the government of ſuch of his followers as he thought fit to appoint.

IN the [c] interim *Darius* was not wanting to prepare for his defence. The advice which *Memnon* the *Rhodian* then gave him, was to carry the war into *Macedonia*, and a wiſer courſe could not be taken to extricate him out of the difficulties he was then involved in. For he would be ſure there to have the *Lacedæmonians*, and ſeveral other of the *Grecian* ſtates, who maligned the *Macedonian* power, to join with him, which would ſoon have brought back *Alexander* out of *Aſia* to defend his own countrey. *Darius* being made fully ſenſible of the reaſonableneſs of this advice, reſolved to follow it, and therefore committed the execution of it to its author, making *Memnon* admiral of his fleet, and captain general of all his forces that were appointed for this expedition, and he could not have made a better choice. For he was the wiſeſt man, and the ableſt general that *Darius* had of his ſide, and for ſome years had very faithfully adhered to the *Perſian* Intereſt, and was one of their generals at the battel of *Granicus*, and had he been hearkened to by the other generals, the misfortune which there hapned would have been avoided. For his advice was, not then to have hazarded battel, but to have deſolated the countrey through which the *Macedonians* were to march; and had this been followed, *Alexander* would have been forced ſoon to have returned for want of proviſions to ſupport his army. But the raſhneſs and folly of the other generals overbearing what he wiſely offered, that defeat enſued, which opened the way to the ruine of the *Perſian* empire. However he did not deſert *Darius*'s intereſt on the misfortune of that day; but having gathered up the remains of the *Perſian* army, retreated with them firſt to *Miletus*, and from thence to *Halicarnaſſus*, and laſtly to the iſle of *Cos*, where *Darius*'s commiſſion and the *Perſian* fleet meeting him, he ſet himſelf on the executing of the deſign committed to his charge; in order whereto he took in *Chios* and all *Lesbus*, except *Mitylene*, purpoſing next

[a] Arrian, lib. 1. [b] Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 3. Arrian, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

to

to pass into *Eubœa*, and from thence to have made *Greece* and *Macedonia* the seat of the war. But that city holding out a siege, he there unfortunately died, which proved the ruine of that design, and the ruine of the *Persian* empire was the consequence of it. For *Darius* having no other general of valour and wisdom equal to him for the carrying on of that undertaking, he was forced to drop it. And therefore having nothing now to depend upon for his defence but his eastern armies, he drew them all together at *Babylon*, to the number, saith *Plutarch*, of six hundred thousand men, and marched from thence to meet the enemy; which *Alexander* hearing of, made haste through *Cilicia* to take possession of the streights which led from that countrey into *Syria*, purposing there to expect and fight the *Persian* army. For within those streights there not being room any where to draw up above thirty thousand men in battel array, the *Macedonians* could there bring all their men to fight, and the *Persians* scarce the twentieth part of theirs, and therefore should it there come to a battel, they would have no advantage of their numbers. Some of the *Greeks* who followed *Darius*, seeing the disadvantage he would have in fighting in that place, advised him to march back into the plains of *Mesopotamia*, and there expect the enemy, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, and bring them all to bear their part in the battel; but the flattery of the courtiers, and his adverse fate, would not suffer him to hearken to this advice. For he was made believe that *Alexander* was withdrawing from him, and that therefore he ought to press forward to take him while entangled in those streights, lest otherwise he should escape his hands. This drew *Darius* to fight in those streights, where being able to extend his front no longer than the *Macedonians*, by reason of the mountains which enclosed him on either side, he could dispose of his great army no otherwise, than by drawing them up in many lines one behind the other. But the valour of the *Macedonians* soon breaking the first line, and that being made to recoil upon the second, and that hereby again upon the third, and so on, this did soon put the whole *Persian* army into disorder; and the *Macedonians* pursuing the advantage, by pressing forward upon those that fled, this encreased the confusion, till at length their whole army was driven to a rout, and the crowd, which was made in the flight of so numerous an army through those narrow passes, being very great, the greatest number that fell that day were of such as were trampled to death by their own men, as they pressed to escape. *Darius*, who fought in the first line, with great difficulty got out of the rout, and secured himself by flight, but all his camp, bag and baggage, with his mother, wife, and children, (which according to the usage of the *Persian* Kings were carried with him in the campaign) fell into the enemies hands, and above an hundred thousand *Persians* were left dead upon the field of battel. This battel was fought at *Issus* in *Cilicia* towards the latter end of the year, about the beginning of our *November*, and the immediate consequence of it to the advantage of *Alexander* was, that it settled all the provinces behind him in their subjection to him, and added all *Syria* to his former acquisitions, the capital whereof was *Damascus*. Thither *Darius* before the battel had sent his

[p] Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 3. Arrian, lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

treasure,

treaſure, and moſt of his valuable moveables, with his concubines, and the greateſt number of the court ladies that followed the camp, under a guard to protect them. All theſe with the town, the governor, as ſoon as he heard of the flight of *Darius*, betrayed unto *Alexander*, and *Parmenio* was ſent to take poſſeſſion of the place; where beſides a vaſt treaſure in money and plate, he found three hundred and twenty nine of *Darius*'s concubines, and a great many other ladies, that were the wives and daughters of the principal nobility of *Perſia*, whom he made all captives. And among them was *Barſena* the Widow of *Memnon*, who being a lady of great beauty, as ſoon as ſhe came into the ſight of *Alexander*, ſhe made a captive of him; for he fell in love with her, and taking her into his bed had a ſon by her called *Hercules*, who at the age of ſeventeen being called for by the *Macedonians* to be their King, was murthered by the treachery of *Caſſander* and *Polyſperchon* to prevent it.

WHILE *Parmenio* took in *Damaſcus* and *Cœle-Syria*, [q] *Alexander* marched with the main of his army along the ſea coaſts towards *Phœnicia*. As he advanced all yielded to him, and none more readily than the *Sidonians*. Eighteen years before *Ochus* had miſerably deſtroyed that city, and all in it, as hath been above related. On his going back again into *Perſia*, thoſe who by being abſent on traffic at ſea, or on other occaſions, had eſcaped that maſſacre, returned, and again built their city. But ever after deteſting the *Perſians* for that cruelty to it, they were glad of this occaſion of ſhaking off their yoke, and therefore were of the firſt in thoſe parts that ſent to *Alexander* on his march that way to make their ſubmiſſion to him. But when he came to *Tyre*, he there found a ſtop. As he approached their territories, the *Tyrians* ſent embaſſadors to him with preſents to himſelf, and proviſions for his army; but being rather deſirous to have peace with him as a friend, than willing to ſubmit to him as a maſter, when he would have entered their city, they denied him admittance; which *Alexander*, now fluſh'd with ſo many victories, not being able to bear, reſolved to force them by a ſiege, and they on the other hand reſolved to ſtand it out againſt him. What encouraged them to this reſolution was the ſtrength of the place, and the confidence which they had in the aſſiſtance promiſed them by their allies. For the city then ſtood on an iſland, at the diſtance of half a mile from the ſhore, and was fortified with a ſtrong wall drawn round it upon the brink of the ſea of one hundred and fifty foot in height; and the *Carthaginians*, who were a powerful ſtate, and then maſters of the ſeas, had engaged to ſend them ſuccours in the ſiege. And what gave them this confidence for the war, gave *Alexander* no leſs trouble in maſtering the difficulties which he found in it. For the city being ſo ſituated, (as I have ſaid) he had no way of approaching to it for the making of an aſſault, but by carrying a bank from the continent through the ſea to the iſland on which the city ſtood.

An. 332. Darius 4. AND therefore having reſolved at any rate to take that city, he reſolved on the making of ſuch a bank to approach it, which he accompliſhed with unwearied labour in ſeven months time, and by means thereof at length took the city. Had he here ſuffered a baffle, it would have con-

[q] Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. Arrian, lib. 2. Joſeph. lib. 11. cap. 8. Juſtin, lib. 11.

duced

duced much to the ſinking of his credit, and this might have leſſened his ſucceſs every where elſe in the future progreſs of his affairs; of which being thoroughly ſenſible, he ſpared no pains to ſurmount this obſtacle, and by aſſiduous application at laſt carried his point. To make this bank, or cauſey, the town of old *Tyre*, which lay on the continent, furniſhed him with ſtones and rubbiſh, (for he pulled it all down for this purpoſe) and mount *Libanus*, which is ſo famous in ſcripture for its cedars, being near, ſupplied him with timber for the work. And by this means having carried home his cauſey from the continent to the iſland, he there ſtormed the town and took it. And that bank, or cauſey, [r] is there ſtill remaining, even to this day, and of the very ſame length as anciently deſcribed, that is, of half a mile, whereby what was formerly an iſland, at that diſtance from the ſhore, was thenceforth made a *Peninſula*, and ſo it hath ever ſince continued.

THE *Carthaginians* having troubles at home, the *Tyrians* could not have from them that aſſiſtance which was promiſed; however, they fainted not in their reſolutions of ſtanding to their defence, and therefore when *Alexander* ſent to them embaſſadors with terms of peace, they threw them into the ſea, and went on with the war. But many of them, for fear of the worſt, ſent their wives and children to *Carthage*. They had in their city a brazen ſtatue, or *Coloſſus* of *Apollo*, of a great height: This formerly belonging to the city of *Gela* in *Sicily*, [s] the *Carthaginians* having taken *Gela* in the year 405, ſent it to *Tyre* their mother-city, where it was ſet up and worſhipped by the *Tyrians*. During this ſiege, a fancy taking them, upon a dream which ſome one among them had to this purpoſe, that *Apollo* was about to leave them, and go over to *Alexander*; for the preventing hereof, they chained this ſtatue with golden chains to the altar of *Hercules*, thinking thereby forcibly to detain this their god from going from them. To ſuch ridiculous imaginations and ſuperſtitions was the religion of thoſe times degenerated. But whatever confidence they might then place in their falſe gods, the oracles of the true God having deſtinated them to deſtruction, this became their fate. For although what is predicted of the deſtruction of *Tyre* by *Iſaiah* (chap. xxiii.) and by *Ezekiel* (chap. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii.) was in part verified in the deſtruction of that city by *Nebuchadnezzar*, yet there are ſeveral particulars in theſe propheſies which ſeem applicable to this only. For *Nebuchadnezzar*'s devaſtation reached no farther than old *Tyre*, thoſe who were in the iſland eſcaped that ruine. But the deſolation of both is plainly threatned in ſome parts of theſe prophecies, that is, of that which ſtood on the iſland, as well as that which was on the continent, and this *Alexander* only effected. Old *Tyre* he wholly demoliſhed to make his cauſey to the new, by the means of which having taken that new town, he burnt it down to the ground, and deſtroyed or enſlaved all the inhabitants. Eight thouſand he ſlew in the ſackage of the town, and two thouſand of thoſe he took priſoners he cauſed to be crucified. Thoſe who were before ſent to *Carthage* eſcaped this ruine, and [t] a great number were ſaved by the *Sidonians*, and ſecretly conveyed away in their ſhips on the taking of the

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[r] *See* Maundrel's *journey from* Aleppo *to* Jeruſalem, *p.* 48, 49, 50. [s] Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 390. [t] *The number of thoſe who were thus ſaved*, Curtius *tells us, were fifteen thouſand.*

place;

place; all the reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand, were ſold for ſlaves. The cruelty to the two thouſand who were crucified, was unworthy of a generous conqueror. This *Alexander* did to gratify his rage, for being ſo long detained before the place, and there ſo valiantly reſiſted; but afterwards, to palliate the matter, he gave out, that it was done by way of juſt revenge upon them for their murthering their maſters, and that being ſlaves by origin, crucifixion was the puniſhment proper for them. This depended upon an old ſtory. For [t] ſome ages before the ſlaves of *Tyre* having made a conſpiracy againſt their maſters, murthered them all in one night, (ſave only *Strato*, whom his ſlave ſecretly ſaved) and marrying their miſtreſſes continued maſters of the town; and from them the preſent *Tyrians* being deſcended, *Alexander* pretended thus to revenge on them the murther committed by their progenitors ſome ages before; and to make it look the more plauſible, he ſaved all the family of *Strato*, as not being involved in that guilt, and among them *Azelmelic* their King, who was of it, and continued the crown ſtill to him and his family, after he had again re-peopled the place. For having thus rid it of its former inhabitants, he planted it a-new with colonies drawn from the neighbouring places, and from thence would be eſteemed the founder of that city, though in truth he was the cruel deſtroyer of it.

ON his taking this city he unchained *Apollo*, rendred thanks to him for his intentions of coming over to him, ſacrificed to *Hercules*, and did a great many other ſuperſtitious follies, which were reckoned as acts of religion in thoſe days, and then marched towards *Jeruſalem*.

FOR the *Tyrians* being wholly given to merchandiſe, and neglecting husbandry, were moſtly ſupplied with proviſions by their neighbours, and [w] *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*, being the countries from which they were chiefly furniſhed, *Alexander*, when he ſat down before *Tyre*, was forced to ſeek for his proviſions from the ſame quarters; and therefore ſent out his commiſſaries to require the inhabitants to ſubmit to him, and furniſh him with all neceſſaries for the ſupport of his army. The *Jews* [x] pleaded their oath to *Darius*, by which thinking themſelves obliged not to own any new maſter, as long as he lived, would not obey his commands. This exceedingly anger'd *Alexander*, who in the flush of his late victories thinking all ought to ſubmit to him, could bear no contradiction herein. And therefore, as ſoon as he had done with *Tyre*, he marched againſt *Jeruſalem*, with intention to puniſh the *Jews* as ſeverely as he had the *Tyrians*, for not obeying his commands. In this diſtreſs *Jaddua* the high-prieſt, who had then the immediate government of that people under the *Perſians*, being in great perplexity, and all *Jeruſalem* with him, they had no other courſe to take but to fling themſelves upon God's protection, and implore his mercy to them for their deliverance from this danger; and therefore in order hereto, they made their devout addreſſes to him with ſacrifices, oblations, and prayers. By which God being moved to compaſſion towards them, directed *Jaddua*, in a viſion of the night, to go out and meet the conqueror in his pontifical robes, with the prieſts attending him in their proper habits, and all the people in white garments. *Jaddua*, in obedience hereto, the next day went forth in the manner directed, with

[t] Juſtin, lib. 18. cap. 3. [w] Acts xii. 20. [x] Joſeph. lib. 11. cap. 8.

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the prieſts and people ranged as in a ſacred proceſſion, and all habited as the viſion commanded, and advancing to a place called [y] *Sapha* (an eminence without *Jeruſalem*, which commanded a proſpect of all the countrey round, as well as of the city and temple of *Jeruſalem*) there waited the coming of *Alexander*, and on his approach met him in this pompous and ſolemn manner. As ſoon as the King ſaw the high-prieſt in this manner coming towards him, he was ſtruck with a profound awe at the ſpectacle, and haſtening forward bowed down to him, and ſaluted him with a religious veneration, to the great ſurprize of all that attended him, eſpecially of the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*, who expected nothing leſs than that *Alexander* ſhould have deſtroyed this people as he had the *Tyrians*; and they came thither with an eager deſire, out of the hatred they had to them, to bear a part in the execution. While all ſtood amazed at this behaviour, which was ſo much contrary to their expectations, *Parmenio* asked the King the reaſon of it, and how it came to paſs, that he, whom all adored, ſhould pay ſuch adoration to the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt; to which he anſwered, that he did not pay that adoration to him, but to that God whoſe prieſt he was. For that when he was at *Dio* in *Macedonia*, and there deliberating with himſelf how he ſhould carry on his war againſt the *Perſians*, and was in much doubt about the undertaking, this very perſon, and in this very habit, appeared to him in a dream, and encouraged him to lay aſide all thoughtfulneſs and diffidence about this matter, and paſs boldly over into *Aſia*, promiſing him that God would be his guide in the expedition, and give him the empire of the *Perſians*; and that therefore, on his ſeeing this perſon, and knowing him by his habit, as well as by his ſhape and countenance, that he was the very ſame that appeared to him at *Dio*, he aſſured himſelf from hence, that he made the preſent war under the conduct of God, and ſhould certainly by his aſſiſtance conquer *Darius*, and overthrow the *Perſian* empire, and ſucceed in all things concerning it according to his deſire; and that therefore, in the perſon of this his high-prieſt, he paid adoration unto him. Hereon turning again to *Jaddua*, he kindly embraced him, and entered *Jeruſalem* with him in a friendly manner, and offered ſacrifices to God in the temple, where *Jaddua* having ſhewn him the prophecies of *Daniel*, [z] which predicted the overthrow of the *Perſian* empire by a *Grecian* King, he went from thence with the greater aſſurance of ſucceſs in his farther carrying on of the war, not doubting but that he was the perſon meant by thoſe prophecies. All which particulars rendring him kindly affected to the *Jews*, he called them together when he was on his departure, and bid them ask what they had to deſire of him. Whereon they having petitioned him, that they might enjoy the freedom of their countrey-laws, and religion, and be exempted every ſeventh year from paying any tribute, becauſe in that year, according to their law, they neither ſowed nor reaped, *Alexander* readily granted them all this requeſt, which brought another very troubleſome ſolicitation upon him.

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y *It was ſo called from the* Hebrew Zapha, *which ſignifyeth to ſee as from a watch tower, or any other eminence.* z *That is, what is written in* Daniel *of the ram and he-goat,* chap. viii. *where that he-goat is interpreted to be the King of* Græcia, *who ſhould conquer the* Medes *and* Perſians, (ver. 21.) *and alſo what is written by the ſame prophet of the ſaid* Grecian *King,* chap. xi. 3. *For both theſe prophecies foretold the deſtruction of the* Perſian *empire by a* Grecian *King.*

FOR he was ſcarce gone out of *Jeruſalem*, but he was accoſted by the *Samaritans*, who met him in great pomp and parade, and prayed him that he would honour alſo their city and temple with his preſence. Theſe are *Joſephus*'s words, and they plainly prove, that the temple which they invited *Alexander* to, muſt have been built long before that time, and not by leave from him, while he was at the ſiege of *Tyre*, as he elſewhere by miſtake relates. For if it had not been built, but by leave from him while at that ſiege, the firſt foundations of it could ſcarce have been laid by this time. For the ſiege of *Tyre* laſted only ſeven moths, and immediately from the taking of it he came to *Jeruſalem*. The ſame *Joſephus* indeed tells us, that *Alexander* from *Tyre* went immediately to *Gaza*, and did not, till after two months more ſpent in the taking of that city, come to *Jeruſalem*. But herein he muſt be again [b] miſtaken. For *Jeruſalem* lying in the way from *Tyre* to *Gaza*, it's by no means likely that *Alexander* ſhould from *Tyre* go directly to *Gaza*, then paſſing by *Jeruſalem*, and afterwards return three or four days march with all his army back again to that city, or that he ſhould at all think it ſafe to begin the ſiege of *Gaza*, while ſuch a city as *Jeruſalem* was left untaken behind him: And moreover, all that write of the life and actions of *Alexander* tell us, that from the taking of *Gaza* he went directly into *Egypt*. And therefore taking it for certain, that his progreſs was from *Tyre* to *Jeruſalem*, and from thence to *Gaza*, I have related it in this order. However, ſuppoſing it were otherwiſe, there would hereby be only two months more added to the ſeven above-mentioned, for the building of this temple, the ſiege of *Gaza* laſting no longer, and this would not much mend the matter, it being as improbable that ſuch a temple could be built in nine months as in ſeven. When the *Jews* refuſed to obey that ſummons which *Alexander* ſent them from *Tyre* to ſubmit to him, [c] theſe *Samaritans* readily complied with it, and to ingratiate themſelves the more with him, ſent eight thouſand of their men to aſſiſt him in that ſiege; and valuing themſelves upon this merit, thought they had a much better title to his favour than the *Jews*, and therefore finding how well the *Jews* had fared, thought they might obtain at leaſt the ſame, if not much greater grants from him; and in order hereto, made this proceſſion to invite him to their city, and the eight thouſand *Samaritans* that were in *Alexander*'s army joined with them herein. *Alexander* anſwered them kindly, telling them, that he was haſtning into *Egypt*, and had not then time to ſpare, but that when he ſhould come back again he would comply with their deſires, as far as his affairs would permit. They then requeſted of him to be diſcharged from paying tribute on the ſeventh year. Hereon *Alexander* asked them whether they were *Jews*, for to them only had he granted this privilege. To this they anſwered, that they were *Hebrews*, who obſerving the ſame law the *Jews* did, neither reaped nor ſowed in that year, and he having for this reaſon granted the *Jews* this immunity, they deſired of him, that having the ſame plea for it, they might have the ſame grant alſo. *Alexander* not being then at leiſure to make full enquiry into this matter, referred this alſo to his return, telling them that then he would fully inform himſelf as to what they propoſed, and would do therein what ſhould be reaſonable, and then marched on to *Gaza*.

[a] Joſeph ibid. [b] Vide Uſſerii annales ſub anno mundi 3673. [c] Joſeph. ibid.

ON

ON his arrival at that city, [d] he found it ſtrongly garriſon'd under one of *Darius*'s eunuchs, named *Betis*, who being a very valiant man, and very faithful to his maſter, defended it to the utmoſt; and it being the inlet into *Egypt*, *Alexander* could not paſs thither till he had taken it. This neceſſitated him to ſit down before it; and notwithſtanding that the utmoſt of military skill, and the utmoſt of vigor and application, was made uſe of in the aſſailing of the place, yet it coſt *Alexander* and all his army two months time before they could maſter it. The ſtop which this did put to his intended march into *Egypt*, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the ſiege, provoked his anger to that degree, that on his taking the place, he treated the commander, and all elſe that he found in it, with inexcuſable cruelty. For having ſlain ten thouſand of the men, he ſold all the reſt, with their wives and children, into ſlavery; and when *Betis* was brought to him, (whom they took alive in that aſſault wherein they carried the place) inſtead of treating him in a manner ſuitable to his valour and fidelity, as a generous conqueror ought to have done, he ordered his heels to be bored, and a cord to be drawn thorough them, and cauſed him thereby to be tied to the hinder part of a chariot, and dragged round the city till he died, bragging that herein he imitated his progenitor *Achilles*, who, as *Homer* hath it, thus dragged *Hector* round the walls of *Troy*. But that was a barbarous act in the example, and much more ſo in the imitation. For it was only *Hector*'s dead carcaſs that *Achilles* dragg'd round *Troy*; but *Alexander* thus treated *Betis* while alive, and thus made him die in a cruel manner, for no other cauſe, but that he faithfully and valiantly ſerved his maſter, in the poſt committed to his charge, which was deſerving of reward, even from an enemy, rather than of ſo cruel a puniſhment; and *Alexander* would have acted accordingly, had he made the true principles of virtue and generoſity, rather than the fictions of *Homer*, the rule of his actions. But that young conqueror having the Iliads of this poet in great admiration, always carried them with him, laid them under his pillow when he ſlept, and read in them on all leiſure opportunities; and therefore finding *Achilles* to be the great hero of that poem, he thought every thing ſaid of him in it worthy of his imitation, and the readieſt way to make him an hero alſo; and the vanity of being thought ſuch, and the eager deſire which he had of making his name in like manner to be celebrated in after-ages, was the main impulſive cauſe of all his undertakings. But in reality, were all his actions duly eſtimated, he could deſerve no other character than that of the great cut-throat of the age in which he liv'd. But the folly of mankind, and the error of hiſtorians is ſuch, that they uſually make the actions of war, bloodſhed, and conqueſt, the ſubject of their higheſt encomiums, and thoſe their moſt celebrated heroes that moſt excel therein. In a righteous cauſe, and the juſt defence of a man's countrey, all actions of valour are indeed juſt reaſons of praiſe; but in all other caſes, victory and conqueſt are no more than murther and rapin, and every one is to be deteſted as the greateſt enemy to mankind, that is moſt active herein. Thoſe are only true heroes, who moſt benefit the world by promoting the peace, welfare, and good of mankind; but ſuch as oppreſs it with the ſlaughter of men, the deſolation of countries,

[d] Joſeph. ibid. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 6. Arrian. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

the burning of cities, and the other calamities which attend war, are the ſcourges of God, the *Attila's* of the age in which they live, and the greateſt plagues and calamities that can happen to it, and which are never ſent into the world but for the puniſhment of it; and therefore ought as ſuch to be prayed againſt, and deteſted by all mankind. To make theſe the ſubject of praiſe and panegyric, is to lay ill examples before princes, as if ſuch oppreſſions of mankind were the trueſt ways to honour and glory. And we knew a late prince, who having broke through treaties, leagues and oaths, to rob his neighbours of their territories, gave no other reaſon for the war, but that it was for his glory. And it is too plain, that the like vain and falſe notions of gaining glory this way, is that grand impulſe upon the minds of princes, which moves them to moſt of thoſe deſtructive wars upon each other, whereby the peace of the world is ſo often diſturb'd, and ſuch great miſchiefs and calamities brought upon mankind.

As ſoon as *Alexander* had finiſhed the ſiege of *Gaza*, and ſettled a garriſon there, he [e] marched directly for *Egypt*, and on the ſeventh day after arrived at *Peluſium*, where he was met by great numbers of the *Egyptians*, who thither flocked to him, to own him for their ſovereign, and make their ſubmiſſion to him. For their hatred to the *Perſians* was ſuch, that they were glad of any new comer that would deliver them from that inſolence and indignity, with which they treated them and their religion. For how bad ſoever any religion may be (and a worſe than that of the *Egyptians* could ſcarce any where be contrived) yet as long as it is their national religion, no nation will bear affront and indignity to be offered to it, and nothing uſually provokes a people more than ſuch a treatment. *Ochus* had ſlain their god *Apis* in a manner of indignity, the moſt affronting that could be offered to them or their religion; and the *Perſians*, whom he left to govern the countrey, carried on the humour of treating them in the ſame manner, which raiſed their indignation againſt them to ſo great an height, that when *Amyntas* came thither a little before but with an handful of men, they were all ready to have joined with him, for the driving of the *Perſians* out of the countrey. This *Amyntas* having revolted from *Alexander* to *Darius*, was one of the commanders of the mercenary *Greeks* at the battel of *Iſſus*, [f] from whence having brought off four thouſand of his men, he got to *Tripoly* in *Syria*, and having ſeiſed as many of the ſhips which he found there as would ſerve his purpoſe, he burned the reſt, and ſailed thence firſt to *Cyprus*, and then to *Peluſium* in *Egypt*, and ſeiſed that place. For coming thither under pretence of a commiſſion from *Darius* to be governor of *Egypt*, in the room of *Sabaces* the former governor, who was ſlain at *Iſſus*, he by this means got quiet admiſſion thither; but as ſoon as he had made himſelf maſter of that ſtrong fortreſs, he declared his intentions of ſeiſing *Egypt* for himſelf, and driving the *Perſians* thence; and great numbers of the *Egyptians*, out of hatred to the *Perſians*, readily joined with him for this pupoſe; whereon he marched directly for *Memphis*, the capital of that kingdom; and in the firſt battel which he had with the *Perſians* he got the victory, and ſhut

[e] Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. Arrian, lib. 3. Plutarchus in Alexandro.
[f] Arrian, lib. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 587, 588.

them

them up within the walls of that city. But after this ſucceſs, *Amyntas* permitting his ſoldiers to ſtraggle for the plundering of the countrey, the *Perſians* took the advantage of ſallying upon them while thus ſcattered, and cut them all off to a man, and *Amyntas* with them. However this did not quell the averſion which the *Egyptians* bore the *Perſians*, but rather encreaſed it. So that when *Alexander* enter'd that countrey, he found the people univerſally diſpoſed to receive him with open arms; and therefore he had no ſooner reached their borders, but multitudes of them came thither to him to welcome him into the countrey, and make their ſubmiſſion to him. For he coming thither with a victorious army, was thereby enabled to give them thorough protection, which they could not ſo well promiſe themſelves from *Amyntas*, and therefore on his approach, they immediately, without reſerve, all declared for him; whereon *Mazæus*, who commanded at *Memphis* for *Darius*, ſeeing it in vain to ſtruggle againſt ſuch a power, ſubmitted alſo, and opening the gates of that city to the conqueror, yielded up all to him, whereby without any farther oppoſition he became forthwith maſter of the whole countrey.

FROM *Memphis* he projected a journey to the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, which was ſituated among the ſands and deſarts of *Libya*, at the diſtance of two hundred miles from *Egypt*. For [g]*Ham* the ſon of *Noah*, as he was the firſt planter of *Egypt* and *Libya* after the flood, ſo he became, in the idolatrous ages that after followed, the great god of thoſe countries; and there being an iſland of about five miles breadth of firm land among thoſe deſarts of ſand, they there built a temple to him. He was the ſame whom the *Greeks* called *Jupiter*, and the *Egyptians*, *Ammon*. And hence it is, that the city in *Egypt* which the ſcriptures call [h]*No Ammon*, (that is, the city of *Ham* or *Ammon*) is by the *Greeks* called *Dioſpolis*, (that is, the city of *Jupiter*.) After-times did put the *Egyptian* name and the *Greek* name both together, and called him *Jupiter Hammon*. *Alexander*'s journey to this temple was upon a deſign very fooliſh and vain-glorious, and according to the religion of thoſe times altogether as impious. For finding in *Homer*, and other fables of ancient times, that moſt of their heroes were deſcribed as ſons of ſome god or other; and aiming to be celebrated an hero as well as they, he would be thought the ſon of a god alſo, and having choſen *Jupiter Hammon* to be his father in this farce, he [i]ſent meſſengers before to corrupt the prieſts, to cauſe him to be declared the ſon of that god by their oracle, when he ſhould come to conſult it, and then followed after to receive the honour of that declaration.

IN his way thither [k]obſerving a place over-againſt the iſland of *Pharus* on the ſea coaſt, which he thought a very convenient place for a new city, he there built *Alexandria*, which thenceforth became the capital of that kingdom. For it having a very convenient port, and the Mediterranean before it, and the *Nile* and the red-ſea behind it, by virtue of theſe advantages it drew to it the trade both of the eaſt and the weſt, and thereby ſoon grew up to be one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of the world. But trade having taken another current in theſe latter ages, on the finding out

[g] Vide Bocharti Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 1. [h] Jerem. xlvi. 25. Ezek. xxx. 25. Nahum iii. 8.
[i] Juſtin. lib. 11. cap. 11. Oroſius, lib. 3. cap. 16. [k] Arrian, lib. 3. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 8. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 590.

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of a way to *India* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, it is [l] now degenerated into a poor village, by the *Turks* called *Scanderia*, remarkable for nothing elſe, but that it ſtill ſhews ſome of the ruins of what it anciently was. *Alexander* in the building of this city made uſe [m] of *Denocrates* for his architect, whoſe name had been made famous in that art by his rebuilding the temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, which had been burnt by *Eroſtratus*; and having by his advice drawn a plan of the city, and ſet out its walls, gates, and ſtreets, he left him to perfect the work according to it, and went on in his journey to the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*. It was from thence at the diſtance of ſixteen hundred furlongs, (that is, two hundred of our miles) and moſt of the way was through ſandy deſarts, in which he did run two great hazards, the firſt of being over-whelmed by the ſands, and the other of periſhing for want of water. By the former *Cambyſes* loſt an army of fifty thouſand men in theſe deſarts, (as hath been above related) and by the latter he had like to have been loſt himſelf, and all with him, but that they were miraculouſly relieved by a ſhower of rain, when they were juſt ready to faint to death for want of it. And indeed all his other undertakings were of a piece with this, they being all a ſeries of bold, raſh, and dangerous actions, in which he muſt have periſhed an hundred times over, had not providence in as miraculous a manner as now preſerved him through all of them for the bringing to paſs of thoſe events which he was deſigned for. Having on his coming to the temple there paid his devotions, and received from the oracle the declaration of his being *Jupiter*'s ſon, which he went thither for, he returned in great triumph with that title, and thenceforth in all his letters, orders and decrees, ſtiled himſelf *King Alexander Son of Jupiter Hammon*, giving it out, that this god begot him on *Olympias* his mother in the ſhape of a ſerpent. But while he prided himſelf in the honour which he vainly aſſumed hereon, every body elſe deſpiſed him for the folly of it; however he perſiſted in it, did many acts of violence and cruelty to make it paſs upon others, and ſuffered it to grow upon him with his proſperity ſo far, as at length to affect the being thought a god himſelf, till in the concluſion, when providence had no more for him to do, his death ſhewed him to be a mortal like other men.

IN his return he came again to *Alexandria*, and [n] took care to people his new city with colonies drawn thither from many other places, among which were many of the *Jews*, to whom he gave [o] great privileges, not only allowing them the uſe of their own laws and religion, but alſo admitting them equally into the ſame franchiſes and liberties with the *Macedonians* themſelves, whom he planted there, and then departing from thence he returned to *Memphis*, and wintered in that place.

IT is remarked by *Varro*, that at the time that *Alexander* built *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, the uſe of the *papyrus* for writing on was firſt found out in that countrey. The *papyrus* [p] in its proper ſignification is a ſort of great *bulruſh* growing in the marſhes of *Egypt* near the *Nile*. It runs up in a triangular ſtalk to the height of about fifteen foot, and is uſually a foot

[l] *See* Thevenot's *Travels*, *Part* 1. *Book* 2. *Chap.* 1, 2. [m] Plin. lib. 5. cap. 10. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 22. cap. 16. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 641. Solinus, cap. 32, 40.

[n] Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 8. [o] Joſephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. & de Bello Judaico, lib. 2. cap. 36. [p] Plin. lib. 12. cap. 13. Guilandinus de Papyro. Pancirol. Part 2. Tit. 13. Salmuth in eundem. Parkinſon's *Herbal*, *Tribe* 13. *ch.* 39.

and half in circumference, and ſometimes more. When the outer skin is taken off, there are next ſeveral films or inner skins one within another, and naturally partable from each other. Theſe when ſeparated and flaked from the ſtalk, made the paper which the ancients uſed, and which, from the name of the tree that bore it, they called alſo *papyrus*. The manner how it was fitted for uſe may be ſeen in the xi^th^ and xii^th^ chapters of the thirteenth book of *Pliny*'s natural hiſtory, and the book entitled, *De Papyro*, which *Guilandinus* hath written by way of comment upon them. But the cleareſt and beſt account hereof is given us by *Salmaſius*, in his comment on the life of *Firmus* in *Vopiſcus*, who was one of the writers of the *Hiſtoria Auguſta*. From this *papyrus* it is, that [q] what we now make uſe of to write upon hath alſo the name of *paper*, though of quite another nature from the ancient *Papyrus* of the *Egyptians*. Many other devices were made uſe of in former times to find fit materials to write upon. *Pliny* [r] tells us, that the ancienteſt way of writing was upon the leaves of the palm-tree. Afterwards they made uſe [s] of the inner bark of a tree for this purpoſe; which inner bark being in *Latin* called *liber*, and in *Greek* Βιβλος; from hence a book hath ever ſince in the *Latin* language been called *liber*, and in the *Greek* Βιβλος, becauſe their books anciently conſiſted of leaves made of ſuch inner barks. And the *Chineſe* ſtill make uſe of ſuch inner barks or rinds of trees to write upon, as ſome of their books brought in *Europe* plainly ſhew. Another way made uſe of among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and which was as ancient as *Homer*, (for he makes mention of it in his poems) was to write [t] on tables of wood covered over with wax. On theſe they wrote with a bodkin or *ſtyle* of iron, with which they engraved their letters on the wax, and hence it is, that the different ways of mens writings or compoſitions are called different *ſtyles*. This way was moſtly made uſe of in the writing of letters or epiſtles; hence ſuch epiſtles are in *Latin* called [u] *tabellæ*, and the carriers of them [w] *tabellarii*. When their epiſtles were thus written, they tied the tables together with a thread or ſtring, ſetting their ſeal upon the knot, and ſo ſent them to the party to whom they were directed, who cutting the ſtring opened and read them. But on [x] the invention of the *Egyptian papyrus* for this uſe, all the other ways of writing were ſoon ſuperſeded, no material till then invented being more convenient to write upon than this. And therefore when [y] *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt* ſet up to make a great library, and to gather all ſorts books into it, he cauſed them to be all copied out on this ſort of paper. And it was exported alſo for the uſe of other countries, till *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* endeavouring to erect a library at *Pergamus*, which ſhould outdo that at *Alexandria*, occaſioned a prohibition to be put upon the exportion of that commodity. For the [z] *Ptolemy* that then reigned in *Egypt*, not liking that his library ſhould be outdone by any other, to put a ſtop to *Eumenes*'s emulation in this particular, forbad the carrying any more *papyr* out of *Egypt*, thinking that without it he could no farther multiply his books. This put *Eumenes* upon the invention of making books of parchment, and on them he thenceforth copied out ſuch of the works of learned men, as he afterwards put into his

[q] Vide Voſſii Etymologicon in voce *Papyrus*. [r] Lib. 13. cap. 11. [s] Vide Voſſii Etymologicon in voce *Liber*. [t] Vide Voſſii Etymologicon in voce *Tabula*. [u] Vide Voſſii Etymologicon in voce *Papyrus*. [w] Plin. lib. 13. cap. 11.

library,

library, and hence [x] it is that parchment is called *pergamena* in *Latin*, that is, from the city *Pergamus* in *leſſer Aſia*, where it was firſt uſed for this purpoſe among the *Greeks*. For that *Eumenes*, on this occaſion, firſt invented the making of parchment, cannot be true; for in [y] *Iſaiah*, [z] *Jeremiah*, [a] *Ezekiel*, and other parts of the holy ſcriptures, many ages before the time of *Eumenes*, we find mention made of rolls of writing; and who can doubt but that theſe rolls were of parchment? And it muſt be acknowledged that the authentic copy of the law, [b] which *Hilkiah* found in the temple, and ſent to King *Joſiah*, was of this material, none other uſed for writing, excepting parchment only, being of ſo durable a nature as to laſt from *Moſes*'s time till then, (which was eight hundred and thirty years.) And it is ſaid by [c] *Diodorus Siculus*, that the *Perſians* of old wrote all their records on skins. And [d] *Herodotus* tells us of ſheeps skins and goats skins, made uſe of in writing by the ancient *Ionians*, many hundreds of years before *Eumenes*'s time. And can any one think that theſe skins were not dreſſed, and prepared for this uſe, in the ſame manner as parchments were in the after-times, tho' perchance not ſo artificially? It's poſſible *Eumenes* might have found out a better way of dreſſing them for this uſe at *Pergamus*, and perchance it thenceforth became the chief trade of the place to make them; and either of theſe is reaſon enough from *Pergamus* to call them *pergamenæ*. Theſe are found ſo uſeful for records and books, by reaſon of their durableneſs, that moſt of the ancient manuſcripts we now have are written in them. But from the time that the noble art of printing hath been invented, the paper which is made of the paſte of linen rags, is that which hath been generally made uſe of both in writing and printing, as being the moſt convenient for both, and the uſe of parchment hath been moſtly appropriated to records, regiſters, and inſtruments of law, for which, by reaſon of its durableneſs, it is moſt fit. The invention of making this ſort of paper, Mr. *Ray* puts very late. For he tells us, [e] in his *Herbal*, that it was not known in *Germany* till the year of our Lord 1470; that then two men, named *Anthony* and *Michael*, brought this art firſt to *Baſil*, out of *Gallicia* in *Spain*, and that from thence it was learnt and brought into uſe by the reſt of the *Germans*. But there muſt be a miſtake in this, there being both printed books, as well as manuſcripts, of this ſort of paper, which are certainly ancienter than the year 1470. There is extant a book [f] called *Catholicon*, written by *Jacobus de Janua*, a monk, printed on paper at *Mentz* in *Germany*, *anno* 1460; and therefore the *Germans* muſt have had the uſe of this ſort of paper long before the time that Mr. *Ray* ſaith. And there are manuſcripts written on this ſort of paper that are much ancienter, as may be eſpecially evidenced in ſeveral regiſtries within this realm, where the dates of the inſtruments, or acts regiſtred, prove the time. There is in the biſhop's regiſtry, at *Norwich*, a regiſter-book of wills, all made of paper, wherein regiſtrations are made which bear date ſo high up as the year of our Lord 1370, juſt an hundred years before the time that Mr. *Ray* ſaith the uſe of it begun in *Germany*. And

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[x] Vid. Voſſii Etymologicon in voce *Pergamena*.
[y] *Chap.* viii. 1.
[z] *Chap.* xxxvi.
[a] *Chap.* ii. 9. *and Chap.* iii. 1, 2, 3.
[b] 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.
[c] Lib. 2. p. 84.
[d] Herodot. lib. 5.
[e] Lib. 22. cap. 2.
[f] *This book is in the library collected by Dr.* John Moor, *late biſhop of* Ely. *See the* Oxford *catalogue of the manuſcripts of* England *and* Ireland. Tome 2. part 1 p. 379.

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I have ſeen a regiſtration of ſome acts of *John Cranden*, prior of *Ely*, made upon paper, which bears date in the fourteenth year of King *Edward* II. that is, *Anno Domini* 1320. This invention ſeems to have been brought out of the *Eaſt*. For moſt of the old manuſcripts in *Arabic*, and the other oriental languages which we have from thence, are written on this ſort of paper, and ſome of them are certainly much ancienter, than any of the times here mentioned about this matter. But we often find them written on paper made of the paſte of ſilk, as well as of linen. It's moſt likely the *Saracens* of *Spain* firſt brought it out of the *Eaſt* into that countrey, of which *Gallicia* being a province, it might from thence, according to Mr. *Ray*, have been firſt brought into *Germany*; but it muſt have been much earlier than the time that he ſays.

PTOLEMY the aſtronomer, being an *Egyptian*, and a native of *Alexandria*, begins the reign of *Alexander* over the *Eaſt*, from the building of this city, and here ends the reign of *Darius* and the *Perſian* empire; and therefore I will here alſo end this book.

THE

Old and *New* TESTAMENT

Connected in the

HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS and Neighbouring Nations,

FROM THE

Declenſion of the Kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah* to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK VIII.

An 331. Alexander 1.

ALEXANDER, while he wintered at *Memphis*, ſettled the affairs of *Egypt*. The [a] military command he entruſted only with his *Macedonians*, dividing the countrey into ſeveral diſtricts, under each of which he placed lieutenants independent of each other, not thinking it ſafe to commit the whole military power of that large and populous countrey into one man's hands. But the civil government he placed wholly in *Doloaſpes* an *Egyptian*. For his intentions being, that the country ſhould ſtill be governed by

[a] Arrian, lib. 3. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 8.

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its own laws and uſages, he thought a native, who was beſt acquainted with them, the propereſt for this charge. And [b] that the finiſhing of his new city *Alexandria* (ſo called from his name) might be carried on with the more expedition and ſucceſs, he appointed *Cleomenes* to be his ſuperviſor in that work, who continued many years in this charge; and hence it is, that in [c] *Juſtin* he is ſaid to be the founder of that city. He was [d] of *Naucratis*, a *Grecian* city in *Egypt*, there built by a colony [e] of the *Mileſians* in times long before paſt. *Alexander* did alſo ſet him over the tribute of *Arabia*, but being a very wicked man, he abuſed both theſe truſts to the great oppreſſion of all that were under him, till at length he received the juſt reward of all his evil deeds in an ignominious death. For *Ptolemy*, after he had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Egypt*, finding him plotting againſt him for the intereſt of *Perdiccas*, [f] cauſed him to be executed for it. There is extant a letter of *Alexander*'s to him of a very odd nature. For therein commanding him, on the death of *Hepheſtion*, to build two temples to that favourite, one in *Alexandria*, and the other in the iſland of *Pharus* adjoining, to excite his diligence herein, he promiſeth him ſuch a pardon, as the pope often gives to his deluded votaries, that is, [g] of all his evil deeds, paſt, preſent, and to come. But this did not ſave him from the juſt vengeance, which providence at length by the hand of *Ptolemy* brought upon him for all his wicked and unjuſt actions.

WHEN *Alexander* had thus diſpoſed of all matters in *Egypt*, the ſpring drawing on, he haſtened towards the eaſt to find out *Darius*. In [h] the way on his returning to *Paleſtine*, he had an account from thence which very much diſpleaſed him. On his going from that countrey into *Egypt*, he had made *Andromachus*, a ſpecial favourite of his, governor of *Syria* and *Paleſtine*; on [h] whoſe coming to *Samaria* to ſettle ſome matters there, the *Samaritans* mutinied againſt him, and riſing in a tumult, ſet fire to the houſe in which he was, and burnt him to death. This it is ſuppoſed they did out of a rage and diſcontent, that thoſe privileges ſhould be denied them which were granted to their enemies the *Jews*; whereas by their ſervices to *Alexander*, eſpecially at the ſiege of *Tyre*, they thought they had merited much more from him than the other, who had then denied him their aſſiſtance. *Alexander* being exceedingly exaſperated hereby againſt that people, as the fact ſufficiently deſerved, cauſed all that had acted any part in this murther to be put to death, and drove all the reſt out of the city of *Samaria*, planting there inſtead of them a colony of his *Macedonians*, and giving [i] their other territories to the *Jews*. Thoſe that ſurvived this calamity, retired to *Shechem* under mount *Gerizim*; and from this time that place became the head ſeat of this people, and the metropolis of the *Samaritan* ſect, and ſo continues even to this day. And whereas eight thouſand *Samaritans* had joined him at *Tyre*, and followed his camp ever ſince, that they might not on their return revive this mutinous temper of their countrey-men, to the creating of new diſturbances, [k] he ſent them into *Thebais*, the remoteſt province of *Egypt*, and ſettled them on ſuch lands, as he there cauſed to be divided unto them.

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[b] Arrian & Q. Curtius. ibid. Ariſtotelis Oeconom. lib 2. [c] Juſtin, lib. 13. c. 4.
[d] Arrian, lib. 3. [e] Strabo, lib. 17. p. 801. Stephanus & Suidas in Ναύκρατις.
[f] Pauſanias in Atticis [g] Arrian, lib. 7. [h] Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 8. Euſebii Chronicon. p. 177. Cedrenus. [i] Joſeph. contra Apionem. lib. 2. [k] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 8.

ON *Alexander*'s return into *Phœnicia*, [l] he ſtaid ſome time at *Tyre*, that he might there ſettle the affairs of thoſe countries, which he was to leave behind him, before he did ſet forward to acquire more. And when he had there ordered all matters as he thought fit, he marched with his whole army to *Thapſacus*, and having there paſſed the *Euphrates*, directed his courſe towards the *Tigris* in queſt of the enemy. *Darius*, in the interim, having ſolicited *Alexander* for peace three ſeveral times, and finding by his anſwers that none was to be expected from him, but on the terms of yielding to him the whole empire, applyed himſelf to provide for another battel; in order whereto he got together at *Babylon* a numerous army, it being, [m] by one half bigger, than that with which he fought at *Iſſus*, and from thence took the field with it, and marched towards *Niniveh*; thither *Alexander* followed after him, and having paſſed the *Tigris*, got up with him at a ſmall village called *Gaugamela*, where it came to a deciſive battel between them, in which *Alexander* with fifty thouſand men (for that was the utmoſt of his number at that battel) vanquiſhed the vaſt army of the *Perſians*, which was above twenty times as big; and this in an open plain countrey, without having the advantage of ſtreights to ſecure his flanks, as in the battel of *Iſſus*, and hereby the fate of the *Perſian* empire was determined. For none after this could to any purpoſe make head againſt him, but all were forced to ſubmit to the conqueror, and he thenceforth became abſolute lord of that empire, in the utmoſt extent in which it was ever poſſeſſed by any of the *Perſian* Kings. And hereby was fully accompliſhed all that which in the prophecies [n] of *Daniel* was foretold concerning him. This battel happened in the month of *October*, much about the ſame time of the year in which was fought the battel of *Iſſus* two years before, and the place where it was fought was *Gaugamela* in *Aſſyria*, but that being a ſmall village, and of no note, they would not denominate ſo famous a battel from ſo contemptible a place, but called it the battel of *Arbela*, becauſe that was the next town of any note, tho' it were at the diſtance of above twelve miles from the field where the blow was ſtruck.

DARIUS, after this defeat, [o] fled into *Media*, intending from thence, and the reſt of the northern provinces of his empire, to draw together other forces for the farther tryal of his fortune in another battel. *Alexander* purſued him as far as *Arbela*; but before his arrival thither, he was, by the quickneſs of his flight, got out of his reach. However, he there took his treaſure, and his royal equipage and furniture, which was of vaſt value, and then returned to his camp; where having allowed his army ſuch time of reſt as was neceſſary for their refreſhment, after the fatigue of the battel, he marched towards *Babylon*. *Mazæus* was governor of that city, and the province belonging to it, and had been one of *Darius*'s generals in the late battel; where after the defeat, having gathered together as many of the ſcattered forces of the *Perſians* as he could, he retreated with them to that place. But on *Alexander*'s approach with his victorious army, he had not the courage to ſtand out againſt him, but going forth to meet him, ſurrendered himſelf and all under his charge to

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[l] Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 8. Arrian, lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

[m] Darius *had in this battel about eleven hundred thouſand men.*

[n] Dan. vii. 6. *and* viii. 5, 6, 7, 20, 21. *and* x. 20. *and* xi. 3.

[o] Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. Arrian, lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

him;

him; and *Bagaphanes*, the governor of the caſtle, where the greateſt part of *Darius*'s treaſure was kept, did the ſame; and both acted herein, as if they were at ſtrife which of them ſhould be moſt forward to caſt off their old maſter, and receive the new. After thirty days tarrying in that city, he continued *Mazæus*, for the reward of his treachery, in the government of the province, but placing a *Macedonian* in the command of the caſtle, he took *Bagaphanes* along with him, and marched to *Suſa*, and from thence after the taking of that city, to *Perſepolis*, the capital of the empire, carrying victory with him over all the provinces and places in the way. Arriving at *Perſepolis* about the middle of *December*, he gave the city to be ſack'd by his army, reſerving only the caſtle and palace to himſelf. Hence followed a vaſt ſlaughter upon the inhabitants, and all other barbarities, which in this caſe uſe to be acted by ſoldiers let looſe to their rage and licentiouſneſs. This city being the metropolis of the *Perſian* empire, and that which of all others bore the greateſt enmity to *Greece*, he did this (he ſaid) to execute the revenge of *Greece* upon it. After the cruelty of this execution was over, leaving *Parmenio* and *Craterus* in the place, with the greateſt part of his forces, he made a range with the reſt over the neighbouring countries, and having reduced them all to a ſubmiſſion to him, returned again to *Perſepolis* after thirty days, and there took up his winter quarters.

WHILE *Alexander* lay at this place [p] he gave himſelf much to feaſting and drinking, for joy of his victories, and the great conqueſts he had made. In one of his feaſts, wherein he entertained his chief commanders, he invited alſo their miſſes to accompany them, one of which was *Thais* a famous *Athenian* courtezan, and then miſs to *Ptolemy*, who was afterwards King of *Egypt*. This woman, in the heat of their carouſals, propoſed to *Alexander* the burning down the city and palace of *Perſepolis*, for the revenging of *Greece* upon the *Perſians*, eſpecially for the burning of *Athens* by *Xerxes*. The whole company being drunk, the propoſal was received with a general applauſe, and *Alexander* himſelf, in the heat of his wine running into the ſame humour, immediately took a torch, and all the reſt of the company doing the ſame, theyall went thus armed, with him at their head, and ſetting fire to the city and palace, burnt both to the ground; which *Alexander*, when he came again to his ſenſes, exceedingly repented of, but then it was too late to help it. Thus, at the motion of a drunken ſtrumpet, was deſtroyed by this drunken King, one of the fineſt palaces in the world. That this of *Perſepolis* was ſuch, the ruins of it ſufficiently ſhew, [q] which are ſtill remaining even to this day, at a place called *Chehel-Minar*, near *Shiras* in *Perſia*. The name [r] ſignifieth in the *Perſian* language *forty pillars*, and the place is ſo called, becauſe ſuch a number of pillars, as well as other ſtately ruins of this palace, are there ſtill remaining even to this day. *An.* 330. Alexander 2.

IN the interim *Darius* being fled to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, [s] there gathered together as many of his broken forces as fled that way, and endeavoured all he could to raiſe others to add to them, for the making up of ano-

[p] Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. Arrian, lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Juſtin, lib. 11. [q] *See the travels of* Herbert, Thevenot, *and* Chardin. [r] Vide Golii notas ad Alfraganum, p. 113. [s] Arrian, lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Curtius, lib. 5.

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ther army. But *Alexander* having by the beginning of the ſpring ſettled all his affairs in *Perſia*, made after him into *Media*. Of this *Darius* having received intelligence left *Ecbatana*, with intentions to march into *Bactria*, there to ſtrengthen and augment his army with new recruits. But he had not gone far, e'er he altered his purpoſe. For fearing leſt *Alexander* ſhould overtake him before he could reach *Bactria*, he ſtopp'd his march, and reſolved to ſtand the brunt of another battel with the forces then about him, which amounted to about forty thouſand men horſe and foot. But while he was preparing for it, *Beſſus*, governor of *Bactria*, and *Nabarzanes*, another *Perſian* nobleman, confederated with him in the treaſon, ſeized the poor unfortunate prince, and making him their priſoner put him in chains, and then ſhutting him up in a cloſe cart, fled with him toward *Bactria*, purpoſing, if *Alexander* purſued after them, to purchaſe their peace with him, by delivering him alive into his hands; but if he did not purſue after them, then their intentions were to kill him, and ſeize his kingdom, and renew the war. *Alexander*, on his coming to *Ecbatana*, found *Darius* was gone from thence about eight days before; however, he purſued hard after him for eleven days together, till he came to *Rages*, a city of *Media* often mentioned [t] in *Tobit*, and which was the place where *Nabuchodonoſor* King of *Aſſyria* is ſaid, in the book [t] of *Judith*, to have ſlain *Arphaxad* King of *Media*. Here finding that it was in vain to purſue after *Darius* any farther, he ſtaid in this place ſome days for the refreſhing of his army, and for the ſettling of the affairs of *Media*. Of which having made *Oxidates*, a noble *Perſian*, governor, he marched into *Parthia*; where having received intelligence of *Darius*'s caſe, and what danger he was in from thoſe traitors who had made him their priſoner, he put himſelf again upon the purſuit after him, with part of his army, leaving the reſt under the command of *Craterus* to follow after him. And after ſeveral days hard march, he at laſt came up with the traitors. Whereon they would have perſuaded *Darius* to mount on horſe-back for his more ſpeedy flight with them; but he refuſing thus to do, they gave him ſeveral mortal wounds, and left him a dying in his cart. *Philiſtratus*, one of *Alexander*'s ſoldiers, found him in this condition, but he expired before *Alexander* himſelf came up to him. When he ſaw his corps he could not forbear ſhedding of tears at ſo melancholy a ſpectacle; and having caſt his cloke over it, he commanded it to be wrapp'd up therein, and carryed to *Siſigambis* at *Suſa*, (where he had left her with the other captive ladies) to be buried by her with a royal funeral, in the burying place of the Kings of *Perſia*, and allowed the expences neceſſary for it. And this was the end of this great King, and alſo of the empire over which he reigned, after it had laſted from the firſt of *Cyrus* two hundred and nine years. After this fact, *Nabarzanes* fled into *Hyrcania*, and *Beſſus* into *Bactria*; and there he declared himſelf King by the name of *Artaxerxes*.

ALEXANDER [u] was not ſtayed by the death of *Darius* from ſtill purſuing after the traitor *Beſſus*, but finding at length that he was gotten too far before him to be overtaken, he returned again into *Parthia*; and there having regulated his affairs in the army, as well as in the province, he marched into *Hyrcania*, and received that countrey under his

[t] *Chap.* i. 14. *and* iv. 1. [t] *Chap.* i. 15. [u] Plutarchus in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. Arrian. Q. Curtius, & Juſtin, ibidem.

ſubjection

ſubjection. After that he ſubdued the *Mardans*, *Arians*, *Drangians*, *Aracauſians*, and ſeveral other nations; over which he flew with victory ſwifter than others can travel, often with his horſe purſuing his enemies upon the ſpur whole days and nights, and ſometimes making long marches for ſeveral days one after the other, as once he did in purſuit of *Darius* of near forty miles a day for eleven days together. So that by the ſpeed of his marches he came upon his enemy before they were aware of him, and conquered them before they could be in a poſture to reſiſt him. Which exactly agreeth with the deſcription given of him in the prophecies of *Daniel* ſome ages before, he being in them ſet forth under the ſimilitude [w] of a panther or leopard with four wings: For he was impetuous and fierce in his warlike expeditions, as a panther after his prey, and came on upon his enemies with that ſpeed, as if he flew with a double pair of wings. And to this purpoſe he is in another place of thoſe prophecies compared to an [w] he-goat coming from the weſt with that ſwiftneſs upon the King of *Media* and *Perſia*, that he ſeemed as if his feet did not touch the ground. And his actions, as well in this compariſon as in the former, fully verified the prophecy.

WHILE *Alexander* was among the *Drangians*, [x] diſcovery was made of a conſpiracy formed againſt his life, of which *Philotas* the ſon of *Parmenio*, one of the chief commanders in his army, and principal confidents, being found to be the head, was put to death for it with all his accomplices. And whether *Alexander* thought *Parmenio* to have been in the plot alſo, or feared his revenge for the death of his ſon, he ſent to *Ecbatana*, where he had left him with part of his forces to guard his treaſure which he had there laid up, and cauſed him to be put to death alſo; which brought great envy upon him, this old commander having been his chief aſſiſtant in conducting his armies to moſt of thoſe victories which he had hitherto obtained. After this *Alexander*, notwithſtanding the approach of winter, marched ſtill forward to the north, and ſubdued all in his way, carrying on his conqueſts as far as mount *Caucaſus*, where having built a city, which from his name he called alſo *Alexandria*, as he had ſeveral others, he there terminated the actions of this year.

EARLY the next ſpring [y] he made after *Beſſus*, and having driven him out of *Bactria*, and ſettled that province under his obedience, he followed him into *Sogdiana*, the countrey now called *Coware ſmia*, where he was retired. This province being ſeparated from *Bactria* by the river *Oxus*, which was large and deep, *Beſſus*'s chief confidence was in the unpaſſableneſs of it. For having taken away or deſtroyed all the ſhipping and boats that were to be found on it, he thought *Alexander* could not poſſibly get over it to purſue him any farther. But no difficulty being unſurmountable to that conqueror, he found means by ſtuff'd skins, and ſuch other devices, to get his army all over; whereon *Beſſus*'s followers deſpairing of his caſe, ſeiſed his perſon, and delivered him bound to *Alexander*, who gave him into the hand of *Oxatres* the brother of *Darius*, to be puniſhed by him as he ſhould think fit, for the treaſon he had been guilty of in murthering his King. For after the death of *Darius* this *Oxatres* ſur-

An. 329. Alexander 3.

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[w] Daniel vii. 6. [w] Daniel viii. 5. [x] Arrian, lib. 3. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 6. cap. 7, 8, 9, &c. [y] Arrian, lib. 3. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 7.

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rendred himſelf to *Alexander*, who very kindly received him, and admitted him into the number of his friends, and treated him with favour as long as he lived. And *Oxatres* having thus gotten the traitor into his hands, made him die ſuch a death as his treaſon deſerved.

SOGDIANA breeding a great number of horſes, [z] *Alexander* came thither very opportunely for the remounting of his cavalry. For by the quick and fatiguing marches which he had made, he had either kill'd or ſpoiled moſt of the horſes of his army. But notwithſtanding, he had not ſuch quick ſucceſs in his conqueſts here, as in other provinces. For he had not now to do with the effeminate *Perſians* and *Babylonians*, but with the *Sogdians*, *Dahans*, and *Maſſagets*, valiant and hardy people, who were not but with great difficulty to be ſubdued. And therefore this province found him a full year's work, before he could bring it into thorough ſubjection to him. It lay upon the eaſtern ſide of the *Caſpian* ſea, between the river *Oxus* on the ſouth, and the river *Orxantes* on the north; the laſt of theſe *Quintus Curtius* and *Arrian* call *Tanais* very erroneouſly. For the river *Tanais* is much more to the weſt, and diſchargeth it ſelf not into the *Caſpian* but into the *Euxin* ſea, and is the ſame which we now call the *Don*. *Pliny* [a] takes notice of this miſtake, and tells us, it proceeded from *Alexander*'s ſoldiers calling it ſo, and that in his time it was called *Silys*. The capital of this province was *Maracanda*, a great city of near ten miles in compaſs, and is the ſame, which being now called *Samarcand*, is the chief city of the *Usbeck* Tartars. While *Alexander* lay there with his army, towards the beginning of winter, [b] he baſely in a drunken fury murthered *Clitus*, one of the beſt of his friends; which afterwards he condemned himſelf for, as much as every body elſe; for it was a very vile action, and the greateſt blot of his life. After he had thoroughly ſubdued the *Sogdians*, and reduced ſuch of the *Bactrians* as had revolted from him, he took up his winter quarters in *Nautaca*, and there gave his army reſt and refreſhment for three months.

An. 328. Alexander 4. WHILE he lay there, being wholly at eaſe from the fatigues of war, [c] he fell in love with *Roxana*, the daughter of *Oxyathres* a noble *Perſian*, who was among the captive ladies in his camp, and took her to wife. She was the moſt beautiful woman of her time, and alſo one of the moſt wicked, as afterwards by her actions, eſpecially in the murther of *Darius*'s daughters, ſhe ſufficiently made appear. That *Alexander*'s marrying this lady might be made no objection againſt him among his *Macedonians*, he encouraged as many of their leaders and prime men as he found enclined that way to do the ſame, and take them wives in like manner from among the *Perſian* ladies. So that moſt of the time that he ſpent in theſe quarters, was taken up in making ſuch marriages, and in nuptial feaſtings upon them.

BUT while theſe things were a doing in the camp, [d] *Alexander*'s head was buſy in projecting an expedition into *India*; his main incentive to this dangerous and unprofitable enterprize, was all an exceſs of vanity and folly. He had read in the old *Grecian* fables, that *Bacchus* and *Hercules*,

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[z] Q. Curtius, lib. 8. Arrian. lib. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. [a] Lib. 6. cap. 16.
[b] Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. cap. 1. Arrian. lib. 4. [c] Q. Curtius. lib. 8. cap. 4. Arrianus, lib. 4. Plutarchus in Alexandro. [d] Arrian. lib. 4. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. cap. 5, 9, 10, &c. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Juſtin. lib. 12. cap. 7.

two

two of *Jupiter*'s ſons, had made this expedition into *India*, and he would fain in emulation of them do the ſame. For having been declared *Jupiter*'s ſon as well as they, he would not be thought to come behind them in any thing, and he had flatterers enough about him to blow him up into this conceit. And about this time it was that he began to require divine honours to be paid to him, and commanded, that all that were admitted to make addreſſes unto him, ſhould adore him as formerly they had the *Perſian* Kings. All his old friends miſliked this conduct in him, and none more than *Calliſthenes* the philoſopher. He [d] was a kinſman of *Ariſtotle*, *Alexander*'s maſter, and had been ſent by him to attend this young conqueror on his firſt entering on the *Perſian* war, and had accompanied him through all his expeditions ever ſince, and being a very wiſe and grave man, was thought the propereſt perſon to adviſe and direct him againſt thoſe exceſſes, which the heat of his youth might carry him into. And this being the whole end for which he was ſent to attend him, he could not but expreſs his diſlike of this folly. But *Alexander* not being able to bear the freedom with which he expreſſed himſelf in this matter, cauſed him to be put to death for it; which, next the death of *Clitus*, is that which of all his other actions bore hardeſt upon his reputation; and indeed, if duly eſtimated, it was by much the worſt of the two: For he was in the heat of wine, and alſo highly provoked by ſawcy and abuſive language, when he ſlew *Clitus*; but *Calliſthenes* he did put to death deliberately and deſignedly, and for no other reaſon, but that he expreſſed his diſlike of thoſe follies, which he was ſent on purpoſe by his inſtructions and advice to correct in him.

BUT before [f] he went on this *Indian* expedition, he very providently took care to ſecure all in quiet behind him, and therefore while he lay in thoſe quarters at *Nautaca*, he removed ſeveral of the governors of provinces who had oppreſſed their provincials, and remedied all the grievances they had been guilty of towards them, that none might have any juſt cauſe in his abſence to create diſturbances, or make any riſings againſt him or his authority, in any parts of the empire. And the better to provide againſt all ſuch, as well as for the more ſucceſsful carrying on of the new war which he was going to enter upon, he cauſed thirty thouſand young men, of the ſons of the principal men of the conquered countries, to be liſted for the augmenting of his army, that having them with him in this expedition, they might be hoſtages with him for the good behaviour of their relations, as well as uſeful to him in the war.

ON his marching into *India*, [g] his army, with theſe augmentations, conſiſted of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, *Grecians* and *Perſians*, beſides fifteen thouſand which he left with *Amyntas* in *Bactria*, to keep thoſe parts in quiet. Many nations on this ſide the river *Indus* were then reckoned to be of *India*, and in ſubduing of thoſe was this whole year employed. [h] Some of them he conquered by force, and ſome he received by ſubmiſſion. But none pleaſed him more than thoſe that welcomed him as the third ſon of *Jupiter* that had come among them, meaning *Bacchus* and *Hercules* for the other two; ſo far was he intoxicated with the vain

[d] Laertius in vita Ariſtotelis. Plutarchus in Alexandro & in Sylla. [f] Arrianus, lib. 4. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. cap. 5. [g] Q. Curtius, ibid. [h] Arrian, lib. 4. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. Plutarchus in Alexandro.

conceit of being thought the ſon of that imaginary god. Among thoſe whom he ſubdued by force were the *Aſſacans*. But *Cleophis*, the Queen of that nation, being a very beautiful Woman, redeemed her kingdom by proſtituting her body to his luſt, whereby ſhe incurred that infamy and contempt among the *Indians*, that they afterwards called her by no other name than that of the *royal whore*. By this concubinage ſhe had a ſon, whom from the name of his father ſhe called *Alexander*, who afterwards reigned in thoſe parts; and if *Paulus Venetus* may be believed, there were in a certain province of *India*, which he calls *Balaſcia*, Kings of his race reigning there even to his time.

An. 327. Alexander 5.

EARLY the next ſpring [i] he paſſed the river *Indus*, over a bridge of boats there prepared for him, and from thence marched forward to the river *Hydaſpes*. Between theſe two rivers lay the kingdom of *Taxiles*, who ſubmitted to him. But beyond the *Hydaſpes* lay the kingdom of *Porus*, a prince of great valour and power, who was there ready with a great army to impede his farther progreſs. This, on *Alexander*'s paſſing that river, produced a fierce battel between them, wherein, after a fight of eight hours, *Porus*'s army was vanquiſhed with a great ſlaughter, and he himſelf was taken priſoner; but the magnanimity and generoſity of his carriage under his misfortune ſo took with *Alexander*, that he again reſtored to him his kingdom, and alſo augmented it. For after his having paſſed the river *Aceſines*, which terminated *Porus*'s kingdom on the eaſt, and taken all the territory that lay between that and the river *Hydraotes*, he added this alſo to *Porus*'s dominions. After this paſſing the *Hydraotes*, he marchedt o the *Hyphaſis*, and would gladly have paſſed that river alſo, and gone on to the *Ganges*. But his ſoldiers being weary of following him any farther in theſe expeditions of knight-errantry, forced him there to put an end to his farther progreſs. And therefore, having on the banks of that river erected twelve large altars for a memorial of his having been there, he marched back again to the *Hydaſpes*, where having at the place where he vanquiſhed *Porus* built a city, which he called *Nicæa*, in memory of that victory; and another not far from it, which he called *Bucephala*, in memory of his horſe *Bucephalus*, which there died, he ordered his fleet to be drawn thither to him, for his paſſing down that river into the *Indus* and the ſouthern parts of *India*, purpoſing to carry on his arms and conqueſts that way as far as the ocean, and then to return to *Babylon*.

An. 326. Alexander 6.

THIS fleet [k] he had ordered to be prepared from his firſt paſſing the *Indus*, and it had been ever ſince a making ready for him in the ſeveral places that he had appointed, which when it was all brought together, amounted to two thouſand veſſels of all ſorts. The chief command hereof he gave to *Nearchus*, and then putting his army on board, he ſailed down the *Hydaſpes* into the *Aceſines*, and through that into the *Indus*. For the firſt of theſe fell into the ſecond, and the ſecond into the third. In his way he had to do with two very valiant nations, the *Oxidracians* and the *Mallians*. The former of theſe inhabited where the *Hydaſpes* fell into the *Aceſines*, and the other where *Aceſines* fell into the *Indus*. Both theſe he

[i] Plutarchus, & Curtius, ibid. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Arrian, lib. 5. Q. Curtius, lib. 9. Plutarchus in Alexandro.

[k] Arrian, lib. 6.

forced

forced into a ſubmiſſion, tho' not without great difficulty. And while he beſieged one of the cities of the *Mallians*, he was very near loſing his life; for being the firſt that ſcaled the walls, he raſhly leaped into the city, before any others were at hand to ſecond him, and was there almoſt wounded to death, e'er any of his followers could get in to reſcue him. Thence he ſailed down the *Indus* as far as the ocean, conquering all the nations in his way on both ſides that river. When he had paſſed the mouth of the *Indus* into the ſouthern ocean, and had now carried his conqueſts to the utmoſt boundaries of the earth on that ſide, he reckoned that he had obtained all that he propoſed, and therefore returning back to land, when he had given ſuch orders as he thought fit for the ſettling of his *Indian* conqueſts, he ſent *Nearchus*, with that part of the fleet which was fitteſt for the voyage, back again into the ocean, ordering him to ſail that way to the *Perſian* gulph, and up through that into the *Euphrates*, and meet him at *Babylon*; and then he with his army marched over land towards the ſame place.

THE [1] way that he took in his march thither, was through the ſouthern provinces of *Perſia*; a great part of which being a very barren countrey, and full of ſandy deſarts, he ſuffered very much in his paſſage through it, both for want of water as well as of proviſions; and the ſcorching heat of the climate added to the calamity, which grew ſo great that it deſtroyed a great part of his army. And to this it was chiefly owing, that he did not bring back above a fourth part of the number which he firſt carried with him into *India*. When he arrived in the province of *Carmania*, (the ſame which, retaining its ancient name, is ſtill called *Kerman*) he marched in a bacchanalian proceſſion for ſeven days together through that province, in way of triumph for his *Indian* conqueſts. For it ſeems he had heard that *Bacchus* returned in this manner after his like expedition into that countrey: For he much affected to imitate *Bacchus* and *Hercules* in all this expedition; and he did too much the former of them, for a great part of his life, in that exceſſive drunkenneſs which he gave himſelf up unto. An. 325. Alexander 7.

NEARCHUS having coaſted along all the countries, from the *Indus* to the mouth of the *Perſian* gulph, arrived at the iſle of *Harmuzia*, (now called *Ormus*) where hearing that *Alexander* was within five days journey of that place, he went to him, and gave him an account of his voyage, and what diſcoveries and obſervations he had made in it; with which being exceedingly delighted, he ſent him back again to complete his firſt orders, and ſail up the *Euphrates* to *Babylon*, as he had appointed.

WHILE *Alexander* was in *Carmania*, he had many complaints made to him of the oppreſſions exerciſed by his lieutenants, and other officers in the provinces, during his abſence in *India*. For reckoning that he would never come back again, ſeveral of them did let themſelves looſe to rapine, tyranny, and all manner of cruelty and oppreſſion. All theſe he cauſed to be put to death for the expiation of their crimes, and with them ſix hundred of the ſoldiers, who had been their inſtruments in theſe enormities; and he exerciſed the ſame ſeverity upon all other of his officers, whom he after that found in the ſame abuſes, which conduced very much to the making of his government acceptable to the conquered provinces.

[1] Plutarchus, Curtius, Arrianus, ibid.

BEING exceedingly pleased with the successful voyage that *Nearchus* had made with his fleet, and the account which he gave him of his discoveries, he resolved on more sea adventures, purposing no less, than from the *Persian* gulph to sail round *Arabia* and *Africa*, and return by the mouth of the *Streights* (then called *Hercules*'s pillars, now the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*) into the *Mediterranean* sea; a voyage which had been several times attempted, and once performed, at the command of *Neco* King of *Egypt*, (of which an account hath been above given.) In order hereto, he sent his commands to his lieutenants in *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, for a fleet of ships fit for such an undertaking, to be forthwith built at several places on the *Euphrates*, especially at *Thapsacus*, ordering great quantities of timber to be cut down on mount *Libanus*, and carried thither for this purpose. This shews the greatness of his designs; but this, as well as all others of them, were quash'd by his death.

ON his coming to *Pasargada*, he was much offended at the violation which had been offered to the sepulchre of *Cyrus*, who was there buried. For since he was last there (which was a little after his taking of *Persepolis*) it had been broken up and robb'd. The *Magians*, who had the keeping of the sepulchre, and several others, were put to the torture, for the finding out of the authors of the sacrilege. But no discovery being made this way, at length, by the malice of *Bagoas*, a beloved eunuch of *Alexander*'s, the whole guilt was charged upon *Orsines*, the governor of the province. This *Bagoas* was a very beautiful young eunuch, *Nabarzanes*, who conspired with *Bessus* in the imprisonment, and afterwards in the death of *Darius*, presented him unto *Alexander* for the service of his lust, and by this present saved his life; so acceptable was the catamite to him for this vile use; and by being thus frequently used by him, he grew so far into his favour, that he prevailed with him to sacrifice this noble *Persian* to his revenge, contrary to all honour, justice, and gratitude. For he had very much served him, especially in that province; for *Phrasaortes*, the governor of it, dying while *Alexander* was in *India*, and all things there being like to run into confusion upon it, for want of one to take care of the government, he took upon him to supply that defect, and preserved all things there in good order for the service of *Alexander* to the time of his arrival thither; and on his entering the province, met him in the most honourable manner, and being a person of great wealth, as well as of ancient nobility, he presented him and his followers with many noble presents, to the value of several thousands of talents. But when he presented the rest of *Alexander*'s friends and favourites, taking no notice of *Bagoas*, and saying withal, when he was put in mind of him, *That he paid his respects to the King's friends, not to his catamites*; this so angered the eunuch, that to work his revenge, he contrived that the whole charge of violating the sepulchre of *Cyrus* was turned upon the governor of the province; and having suborned false witnesses, to accuse him of this and many other enormities, he prevailed with *Alexander* to put him to death, in the manner as I have said; which, considering the services he had done him, and the munificence with which he had received him on his entering into his province, is deservedly reckoned one of the basest of his actions.

FROM *Pasargada* he marched to *Persepolis*, where he lamented his folly in having burned that city; from thence he passed on towards *Susa*; in

in his way thither he met *Neurchus* with his fleet. For [m] *Nearchus*, according to his orders, had failed up the *Persian* gulph into the *Euphrates*, but there hearing *Alexander* was on his march towards *Susa*, he sailed back again to the mouth of the *Pasitigris*, and from thence up that river to a bridge which *Alexander* was to pass. And there the land-army and the sea-army meeting, they both joined together; for which *Alexander* offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to his gods, and made great rejoicings in his camp; and high honours were there given to *Nearchus*, for his successful conduct of the fleet, and bringing it safe through so many dangers to that place.

WHEN *Alexander* came to *Susa*, where he had left all the captive ladies at his last being there, [n] he took to wife *Statira* the eldest of *Darius*'s daughters, and gave the younger, called *Drypetis*, to *Hephestion*, his chief favourite, and at the same time married most of the rest of them, to the number of about an hundred, to others of his commanders and principal followers. For they being the daughters of the prime nobility of the *Persian* empire, he hoped by these marriages to make such a union of the *Grecians* and *Persians* together, as should render them both as one nation under his empire. And for five days together these nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and solemnity, and all manner of feasting and rejoicing. All the dowries of these ladies *Alexander* paid, and at the same time distributed great rewards to such of his followers as had best deserved of him in the wars, and paid the debts of all the soldiers of his army; which last article alone amounted to ten thousand talents, *Justin* and *Arrian* say twenty thousand. On these and other such occasions he expended vast sums, which were all supplied him out of the immense treasures of *Darius*. For out of them he laid up in his treasury at *Ecbatana* only [o] an hundred and ninety thousand talents, besides what he had at *Babylon*, and in other treasuries through the empire.

THESE nuptial solemnities being over, he left the main of his army under the conduct of *Hephestion*, [p] and with the rest went on board the fleet, which he had caused to be brought up the *Eulæus*, (in [q] *Daniel* called the *Ulai*) on which *Susa* stood, and sailed down that river into the *Persian* gulph, and from thence passed up the *Tigris* to the city *Opis*, where *Hephestion* met him with the rest of the army. On his coming to that place, he [r] caused it to be proclaimed through the whole army, that all those *Macedonians*, who by reason of their age, or the wounds they had received in the wars, or other infirmities, found themselves unable any longer to bear the fatigues of the camp, should have full liberty to return into *Greece*, declaring his intentions to dismiss them bountifully, and to cause them with honour and safety to be conveyed to their own homes. This he intended as a kindness to them, but it being taken by another handle, as if

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[m] Arrianis de rebus Indicis. [n] Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe, & in libro de fortuna Alexandri. Arrianus, lib. 7. *where by mistake this daughter of* Darius *is called* Barsina. *For* Barsina *was the concubine, not the wife of* Alexander, *and the daughter of* Artabazus, *not of* Darius. *She was first married to* Mamnon, *and after his death being taken into the bed of* Alexander, *she had a son by him called* Hercules. [o] Justin, lib. 12. cap. 1. *This amounts to above thirty five millions and a half of our money, according to its lowest calculation. But according to Dr.* Bernard's *computation, it comes to near forty millions.* [p] Arrian, lib. 7.

[q] *Chap.* viii. 2, 16. [r] Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrianus, lib. 7. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 2.

he

he were weary of his *Macedonians*, and diſmiſt them only to make room for the new recruits, which he had lately raiſed out of the conquered countries, to be taken into the army in their ſtead, they fell into a mutiny, and deſired all to be diſmiſt, telling him, that ſince he deſpiſed his ſoldiers, by whom he had gained all his victories, he and his father *Hammon* might alone wage his wars for the future, they would ſerve him no longer. Thus his folly in challenging that imaginary god for his father, how much ſoever he valued himſelf upon it, was made his reproach on this, as well as on all other occaſions by every body elſe. This mutinous humour, though it broke not out till on this occaſion, had been long a breeding among them. They diſliked his affecting the *Perſian* manners and habit, his marrying a *Perſian* lady, and his cauſing ſo many of his followers to do the ſame. But that which diſguſted them moſt, was his ingrafting the new recruits, which he made out of the conquered countries, into the *Macedonian* militia, and the advancing of many *Perſians* to places of honour and truſt, both in the army, and in the provinces, equally with the *Macedonians*. For he having conquered by them alone, they thought they alone ought to reign with him, and engroſs all his favours, and therefore were grievouſly diſcontented with all the methods which he took for the uniting of the *Perſians* with them; and theſe diſcontents being heightned by every ſtep which he made for the effecting of this union, at length broke out into a mutiny on the occaſion mentioned. Whereon he having puniſhed ſome of them, and this being of no effect to reduce the reſt, he retired into his tent, and there ſhut himſelf up for two days; after that, on the third, he called together his *Aſiatic* ſoldiers, excluding the *Macedonians*, and ſpoke very kindly to them, aſſured them of his favour, and treated them as if he intended for the future wholly to depend upon them, chuſing his guards out of them, and advancing ſeveral of them to places of honour and truſt, without taking any farther notice of the mutineers, which ſoon brought them to a better temper. For ſeeing themſelves thus kept at a diſtance, and wholly neglected, and excluded the favours they formerly enjoyed, they came to the door of his tent with tears of repentance, and there continued for two days in humble ſupplication for his pardon and favour; this prevailed with him on the third to admit them into his preſence, and be reconciled unto them; and from this time they no more mutinied againſt him, or faulted any of his proceedings.

FROM *Opis*, he marched by ſeveral ſtations to *Ecbatana* in *Media*. While he was there [f] he loſt his favourite *Hepheſtion*. For having drunk too hard, he contracted a fever by it, and of that he died. For *Alexander* having long given himſelf up to great drinking, encouraged his followers in it, drinking ſometimes whole days and nights with them; and it is ſaid, that in one of theſe drunken bouts at which he was preſent, the exceſs was carried on ſo far, [g] that forty perſons died of it. The death of this favourite was much lamented by him, and his funeral was ſolemnized with extravagant honours, as well as expences, and alſo with as extravagant cruelty. For he cauſed his phyſician to be crucified for no other reaſon, but that he could not make a man immortal, who by all manner of exceſſes

[f] Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrian, lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. [g] Athenæus, lib. 10. cap. 12. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Ælianus hiſtor. var. lib. 2. cap. 41.

did

did the utmoſt he could to kill himſelf. And this cruelty was the more ſignal, in that the patient himſelf baffled all that the phyſician preſcribed for his recovery. For when to allay the heat of his fever, and make way for remedies to take place for the cure of it, the phyſician had directed an abſtinence from all fleſh-meats and wine, he refuſed to be reſtrained from either, but took both in ſuch quantities, as ſoon put it beyond the power of phyſick to give him any relief; and thus by the cauſe of his diſtemper, and by wilfully diſappointing all the means of being cured of it, he became doubly his own murtherer; and yet the poor phyſician, who could help neither, was forced to anſwer for all. And many inſtances may be given of ſuch irrational and unjuſt actions, where will and pleaſure rule without reſtraint, which often upon reflection bring the authors themſelves to the bitterneſs of regret, and too late repentance, and may be ſufficient to let all ſuch ſee, that it is the intereſt of princes, as well as of their people, that their authority be regulated by ſuch juſt laws, as may hinder them from doing ſuch irrational and unjuſt things, as often paſſion and humour, when let looſe from all reſtraint, may carry men into.

ALEXANDER, to divert his grief after this loſs, led his army againſt the *Coſſæans*, (a warlike nation in the mountains of *Media*, which none of the *Perſian* Kings could ever bring into ſubjection to them) and having in a war of forty days wholly ſubdued them, he paſſed the *Tigris*, and marched towards *Babylon*. On his approach near that place, the *Magians* and other prognoſticators ſent advice to him not to come thither, ſeveral ſigns portending, that his entering that city would prove fatal unto him. But contemning all theſe, he marched with his whole army into that place; where he found embaſſadors from all quarters of the world waiting his coming thither; to all which he gave audience in their order, and took care to return ſuch anſwers to every one of them, as would ſend them away from his preſence beſt pleaſed with him. *An.* 324. Alexander 8.

WHILE he continued at *Babylon* (which was near the ſpace of a whole year) he projected many deſigns; one was the circumnavigation of *Africa*, another for the making of a full diſcovery of the *Caſpian* ſea, and of all the nations round it; and for both theſe he had provided fleets. Another was to conquer the *Arabians*, and a fourth to make war againſt the *Carthaginians*, and carry on his conqueſts to the pillars of *Hercules*, having a great ambition in all things to imitate that hero of the *Grecian* poets. And beſides all theſe, he had many deſigns for the improving of *Babylon*. For finding it not only in its greatneſs, but alſo in the abundance which it was ſupplied with of all things neceſſary, either for the ſupport or pleaſures of life, to exceed all other places of the *Eaſt*, he reſolved there to fix the ſeat of his empire, and therefore projected to add all the improvements to it that it was capable of. What damage that place, as well as the countrey about it, ſuffered by *Cyrus*'s breaking down the banks of the *Euphrates* at the head of the canal called *Pallacopa*, I have above ſhewn. This he did ſet himſelf to remedy in the firſt place, whereby he would have recovered a whole province, which was drowned by the overflowings of the river in that place, and alſo have made the river it ſelf much more navigable, and conſequently much more profitable to the *Babyloni-*

* Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Arrian, lib. 7. Plutarchus in Alexandro.

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ans, by turning the main of the ſtream again that way, as formerly it had been. In order hereto, he ſailed to the place where the breach was made, and having taken a view of it, he immediately ordered that to be done for the repairing of it, which he thought would have remedied the evil. How he failed of the effect hath been already ſaid. But that which he chiefly ſet his heart upon, was to repair the temple of *Belus*. This *Xerxes* deſtroyed in his return from *Greece*, (as hath been above related) and it had lain in its rubbiſh ever ſince. This he purpoſed to [u] build again, and in a more ſtately and magnificent manner than it had been before. In order whereto, in the firſt place, he commanded the ground where it ſtood to be cleared of its rubbiſh; but finding the *Magians*, to whom he had committed the care of the work, went on but ſlowly with it, he employed his ſoldiers to aſſiſt them; and although ten thouſand of them laboured every day in this work for two months together, to the time of his death, yet were they forced to leave it imperfect, the ground being ſtill uncleared, ſo great were the ruins of the old building that were left upon it. But when it came to the turn of the *Jews*, who then ſerved *Alexander* among his *Aſian* recruits, to labour in this work, [w] they could not by any means be induced to put the leaſt helping hand to it, arguing that their religion being againſt idolatry, it forbad them to do any thing towards the building of an idolatrous temple, and to this reſolution they all firmly ſtood; ſo that tho' ſeveral ſevere puniſhments were inflicted upon them for it, not one of them could be brought to recede from it, whereupon *Alexander* admiring their conſtancy diſmiſſed them his ſervice, and ſent them all home into their own countrey.

BUT the greateſt part of the time that *Alexander* lay in *Babylon*, was ſpent in gratifying himſelf in the pleaſures and luxuries of the place, eſpecially in drinking, which he carried up to the utmoſt exceſs, ſpending ſometimes whole days and nights in it, till at length he drank himſelf into a fever, of which in a few days after he died, in the ſame manner as his favourite *Hepheſtion* had before him.

An. 323. Philip 1. THIS happened about the middle of the ſpring, [x] in the firſt year of the hundred and fourteenth *Olympiad*, which fell in the year before *Chriſt* 323. At his death there went a general report that he died of poiſon; and the ſame hath been ſaid of other great princes, when they have died unexpectedly, and often with very little reaſon for it. He having ſat out one long drinking bout was immediately invited to another, at which there being twenty in company, [y] he drank to every one of them in their order, and pledged each of them again, and then [z] calling for the *Herculean* cup, (which held ſix of our quarts) he drank this full to *Proteas* a *Macedonian*, who was one of the gueſts; and a little after pledged him again in the ſame. And he having done thus much, I think there needed no other poiſon to kill any man living. Immediately after this laſt cup he dropp'd down upon the place, and then fell into that violent fever of which he died. However, that he died of poiſon was not only a tranſient report, but a fix'd and laſting opinion among the *Macedonians*; and there were

[u] Arrian, lib. 17. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. [w] Joſeph. contra Apionem, lib. 1. [x] Arrian, lib. 7. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.
[y] Athenæus, lib. 10. cap. 11. & lib. 12. cap. 18. [z] Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Seneca. Ep. 83. Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 5. cap. 21. Athenæus, lib. 11. cap. 17.

ſuch

ſuch ſtrong reaſons to make it believed, as rendered it very probable, that a poiſonous liquor was alſo one ingredient of the cup that kill'd him.[a] The ſons of *Antipater* were charged to be the authors of this treaſon, and the common report was, that *Caſſander* the eldeſt of them brought the poiſon out of *Greece*, and that *Iollas* his brother, who was cup-bearer to *Alexander*, gave it to him, and that he choſe this time for it, that the exceſſive quantity of wine which he then drank, might cover this worſe cauſe of his death. *Alexander* a little before this time having diſmiſſed ten thouſand of his veterans, who were paſt ſervice, ſent *Craterus* to conduct them into *Greece*, with commiſſion to ſucceed *Antipater* in his government of *Macedon*, *Thrace*, and *Theſſaly*; and ordered *Antipater* to come to him to *Babylon*, to take *Craterus*'s place in the army. But *Antipater* being jealous, and not without good reaſon, that he was ſent for to be put to death for the many male-adminiſtrations he had been guilty of in his government, did by the hands of his ſons execute this treaſon upon the life of *Alexander* to ſave his own. And the death of *Alexander* happening ſo convenient to deliver him from this danger, made it the more believed that he was the author of it. And it is certain *Caſſander* could never after overcome the odium of it, but was deteſted for it by the *Macedonians* as long as he lived. *Pauſanias* in his *Arcadics*, tells us of a fountain[b] in *Arcadia* called *Styx*, whoſe waters are ſo exceeding cold as to be poiſonous. Some water of this fountain, they ſay, was mingled with the laſt cup that *Alexander* drank at this entertainment, and thereby it was made mortal to him. This water diſtills from the rock *Nonacris*, out of which it proceeds in a ſmall quantity, and is of ſo piercing a nature, that it breaks thorough all veſſels into which it is put, excepting only a mule's hoof. And therefore they tell us, that it was carried in ſuch a hoof from *Greece* to *Babylon*, for the executing of this villanous murther.

AND here ended all the deſigns of this great and vain-glorious prince. Never had any man a greater run of ſucceſs than he had, for twelve years and an half together, (for ſo long he reigned from the death of his father;) in that time he ſubjected to him all the nations and countries that lay from the *Adriatic* ſea to the *Ganges*, the greater part of the then known habitable world. And altho' moſt of his actions were carried on with a furious and extravagant raſhneſs, yet none of them failed of ſucceſs. His firſt attempt upon the *Perſians*, in paſſing the *Granicus* with only thirty five thouſand men, againſt an army above five times as many guarding the banks of the river on the other ſide, was what no man elſe that was well in his wits would have run upon, and yet he ſucceeded in it; and this ſucceſs creating a panic fear of him through all the *Perſian* empire, made way for all the other victories which he afterwards obtained. For no army after that, though twenty times the number of his, (as was that of *Arbela)* would take courage enough to ſtand before him. He was a man of ſome virtues, but theſe were obſcured with much greater vices. Vain-glory

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[a] Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrian, lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Juſtin, lib. 12. cap. 13, 14. Pauſanias in Arcadicis. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 10. Plin. lib. 30. cap. 16. Vitruvius, lib. 8. cap. 3.

[b] Curtius *by miſtake placeth this fountain in* Macedonia. *But* Vitruvius, lib. 8. cap. 3. Plutarch *in the life of* Alexander, Strabo, lib. 8. p. 398. *put it in the ſame place where* Pauſanias *doth, that is in the mountain* Nonacris *in* Arcadia, *and tell us, that* Alexander *was poiſoned with the water of it in the ſame manner as he and others relate.*

was his predominant folly, and that which chiefly ſteered him through all his actions. And the old *Greek* balads, and the fables of their ancient heroes, were the patterns from which he formed moſt of his conduct. This made him drag *Betis* round the walls of *Gaza*, as *Achilles* had *Hector* round thoſe of *Troy*. This made him make that hazardous expedition into *India*; for *Bacchus* and *Hercules* were ſaid to have done the ſame. And this made him, in imitation of the former, make that drunken proceſſion through *Carmania* on his return, which is above-mentioned. For *Bacchus* was ſaid to have returned that way in the ſame manner. And the ſame was the cauſe of that ridiculous affectation, whereby he aſſumed to himſelf to be called the ſon of *Jupiter*. For moſt of the *Grecian* fables making their heroes the ſons of ſome god or other, he would not be thought in this as well as not in any thing elſe to come behind them. But God having ordained him to be his inſtrument, for the bringing to paſs of all that which was by the prophet *Daniel* foretold concerning him, he did by his providence bear him through in all things for the accompliſhing it, and when that was done, did caſt him out of his hand. For he died in the prime vigour and ſtrength of his life, before he had outlived the thirty third year of his age.

AFTER his death there aroſe great confuſions among his followers about the ſucceſſion. But at length, after ſeven days conteſt, it came to this agreement, that *Aridæus*, a baſtard brother of *Alexander*'s, ſhould be declared King; and that if *Roxana*, who was then gone eight months with child, ſhould bring forth a ſon, that ſon ſhould be joined with him in the throne, and *Perdiccas* ſhould have the guardianſhip of both. For *Aridæus* being an ideot, needed a guardian as much as the infant. After this the governments of the empire being divided among the chief commanders of the army, all went to take poſſeſſion of them, leaving *Perdiccas* at *Babylon* to take care of *Aridæus*, and direct for him the main affairs of the whole empire. For ſome time they contented themſelves with the name of governors, but at length took that of Kings, as they had the authority from the firſt. As ſoon as they were ſettled in the provinces to which they were ſent, they all fell to leaguing and making war againſt each other, till thereby they were, after ſome years, all deſtroyed to four. Theſe were *Caſſander*, *Lyſimachus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Seleucus*, and they divided the whole empire between them. *Caſſander* had *Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lyſimachus*, *Thrace*, and thoſe parts of *Aſia* as lay upon the *Helleſpont* and the *Boſphorus*; *Ptolemy*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Paleſtine*, and *Cœle-Syria*; and *Seleucus* all the reſt. And hereby [d] the prophecies of *Daniel* were exactly fulfilled, which foretold, that the great horn of the *Macedonian* Empire, that is, *Alexander*, being broken off, there ſhould ariſe four other horns, that is, four Kings of the ſame nation, who ſhould divide his empire between them; and the manner how they did ſo, will in the future ſeries of this hiſtory be fully declared.

ARIDÆUS being thus placed on the throne, they changed his name to [e] that of *Philip*, and from hence the *Philippean Æra* hath its original, which the *Egyptians* computing from the firſt day of that year in which

[c] Curtius, lib. 10. Diodor. Sic. lib. 8. Plutarchus in Eumene. Juſtin, lib. 13. cap. 1---4.
[d] Daniel vii. 6. viii. 8, 21, 22. xi. 4. [e] Juſtin, lib. 13. cap. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Ptolemæus in Canone.

Alexan-

Alexander dyed, that is, from the firſt day of their *Thoth* preceding, (which fell in the twelfth of our *November*) *Ptolemy* the aſtronomer doth the ſame in his canon, tho' contrary to the method hitherto obſerved by him. For in all other deſcents preceding this he begins the reign of the ſucceſſor from the *Thoth* following, and not from the *Thoth* preceding the death of the ſucceſſor.

SISYGAMBIS the mother of *Darius*, though ſhe had born with great patience the death of her father, her husband, and eighty of her brothers ſlain by *Ochus* in one day, and ſince that the death of her ſon, and the ruine of his family, yet could not bear the death of *Alexander*. He had ſhewn great kindneſs to her, and not knowing where to expect any more, ſhe took his death to be the completion of her calamity; and therefore on her hearing of it, refuſed to take any more ſuſtenance, and famiſhed herſelf to death out of grief for it. Her death was accompanied with that alſo of her two grand-daughters, *Statira* the widow of *Alexander*, and *Drypetis* the widow of *Hepheſtion*. For *Roxana* having craftily got them into her power, by the concurrence of *Perdiccas*, cauſed them both to be flung into a well and murthered. She feared *Statira* might be with child, and if that proved to be a ſon, it might diſturb the ſettlement which was made in favour of her ſon, in caſe ſhe bore one, and therefore thus made her away to prevent it, and her ſiſter with her. And not long after ſhe was delivered of a ſon, who was called *Alexander*, and his name, with that of *Aridæus* or *Philip*, was afterwards joined in the government of the empire; tho' neither of them had any more than a name in it, the authority being wholly uſurped by thoſe, who had divided the provinces among them.

IN this diviſion of the provinces, [i] *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* were aſ- *An.* 322. Philip 2.
ſigned to *Eumenes*, who had been ſecretary of ſtate to *Alexander*; but theſe had not yet been thoroughly ſubjected to the *Macedonian* dominion. For *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, ſtill held thoſe countries, and *Alexander* having been called out of thoſe parts in the proſecution of his other wars, before he could fully reduce him, was forced to leave him behind in the poſſeſſion of his kingdom, and he had continued in it ever ſince. And therefore he being firſt to be conquered, before *Eumenes* could be put in poſſeſſion of this government, *Perdiccas* ſent to *Antigonus* and *Leonnatus* for the effecting of it. The former of them had the government of *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, and the *greater Phrygia*; and the latter, that of the *leſſer Phrygia* and the *Helleſpont*. But they having both of them other deſigns in their heads, for the promoting of their own intereſt, neither of them had any regard to what *Perdiccas* ordered. *Leonnatus* was then marching into *Greece*, under pretence of carrying aſſiſtance to *Antipater*, governor of *Macedonia*, who was then hard preſſed by a confederacy of the *Greeks* againſt him, but in reality to ſeize *Macedon* and *Greece* for himſelf: But he being ſlain in battel againſt thoſe *Greeks*, this did put an end to all his deſigns. When *Eumenes* came to him with *Perdiccas*'s order, he endeavoured to draw him into his meaſures, and in

[f] Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Juſtin, lib. 13. cap. 1. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 8. [g] Plutarchus in Alexandro. [h] Arrianus in excerptis Photii. Pauſanias in Atticis & Bœoticis. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. [i] Plutarchus in Eumene. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 10. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Juſtin, lib. 13. cap. 4. Arrianus in excerptis Photii.

order hereto communicated to him his whole ſcheme. But *Eumenes* liking neither the man, nor his project, refuſed to be concerned with him in it. Whereon *Leonnatus* would have put him to death for the concealing of the ſecret; which *Eumenes* being aware of, fled to *Perdiccas*, and revealed the whole matter to him. Whereon he grew very much into his confidence, and was on other accounts very acceptable unto him; for he was a very ſteady man, and had the beſt headpiece of all *Alexander*'s captains. And therefore *Perdiccas*, to gratify him, taking the two Kings along with him, marched into *Cappadocia*, and having vanquiſhed *Ariarathes*, and cut him off, with all his family and kindred, ſettled *Eumenes* in the quiet poſſeſſion of his government; and afterwards having ſubdued *Iſauria* and *Lycaonia*, two cities of *Piſidia*, that had ſlain their governors and revolted, he marched into *Cilicia*, and there took up his winter quarters. While he lay there, he projected the divorcing of *Nicæa*, the daughter of *Antipater*, whom he had lately taken to wife, and the marrying of *Cleopatra*, the ſiſter of *Alexander the Great*, in her ſtead. She had been wife to *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, but he having been ſlain in his wars in *Italy*, ſhe had ever ſince lived a widow, and was then at *Sardis* in *Lydia*; thither *Perdiccas* ſent *Eumenes* to propoſe the match, and court her to it: For ſhe being in great credit and eſteem with the *Macedonians*, as ſiſter to *Alexander* both by father and mother, he propoſed by this marriage to ſtrengthen his intereſt with them, and then in her right to ſeize the whole empire. *Antigonus* getting knowledge of this project, and that the cutting of him off, to make way for the ſucceſs of it, was one part of the ſcheme, he fled into *Greece* to *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who were then making war with the *Ætolians*, and diſcovered to them the whole plot; whereon, clapping up a peace with the *Ætolians*, they immediately marched to the *Helleſpont* to watch theſe deſigns, and took *Ptolemy*, governor of *Egypt*, into confederacy with them, for the better ſtrengthening of themſelves againſt them. This *Craterus* was one of the eminenteſt of *Alexander*'s captains, and of all of them the beſt beloved and eſteemed by the *Macedonians*. *Alexander*, a little before his death, had ſent him to conduct home into *Macedonia* ten thouſand of his veterans, who were by age, wounds, or infirmity, diſabled for farther ſervice, with orders to take upon him the government of *Macedonia* and *Greece*, in the room of *Antipater*, whom he had called to *Babylon*, as hath been before mentioned. And therefore, after the death of *Alexander*, theſe provinces having been aſſigned to him, in joint authority with *Antipater*, he had accordingly taken on him the government of them in co-partnerſhip with him, and very amicably aſſociated with him in all his wars, as eſpecially he did in this, which the diſcovery of *Perdiccas*'s deſigns made it neceſſary for them to engage in. In the interim *Perdiccas* ſent *Eumenes* into his province, not only to put all things there in as good poſture as he could, but alſo to have a watchful eye upon *Neoptolemus*, governor of *Armenia*, which lay next him: For *Perdiccas* had ſome ſuſpicion of him, and not without cauſe, as it will afterwards appear.

An. 321. Philip 3. IN the beginning[k] of the next ſpring, *Perdiccas* having aſſembled all his forces together in *Cappadocia*, deliberated with his friends whether he

[k] Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus in Eumene. Juſtin. lib. 13. cap. 6. Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. Arrianus in excerptis Photii.

should

should march immediately into *Macedonia* against *Antipater* and *Craterus*, or else into *Egypt* against *Ptolemy*. Should he march first into *Macedonia*, the fear was, that *Ptolemy*, who had made himself very strong in *Egypt*, should take the advantage to seize all the *greater Asia*. For the preventing of this, it was resolved not to leave *Ptolemy* at his back, but to reduce him first, and after that to carry the war into *Macedonia*, and that in the interim *Eumenes* should be left with part of the army to guard the *Asian* provinces against *Antipater* and *Craterus*. For the executing of which resolutions, *Perdiccas* gave unto *Eumenes* the provinces of *Caria*, *Lycia*, and *Phrygia*, in addition to those he had before, and made him captain-general of all the countries from the *Hellespont* to mount *Taurus*, ordering all the governors of them to obey his orders; and then by the way of *Damascus* and *Palestine* marched into *Egypt*, carrying the Kings with him in this expedition also, thereby to give the greater countenance and authority to his actings in it.

EUMENES,[1] to make good his charge, lost no time in providing himself with an army to withstand *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who had passed the *Hellespont* to make war upon him. They in the first place made use of all manner of endeavours to draw him over to their party, promising him the provinces which he had, with the addition of others to them; but he being a steady man, would not on any terms be wrought upon to break his faith with *Perdiccas*. But they had better success with *Alcetas* and *Neoptolemus*: For they prevailed with the former, tho' the brother of *Perdiccas*, to stand neuter, and with the other to come over to them; but while he was on his march to join their army, *Eumenes* fell upon him, and having vanquished him in battel, took from him all his baggage, and *Neoptolemus* himself difficultly escaped with three hundred horse only to *Antipater* and *Craterus*, the rest of his forces, that were not cut off in battel, taking service under *Eumenes*. Whereon *Antipater* marched into *Cilicia*, from thence to pass into *Egypt* to the assistance of *Ptolemy*, if his affairs should require it; and sent *Craterus* and *Neoptolemus* with the rest of the army into *Cappadocia* against *Eumenes*, where it coming to a battel between them, *Craterus* and *Neoptolemus* were both slain, and *Eumenes* gained an entire victory; which was wholly owing to his wisdom and military skill in ordering the battel: For whereas the *Macedonians* generally had that love for *Craterus*, that not one of them would have drawn a sword against him, *Eumenes* ordered the matter so, that none of the *Macedonians* that were in his army, knew that *Craterus* was with the enemy till that he was slain, and the victory won.

In the interim[2] *Perdiccas* entered *Egypt*, and there waged war against *Ptolemy*, but not with the same success. For *Ptolemy*, since his having entered on the government of *Egypt*, managed all things there with that justice and benignity, that he had not only made himself strong in the affection of the *Egyptians*, but had drawn many others thither, who flocked to him out of *Greece* and other countries, to enjoy the benefit of so just and mild a government, which added great encrease to his strength. And the army of *Perdiccas* were so well affected to him, that they went with

[1] Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Justin, lib. 13. cap. 8. Arrianus in excerptis Photii.

[2] Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus in Eumene. Arrianus in excerptis Photii. Pausanias in Atticis.

great

great unwillingneſs to make war againſt him, and many of them daily deſerted to him; all which made againſt *Perdiccas*, and at laſt ended in his ruine! For having unfortunately endeavoured to paſs a branch of the *Nile*, which made an iſland in it over-againſt *Memphis*, he had a thouſand of his men drowned in the attempt, and as many more devoured by the crocodiles of that river; which angred the *Macedonians* who followed him to that degree, that riſing in a mutiny againſt him, they ſlew him in his tent, and moſt of his friends and confidents with him. About two days after came the news of *Eumenes*'s victory. Had it been known two days ſooner, it would have prevented the mutiny, and the revolution which afterwards followed in favour of *Ptolemy*, *Antipater*, and thoſe of their party. The next day after the death of *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy* paſſed over the *Nile* into his camp, and there ſo effectually pleaded his cauſe before the *Macedonians*, that he turned them all over to him; and when the news of *Craterus*'s death came, he took the advantage of that grief and anger with which he ſaw them actuated for it, as to cauſe them by a publick decree to declare *Eumenes* and fifty others of that party by name, enemies to the *Macedonian* ſtate; and by the ſame decree, *Antipater* and *Antigonus* were appointed to make war againſt them as ſuch. And whereas all were enclined to have conferred on him the guardianſhip of the Kings in the room of *Perdiccas*, he rather choſe to keep where he was, recommending *Pithon* and *Aridæus* to this charge; and by his intereſt it was, that they were appointed to it. The former had been a noted commander in the army of *Alexander* through all his wars, and followed the party of *Perdiccas* till his late misfortune at the *Nile*, when in diſlike of his conduct he deſerted from him, and went over to *Ptolemy*. But as to the other, no mention is made of him, till on the death of *Alexander* he was appointed to take care of his funeral; for which having made great preparations, at length, after two years time ſpent herein, he carried the corps in great ſolemnity from *Babylon* into *Egypt*, and there depoſited it in the city of *Memphis*, from whence it was afterwards tranſlated to *Alexandria*. A prophecy having been given out, that wherever *Alexander* ſhould be buried, that place of all others ſhould be the moſt happy and proſperous; this put the chief governors of provinces upon a ſtrife, which of them ſhould have the body of this deceaſed prince, each of them deſiring to make the chief ſeat of his government happy by it. *Perdiccas*, out of love to his countrey, would have it carried to *Ægæ* in *Macedonia*, the uſual burying place of the *Macedonian* Kings, and others elſewhere. But *Ptolemy* prevailed to have it brought into *Egypt*, where *Aridæus* having carried it not long before the death of *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy*, to gratify him for it, procured that he was choſen into this office. But *Euridyce*, the wife of King *Aridæus*, (now called *Philip*) putting in to have all affairs managed according to her direction, and the *Macedonians* favouring her in this pretence, they were ſo tired with the impertinency of this woman, that when they had led back the army to *Triparadiſus* in *Syria*, they there reſigned their charge, and it was conferred wholly on *Antipater*, who thereon made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, wherein he excluded all that had been of the party of *Perdiccas* and *Eumenes*, and reſtored all of the other party that had been diſpoſſeſſed. In this new diſtribution, *Seleucus* had the government of *Babylon* conferred on him, who from this beginning afterwards grew up to be the greateſt of all *Alexander*'s ſucceſſors,

as

as will hereafter be related. *Antipater* having thus ſettled affairs, ſent *Antigonus* to make war upon *Eumenes*, and then returned into *Macedonia*, leaving his ſon *Caſſander* with *Antigonus* in the command of general of the horſe in his army, to be a ſpy upon him.

THIS year *Jaddua* the high-prieſt of the *Jews* being dead, [n] *Onias* his ſon ſucceeded him in that office, and lived in it one and twenty years.

EARLY the next ſpring [o] *Antigonus* marched out of his winter quarters againſt *Eumenes*, and at *Orcynium* in *Cappadocia* it came to a battel between them, in which *Eumenes* loſt the victory, with eight thouſand of his men. This was cauſed by the treachery of *Apollonides*, one of the principal commanders of his horſe, who being corrupted by *Antigonus*, deſerted to him in the battel. However the traitor eſcaped not the puniſhment which he deſerved, for *Eumenes* having taken him, cauſed him immediately to be hanged for it. After this *Eumenes* ſhifted from place to place, till at length he was ſhut up in the caſtle of *Nora*, which was ſituated in the confines of *Cappadocia* and *Lycaonia*, where he endured the ſiege of a whole year. *An.* 320. Philip 4.

IN the mean time *Ptolemy* finding how convenient *Syria*, *Phœnicia* and *Judea* lay for him, both for the defence of *Egypt*, as well as for the invading from thence the iſland of *Cyprus*, which he had an eye upon, reſolved to make himſelf maſter of theſe provinces. They were in the firſt partition of the provinces of the empire granted to *Laomedon* the *Mytelenian*, one of *Alexander*'s captains, and had been confirmed to him alſo in that ſecond partition which was made by *Antipater* at *Triparadiſus*, and he had accordingly from the death of *Alexander* to this time been poſſeſſed of them, without any interruption or diſturbance. *Ptolemy*, at firſt, thought to have bought him out of them, and offered him vaſt ſums for this purpoſe; but not prevailing this way, he ſent *Nicanor*, one of his captains, with an army into *Syria* againſt him, while he with a fleet invaded *Phœnicia*. *Nicanor* having vanquiſhed *Laomedon* in battle, and taken him priſoner, thereon ſeized all the inland country, and *Ptolemy* had the ſame ſucceſs on the maritim; ſo that hereby he made himſelf maſter of all thoſe provinces; and *Antipater* being returned into *Macedonia*, and *Antigonus* otherwiſe engaged againſt *Eumenes*, neither of them could hinder this enlargement of his power, tho' both miſliked it.

BUT when all other parts of this countrey, after the vanquiſhing of *Laomedon*, readily yielded to *Ptolemy*, [q] the *Jews* alone refuſed to ſubmit to this new maſter, and for ſome time ſtood out againſt him. For having a juſt ſenſe of the oath which they had ſworn to the former governor, they were truly tenacious of the faith which they had thereby engaged to him; and therefore, till over-power'd by force, would comply with nothing that was contrary to it. Whereon *Ptolemy* marched into *Judea*, and laid ſiege to *Jeruſalem*. The place being ſtrongly fortified both by art and nature, might have held out long againſt him, but that the *Jews* had then ſuch a ſuperſtitious notion for the keeping of their ſabbath, that they thought it a

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[n] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 8. Chronicon Alexandrinum. Euſebius in Chronico.

[o] Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. [p] Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. Appian in Syriacis. Pauſanias in Atticis. [q] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. & contra Apionem, lib. 1.

breach

breach of their law concerning it, even to defend themſelves on that day; which *Ptolemy* having obſerved, made choice of their ſabbath to ſtorm the place; and then took it in the aſſault, becauſe none of them would, on that day, defend their walls againſt him. *Joſephus* being unwilling to expoſe his nation to the contempt of the *Greeks* for ſo ridiculous a folly, tells the ſtory otherwiſe in his antiquities, as if *Ptolemy* were admitted into *Jeruſalem* upon articles of compoſition, and ſeized the place in breach of them; but [r] other hiſtorians, and thoſe whom he himſelf quotes elſewhere, give that other account of it which I have here related, and which I think was the truth of the matter. For it appears from [s] the book of the *Maccabees*, that till *Mattathias*, and thoſe with him, made a decree to the contrary, it was the ſtated opinion of the *Jews*, that they were to do nothing on the ſabbath day, even for the ſaving of their own lives, againſt thoſe that fought againſt them.

WHEN *Ptolemy* [t] had thus made himſelf maſter of *Jeruſalem*, and all *Judea*, he did at firſt deal very hardly with the inhabitants. For he carried above an hundred thouſand of them captives into *Egypt*. But afterwards reflecting on the ſteadineſs with which they adhered to the fealty they had ſworn to their former princes and governors, he thought them the propereſt for the higheſt truſt; and therefore having choſen out of them thirty thouſand of the ſtrongeſt and beſt qualified for military ſervice, he committed to them the garriſoning and keeping of thoſe towns which were of the greateſt importance to him to have well maintained, and appointed the reſt, at their deſire, to be with them in the ſame places, to adminiſter all neceſſaries to them. And whereas he had lately brought under him *Cyrene* and *Lybia*, he placed ſeveral of them there; and from them were deſcended the *Cyrenian Jews*, of whom was *Jaſon*, [u] who wrote the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* in five books, (of which the ſecond book of *Maccabees*, which we now have, is an abridgment) and of whom alſo was [v] *Simon*, that bore *Chriſt*'s croſs at his crucifixion, and others, that are mentioned [w] in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*.

An. 319. Philip 5. *ANTIPATER*, being worn out with age, [x] dyed in *Macedonia*, and at his death appointed *Polyſperchon*, who was the oldeſt of *Alexander*'s captains then remaining, to be the guardian of the Kings, and governor of *Macedonia*, in his ſtead; which *Caſſander* reſented with great indignation. For he could not bear, that his father ſhould prefer any one before him in this truſt. And therefore he forthwith ſet himſelf to form a party againſt the new guardian, and ſeized as many places as he could within the verge of his government, both in *Greece* and *Macedon*, and purpoſed no leſs than the diſpoſſeſſing him of all the reſt. And for the better carrying on of this deſign, he ſent to *Ptolemy* and *Antigonus*, to engage them to be on his ſide in it; and they both encouraged him to proceed therein, but with a view only to their own intereſt. The aim of the former was to ſecure himſelf in the provinces he had gotten, and that of the other was to poſſeſs himſelf of all *Aſia*; and they thought, if the *Macedonians* were embarraſſed by a war at home, they might both of them with the greater eaſe obtain

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[r] Agatharcides apud Joſephum, libro primo contra Apionem. Vide etiam Ariſteam.
[s] 1 Maccab. ii. 41. [t] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. Ariſteas. [u] 2 Maccab. i.
[v] Matth. xxvii. 32. Mark xv. 21. Luke xxiii. 26. [w] *Gb.* ii. 10. and vi. 9.
[x] Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus in Phocione.

their

their deſigns. For no ſooner was *Antipater* dead, but *Antigonus* finding himſelf poſſeſſed of the greateſt power of all *Alexander*'s captains then ſurviving, formed a project of making himſelf maſter of all. For he was left by *Antipater* generaliſſimo of all the *leſſer Aſia*, with full authority over all the provinces in it, and had then under his command an army of ſeventy thouſand men, beſides thirty elephants, which was a force which no other power in the empire could then reſiſt, and therefore he reſolved to ſeize the whole. In order hereto, his firſt ſtep was to make a reform in all the governments of the provinces within the verge of his power, by putting out all ſuch governors as he had no confidence in, and placing others in their ſteads, who wholly depended on him. And accordingly he drove *Aridæus* out of his government of the *leſſer Phrygia* and the *Helleſpont*, and *Clitus* out of that of *Lydia*, and ſo proceeded to do the ſame in all the other provinces and cities of the *leſſer Aſia*. But his greateſt difficulty was to maſter *Eumenes*, whoſe valour, wiſdom, and military skill, made him more formidable to him than all the reſt, tho' he had then been for a whole year ſhut up, and beſieged by him in the caſtle of *Nora*. And therefore [y] he would make tryal again to draw him over to him, and ſent his countreyman *Jerom* of *Cardia*, the famous hiſtorian of thoſe times, to make propoſals to him for this purpoſe, with whom *Eumenes* managed the treaty ſo wiſely and craftily, that he got rid of the ſiege at the time when he was almoſt brought to the point of periſhing by it, and without obliging himſelf to any thing that *Antigonus* intended by the compoſition. For an agreement being made, and the oath whereby *Eumenes* was to ſwear to it, being according to the form ſent by *Antigonus*, that he ſhould hold all for friends or enemies, as they were friends or enemies to *Antigonus*, he altered the form, putting it, That he ſhould hold all for friends or enemies, as they were friends or enemies to *Olympias* and the Kings, as well as to *Antigonus*; and then referred it to the *Macedonians*, that lay at the ſiege, to judge which form was propereſt; who ſtill retaining their affection for the royal family, gave their judgment for the latter. And therefore *Eumenes* having ſworn according to this form, they raiſed the ſiege and departed. But when *Antigonus* had an account how this matter was managed, he was ſo diſpleaſed at it, that he refuſed to ratify the treaty, and immediately diſpatched his orders to have the ſiege again renewed. But they came too late to be put in execution. For *Eumenes*, immediately on the raiſing of the ſiege, quitted the fortreſs, and with the five hundred men that bore the ſiege with him marched into *Cappadocia*, and there got together of his old ſoldiers about two thouſand more, and made all other preparations for the war, which he knew would be again renewed againſt him.

IN the interim [z] the defection of *Antigonus* from the intereſt of the Kings, and ſetting up for himſelf, being notorious, a commiſſion was ſent to *Eumenes*, in the name of the Kings, from *Polyſperchon* their guardian, conſtituting him captain-general of all the *leſſer Aſia*, with orders to *Teutamus* and *Antigenes*, commanders of the *Argyraſpides*, to join with him, and under his command to make war againſt *Antigonus*. And thoſe who

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[y] Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. Diodor. ibid. [z] Diodor. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos, ibidem.

had the keeping of the Kings treaſures were commanded every where to ſupply him with money for this war; and letters were ſent every where from *Olympias* to the ſame purpoſe. Hereon *Eumenes* ſet himſelf with vigour to augment his forces with new recruits, and make all other preparations, which might enable him ſucceſsfully to execute all the orders he had received. But before he could get together an army ſufficient for it, *Menander*, one of *Antigonus*'s captains, coming upon him into *Cappadocia* with a great army, he was forced to march thence in haſte, with only three thouſand men that he had then about him. But having by long marches gotten over mount *Taurus* into the countrey of *Cilicia*, he was there met by the *Argyraſpides*, who, according to the orders received from the Kings, joined with him, they being in number about three thouſand men. Theſe were the remainders of the old ſoldiers of *Alexander*, by whom he had won all his victories; and he having given them, [a] when they marched with him into *India*, ſhields plated over with ſilver, as a mark of ſpecial honour to them, from hence they were called the *Argyraſpides*, i. e. *the ſilver-ſhielded*, (for ſo that name ſignified in the *Greek* langugage.) And they were eminent above all of their time, for valour and skill in war. But the year being then ſpent, *Eumenes* could do no more at that time, than enter into winter-quarters with them in that countrey.

An. 318. Philip 6. WHILE he lay there [b] he ſent his emiſſaries into all parts to raiſe him more forces; who being plentifully ſupplied with money, executed their commiſſions ſo ſucceſsfully, that in the enſuing ſpring he took the field with an army of twenty thouſand men horſe and foot, which did put all his enemies into no ſmall fear of him. And therefore *Ptolemy*, for the cruſhing of him, came with a fleet upon the coaſts of *Cilicia*, and made all manner of attempts to draw off the *Argyraſpides* from him; and *Antigonus* endeavoured the ſame by ſeveral emiſſaries ſent into *Eumenes*'s camp for this purpoſe; but both miſcarried herein. For *Eumenes* carried himſelf with that benignity and affability to all that were with him, and conducted all his affairs with ſo much prudence, that he engaged the hearts of all his ſoldiers to him with ſo ſtrong a link of affection and confidence, that not a man of all his army could be induced to deſert him.

AND therefore having his army thus firmly fixed to him, [c] he marched with them into *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, to diſpoſſeſs *Ptolemy* of theſe provinces, which againſt all right he had violently ſeized to himſelf. His intention hereby was to open a ſecure correſpondence between him and *Polyſperchon* by ſea. For could he have gotten the naval ſtrength of the *Phœnicians* into his power, this, in conjunction with the fleet of *Polyſperchon*, would have made them abſolute maſters of the ſeas, and they might then have ſent and received ſuccours to and from each other, according as their affairs ſhould require; and had this deſign ſucceeded, they muſt have carried all before them. But the fleet of *Polyſperchon* being, through the folly of *Clitus* who commanded it, all broken and deſtroyed by *Antigonus*, this baffled the whole project. For *Antigonus*, immediately on the gaining of this victory, put himſelf upon the march with a great army to find out *Eumenes* and fall upon him; of which *Eumenes* having received intel-

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[a] Juſtin lib. 12. cap. 7. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. cap. 5. [b] Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. [c] Diodor. Sic. ibid.

ligence,

ligence, and finding himſelf not ſtrong enough to encounter ſo great a force as *Antigonus* was bringing againſt him, he durſt not ſtay his coming, but forthwith withdrew out of *Phœnicia*, and marching thorough *Cœle-Syria*, paſſed the *Euphrates*, and wintered at *Carrhæ* in *Meſopotamia*. This was [d] the ancient *Charan*, or *Haran* of the holy ſcriptures, where *Abraham* dwelt before he came into the land of *Canaan*, and where after that *Nahor*, the brother of *Abraham*, and his poſterity after him, had their habitation for ſeveral generations. And it was, in the hiſtories of after-ages, rendred famous for the [e] great battel there fought between the *Romans* and the *Parthians*, wherein the former received that ſignal overthrow, in which *Craſſus*, and moſt of their army under his command, were cut in pieces. The *Turks* now call it [f] *Harran* by the old name, and it was in late ages famous for [f] being the prime ſeat of the *Sabians*, a noted ſect in the eaſt, of which I have above ſpoken. Hence thoſe of this ſect were called *Harranites*, as well as *Sabians*, in thoſe parts.

EUMENES, while he lay at *Carrhæ*, [g] ſent to *Pithon* governor of *Media*, and *Seleucus* governor of *Babylon*, to join with him for the aiding of the Kings againſt *Antigonus*, and cauſed the orders of the Kings for this purpoſe to be communicated to them. Their anſwer hereto was, that they ſhould be very ready to give all aid to the Kings, but would have nothing to do with him, who had been declared a publick enemy by the *Macedonians*. But the truth of the matter was, they feared the great genius of *Eumenes*. For the intention of moſt of *Alexander*'s commanders, who after his death had divided the governments and provinces of his empire among them, was to ſet up for themſelves, and make themſelves ſovereigns each in the countrey which he had ſeized: And it was with a view to this, that on the death of *Alexander*, they did ſet up an ideot and an infant to have the names of ſovereigns after him; that under ſo weak a government they might the better ripen their deſigns for the uſurpations they intended; and all theſe meaſures they thought would be broken if *Eumenes* got the aſcendant; and therefore all of them, that were for theſe meaſures, were againſt him. But whether his purpoſe was to advance himſelf to the ſovereignty, or preſerve it to the family of *Alexander*, is uncertain. His profeſſions always were for the family of *Alexander*, and whatever his ſecret intentions might be, none of his actions made any diſcovery to the contrary. But thus much is certain, that as he was the wiſeſt and the valianteſt of all *Alexander*'s captains, ſo was he the moſt ſteady and faithful to all his obligations, having never falſifyed his faith in any one particular wherein he had engaged it; tho' he himſelf periſhed for want of it in others, as will be hereafter related. *An.* 317. Philip 7.

FROM *Carrhæ* [h] *Eumenes* marched in the beginning of the ſpring towards *Babylon*; in which march he had like to have loſt all his army by a ſtratagem of *Seleucus* upon him. For he having encamped on a plain near the *Euphrates*, *Seleucus* by cutting the banks of the river overflooded the place where he lay. But *Eumenes* having immediately drawn off his army to an adjoining eminence, thereby ſaved them from the preſent danger, and the next day after having found out a way again to drain

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[d] Gen. xi. 31, 32. *Ch.* xii. 4. *and Ch.* xxix. 4. [e] Plutarchus in Craſſo. Appian in Parthicis. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 747. [f] Vide Golii notas ad Alfraganum, p. 249, 250.
[g] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. [h] Ibid.

off the over-flowings, he marched off without receiving any great inconvenience from it; whereon *Seleucus* prayed truce with him, and permitted him ſafely to paſs through his province to *Suſa*, where he put his army into quarters of refreſhment, and from thence ſent meſſengers to all the governors of the upper provinces of *Aſia* to call them to his aſſiſtance. He had before tranſmitted to them letters from the Kings, which commanded them to join him for the ſupport of the royal intereſt, and now he ſent to let them know where he was, and to preſs upon them the ſpeedy execution of the royal command. And his meſſengers found them all together, they having lately joined in a war againſt *Pithon* governor of *Media*, which they had juſt then finiſhed. For *Pithon* playing the ſame game in thoſe provinces of the upper *Aſia*, that *Antigonus* did in the lower, had put *Philotas* to death to ſeize his province, and intended to have proceeded in the ſame manner with the reſt, till he ſhould have uſurped all to himſelf. Which being diſcerned, they all joined under the command of *Puceſtes* governor of the province of *Perſia*, in a common war againſt him; in which having vanquiſhed him in battel, they drove him out of *Media*, and forced him to flee to *Babylon*, to crave of *Seleucus* the protection of his life. And they were ſtill encamped together after this victory, when *Eumenes*'s meſſengers came unto them; whereon they immediately marched to *Suſa*, and there joined him with all their forces, which conſiſted of about five and twenty thouſand men horſe and foot. This reinforcement made him more than a match for *Antigonus*, who was then on his march after him; but the year being far advanced before he could reach the *Tigris*, he was forced to take up his winter quarters in *Meſopotamia*, where *Seleucus* and *Pithon*, who were then of his party, joining him, they there concerted together the operations of the next campaign.

IN the interim [i] a great change happened in *Macedonia*. For *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander*, having formerly fled out of *Macedonia* into *Epirus*, with *Alexander* her grandſon, and *Roxana* his mother, for fear of *Antipater*, now after his death was again returned, and having gotten the power of the kingdom into her hands, put *Aridæus* the nominal King (whom they called *Philip*) to death, with *Eurydice* his wife, after he had born the title of King ſix years and ſeven months. And with him ſhe ſlew alſo *Nicanor* the brother of *Caſſander*, and an hundred more of his principal friends and adherents; which cruelty was retaliated upon her the next year after. For then *Caſſander* coming upon her with an army beſieged her in *Pydna*, and having forced her to ſurrender, firſt ſhut her up in priſon, and afterwards cauſed her to be there put to death. After the cutting off of *Aridæus*, *Alexander* the ſon of *Roxana* alone bore the title of King, till at length he was alſo in like manner cut off by the treachery of thoſe who uſurped his father's empire. But almoſt all the time he bore this title alone, he bore it in a jayl. For *Caſſander* after he had taken *Pydna*, ſhut up him and his mother in the caſtle of *Amphypolis*, till at length he murthered them both to make way for himſelf to be King of *Macedon*, as will hereafter in its proper place be more fully related:

An. 316. Alexander Ægus 1. *ANTIGONUS* in the beginning of the ſpring [k] marched to *Baby-*

[i] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Juſtin, lib. 14.

[k] Diodor. ibid. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Eumene.

lon, where having joined the forces, which *Pithon* and *Seleucus* had there got ready for him, he paſſed the *Tigris* to find out *Eumenes*; and on the other hand, *Eumenes* was not wanting to put himſelf in a poſture to encounter him, being now ſuperior to him in the number of his forces, and much more ſo in the wiſdom and ſagacity of his conduct; not that the other was defective herein. For next *Eumenes*, he was certainly the beſt general, and the wiſeſt politician of his time. But the great diſadvantage which *Eumenes* lay under was, he commanded a voluntier army, it being made up of the forces brought him by the ſeveral governors of provinces who had joined him; and every one of theſe would have the general command. And *Eumenes* not being a *Macedonian*, but a *Thracian* by birth, there was not one of them, but thought himſelf for this reaſon preferable before him. To maſter this difficulty, he pretended that *Alexander* had appeared to him in a dream, and ſhewed him a royal pavilion richly furniſh'd with a throne in it, and told him, that if they would ſit in council there, he himſelf would be preſent to proſper all their conſultations and undertakings, upon which they ſhould enter in his name; and having wrought the ſuperſtition which they had for *Alexander* into a belief of this, he cauſed ſuch a pavilion and throne to be erected, as he pretended to have ſeen in his dream; and placing a crown and ſcepter in the throne, he prevailed with them there to meet in council, and conſult together in common, under the preſidency of *Alexander*, in the ſame manner as when he was alive, without owning any other ſuperior, which quell'd all farther ſtrife about this matter. For hereby a priority was yielded to none; and all pretences to it being ſtill kept alive, were reſerved to the opportunities, which the future events of their affairs might give to lay claim thereto. However the army had that confidence in the great abilities of *Eumenes*, that in time of battel, and in all caſes of danger, he was always called to the ſupreme command, and the ſoldiers would not fight till they ſaw him in it. And by the wiſdom of his management he brought it to paſs in all other caſes, that tho' in outward ſhew he ſeemed to wave all ſuperiority, yet in reality he had it, and all things were ordered according to his directions. And the royal command to all the keepers of the publick treaſuries, being to give out unto *Eumenes* all ſuch ſums, as he ſhould think fitting to require, this command of the purſe gave him the command of all things elſe. For hereby he was enabled conſtantly to pay his army, and alſo to give gratuities to the chief leaders among them, which had no ſmall influence to engage them to him. And in this poſture ſtood the affairs of both parties when this year's war begun, which was carried on with great vigour on both ſides; and all *Media* and *Perſia* became the field of it. For they ranged theſe countries all over with marches and counter-marches upon each other; and all manner of ſtratagems and tryals of military skill were put in practice on both ſides. But *Eumenes* having a genius much ſuperior in all ſuch matters, he did thereby, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages he lay under from a mutinous and ungovernable army, make the campaign end in his favour. For he had worſted *Antigonus* in two encounters, in which he had ſlain and taken a great number of his men; and when winter approached, he ſecured the beſt quarters for himſelf in the province of *Gabiene*, and forced *Antigonus* to march northward, to ſeek for his in the countrey of *Media*, at the diſtance of twenty five days march from him.

BUT

An. 315. Alexander Ægus 2.

BUT the licentiouſneſs of *Eumenes*'s ſoldiers being ſuch,[1] that they would not be kept together, but for the ſake of a more luxurious plenty ſcattered themſelves all over the province, and quartered at ſo great a diſtance from each other, as would require ſeveral days for them again to imbody; *Antigonus* on his having an account hereof, took a march towards him in the middle of winter, reckoning to be upon him before he ſhould be able to get his army together, and thereby gain an eaſy and abſolute victory over him. But *Eumenes*, who was never wanting in any precautions neceſſary for his ſecurity, had his ſpies and ſcouts ſo well placed, and ſo well furniſhed with dromedaries, the ſwifteſt of beaſts, to give him intelligence, that he had notice of this march of *Antigonus* ſome days before he could arrive, and thereby had time to defeat it by a ſtratagem which ſaved the army, when all the other commanders gave it for loſt. For getting up upon thoſe mountains which lay towards the enemy, with ſuch forces as were neareſt at hand, he there cauſed them the next night to kindle fires in ſuch manner, as might repreſent the encampment of an army; which being ſeen by *Antigonus*'s ſcouts at a great diſtance, and ſpeedily notified to him, this made him believe that *Eumenes* was there with all his army ready to encounter him. And therefore not thinking it proper to engage his men, as then fatigued and tired out by a long march, with a freſh army, he ſtopp'd ſo long to refreſh them, that *Eumenes* had gotten all his forces together before he could come up with him, and then he found he came too late to put his deſigns in execution. However, not long after this brought on a battel between them, wherein *Eumenes* got the victory, which would have proved deciſive in his favour, but that he loſt all the fruits of it, and himſelf too, by the treachery of his own men. For the battel being fought in a ſandy field, the feet of the men and horſes in the engagement raiſed ſuch a duſt, as involved all in a cloud, ſo that there was no ſeeing of any thing at the leaſt diſtance; of which *Antigonus* taking the advantage, ſent out a party of horſe, that ſeized and carried off all the baggage of *Eumenes*'s army before they could be perceived, whereby he gained the main point, tho' he loſt the victory. For *Eumenes*'s ſoldiers, when returned from the purſuit of the enemy, finding their camp taken, and all their baggage, with their wives and children carried off, inſtead of uſing their ſwords againſt the enemy again to recover them, turned all their rage upon their general; and therefore having ſeized and bound him, ſold him to *Antigonus* to redeem what they had loſt, and then went all over to him, which abſolutely determined the war for the intereſt of *Antigonus*. For immediately hereon he became maſter of all *Aſia*, from the *Helleſpont* to the river of *Indus*. *Eumenes* being thus fallen into his hands, he was for ſome time in a doubt how to diſpoſe of him; he having been formerly his intimate friend, while they both ſerved together under *Alexander*, the remembrance hereof did at firſt put the affection he had for him into a ſtruggle with his intereſt for the ſaving of his life, and *Demetrius* his ſon became an earneſt ſolicitor for him, being very deſirous, out of the generoſity of his temper, that ſo gallant a man ſhould be kept alive. But at length reflecting on his immoveable fidelity to *Alexander*'s family, how dangerous an antagoniſt he had in him on this account,

[1] Diodor. Sic. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos, ibid.

and

and how able he was to disturb all his affairs, should he again get loose from him, he durst not trust him with life; and therefore ordered him to be put to death in prison. And thus perished the wisest and the gallantest man of the age in which he lived. He had not indeed the fortune of *Alexander*, but in every thing else far exceeded him. For he was truly valliant without rashness, and wise without timidity, readily foreseeing all advantages that offered, and boldly executing all that were feasible; so that he never failed of any thing that he undertook, but when disappointed by the treachery of his own men. By this means he lost the battel which he fought with *Antigonus* in *Cappadocia*, and by this means only was it, that he was at last undone in *Gabiena*. After his death, *Antigonus*, with all his army, in the solemnest manner attended his funeral pile, and shewed him the greatest honour that could be done him after his death, and sent his bones and ashes, in a sumptuous urn of silver, to his wife and children into *Cappadocia*. But this could make no amends for the taking away of his life. However, it shewed that even in the opinion of the worst of his enemies, he was a person of that eminent merit, as deserved a much better fate.

ANTIGONUS[m] now looking on the whole empire of *Asia* as his own, for the better securing of it to him made a reform through all the eastern provinces, putting out all such governors as he distrusted, and placing others, of whom he had greater confidence, in their stead; and such as he thought dangerous he cut off; of this number were *Pithon*, governor of *Media*, and *Antigenes*, general of the *Argyraspides*; and he had marked out *Seleucus*, governor of *Babylon*, for the same destruction, but he being aware of it fled into *Egypt*, and there, under the protection of *Ptolemy*, saved his life. And as to the *Argyraspides*, who were those that betrayed *Eumenes*, he sent them into *Arachosia*, the remotest province of the empire, giving it in charge to *Sibyrtius*, the governor of it, by all ways and means to cause them there to be all consumed and destroyed, so that not a man of them might again return into *Greece*. And this he did out of a just abhorrence of the treachery which they had been guilty of towards their general, though he himself had the fruit of it.

In the interim[n] *Seleucus* being got safe into *Egypt*, he so effectually represented to *Ptolemy* the formidable power of *Antigonus*, as he also did to *Lysimachus* and *Cassander*, by messengers sent to them for this purpose, and made them so sensible of the danger they were in from it, that he drew them all three into a league against him. *Antigonus* being aware that *Seleucus* on his flight might endeavour to engage those princes into measures prejudicial to his interest, sent to each of them embassadors to renew his friendship with them. But finding by their answers, and the high demands which they made, that nothing but a war was to be expected from them, he hastned out of the east into *Cilicia*, and having there taken care for the recruiting and re-inforcing of his army, and ordered all things in the provinces of *lesser Asia*, as best suited with his interest, he marched thence into *Syria* and *Phœnicia*.

His[o] intentions in entering into these provinces were to dispossess *Ptolemy* of them, and make himself master of their naval force. For find- *An.* 314. Alexander Ægus 3.

[m] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Appianus in Syriacis. [n] Diodor. & Appianus, ibid. Justin, lib. 15. [o] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

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ing that a dangerous war was coming upon him from the confederated princes, and judging aright, that without making himſelf maſter of the ſeas, there was no managing of it with ſucceſs againſt them, he found it neceſſary to have the *Phœnician* ports and ſhipping at his command; but he came too late for the latter of them, *Ptolemy* having carried away all the *Phœnician* ſhipping into *Egypt* before his arrival; neither did he eaſily make himſelf maſter of the ports: For *Tyre*, *Joppa* and *Gaza*, held out againſt him. The two latter he ſoon reduced, but *Tyre* endured a ſiege of fifteen months before it could be brought to yield to him. However, having all the other ports of *Syria* and *Phœnicia* in his power, he immediately ſet himſelf to the building of a fleet of ſhips in them, cutting down vaſt quantities of timber from mount *Libanus*, and cauſing them to be carried to the ſeveral ports where the ſhips were a building; in which work ſeveral thouſands of hands were employed; and by this means he ſoon equipped ſuch a number of ſhips, as did, with thoſe ſent him from *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, and other confederated places, make up a fleet, which ſoon gave him the maſtery of the ſeas. That which chiefly edged him on with ſo much ſpeed to provide himſelf with this fleet, was an affront offered him by *Seleucus*. For while he lay encamped near *Tyre* on the ſea ſhore, *Seleucus* came thither with an hundred ſail of *Ptolemy*'s fleet, and *Antigonus* not having any ſhipping to encounter him, he paſſed by the coaſt where he was encamped in contempt of him, within the ſight of all his army; which very much diſheartning his men, and raiſing a mean opinion of his power in ſuch of his allies as were then preſent with him, for the remedy hereof he called them all together, and did let them know that even that very ſummer he would be on thoſe ſeas with a fleet of five hundred ſail, which no power of the enemy ſhould be able to withſtand; and accordingly he made his word good before the end of the year.

An. 313. Alexander Ægus 4.

BUT *Antigonus* finding, that while he was intent upon theſe affairs in *Phœnicia*, *Caſſander* grew upon him in the *leſſer Aſia*, [r] he marched thither with one part of the army, and left *Demetrius* his ſon (then a young man, not exceeding the twenty ſecond year of his age) with the other part, to defend *Syria* and *Phœnicia* againſt *Ptolemy*. By this time *Tyre* was reduced to great extremities: For *Antigonus*'s fleet being now ſet to ſea, barred all proviſions from being carried to them, which ſoon brought them to a neceſſity of ſurrendring. However, they obtained terms for the garriſon of *Ptolemy* to march ſafely thence with all their effects, and for the inhabitants to retain theirs without any damage. For *Andronicus*, who then commanded at the ſiege for *Antigonus*, was glad on any terms to gain ſo important a place, eſpecially after being tired out with ſo long a ſiege. For it laſted (as I have already ſaid) fifteen months. It was but nineteen years before that *Alexander* had deſtroyed this city, in ſuch a manner, as it might ſeem to require the length of ages for it again to recover it ſelf, yet in ſo ſhort a time it grew up again into a condition of enduring this ſiege for more than double the time of that of *Alexander*'s. This ſhews the great advantage of trade. For this city being the grand mart, where moſt of the trade both of the eaſt and the weſt did then centre, by virtue hereof it was, that it ſo ſoon revived to its priſtine vigour.

[r] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Appianus in Syriacis.

ANTIGONUS[q] on his coming into *leſſer Aſia* ſoon reduced the growing power of *Caſſander*, and forced him to very mean terms of accommodation; but after he had made them, he repented of the agreement, and would not ſtand to it, but ſent to *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* for aſſiſtance, and went on with the war, which detained *Antigonus* longer in thoſe parts than he intended, and in the interim gave *Ptolemy* the opportunity of gaining great advantages againſt him in the eaſt.

FOR[r] having with his fleet ſailed to *Cyprus*, he reduced moſt of that iſland to him, and from thence made a deſcent firſt upon the *upper Syria*, and next upon *Cilicia*, where having taken great ſpoils, and many captives, he returned with them into *Egypt*. And there having, by the advice of *Seleucus*, formed a deſign for the recovery of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, he marched thither with a great army. On his coming to *Gaza*, he there found *Demetrius* ready to obſtruct his farther progreſs. This brought on a fierce battel between them; in which *Ptolemy* gained the victory, having ſlain five thouſand of *Demetrius*'s men, and taken eight thouſand captive; which forced *Demetrius* to retreat, firſt to *Azotus*, and from thence to *Tripoly*, a city of *Phœnicia*, as far back as the confines of the *upper Syria*, and quit all *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtine*, and *Cœle-Syria*, to the victor. But before he left *Azotus*, having ſent to deſire leave to bury the dead, *Ptolemy* not only granted him this, but ſent him alſo all his equipage, tents and furniture, with all his friends, family and ſervants, without any ranſom; which kindneſs *Demetrius* had the opportunity of returning, when a while after he got the like advantage of *Ptolemy*. All the other captives he ſent into *Egypt*, to be there employed in his ſervice on board his fleet; and then marching forward, had all the ſea coaſt of *Phœnicia* forthwith ſurrendred unto him, excepting only *Tyre*. For *Andronicus*, who had lately taken that city after the long ſiege I have mentioned, having then the government of it, held it out for ſome time. But at length the garriſon ſoldiers falling into mutiny againſt him, delivered the place to *Ptolemy*, and him with it.

An. 312. Alexander Ægus 5.

AFTER theſe ſucceſſes, *Seleucus* having obtained of *Ptolemy* a thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, marched eaſtward with them to recover *Babylon*. With ſo ſmall a force did he undertake ſo great an enterprize, and yet ſucceeded in it. On his coming to *Carrhæ* in *Meſopotamia*, partly by perſuaſion, and partly by force, he brought all the *Macedonians* that were there in garriſon to join with him. And as ſoon as he drew near to *Babylon*, great numbers of the inhabitants of that province flocked to him. For remembring his mild government, and diſliking the ſeverity of *Antigonus*, they were glad of his return, and deſirous to ſee him re-inſtated in his former command over them; and therefore on his approach to the city, he found the gates opened to him, and he was received into the place with the general acclamation of the people. Whereon thoſe, who were of the party of *Antigonus*, retired into the caſtle; but *Seleucus* having now the poſſeſſion of the city, and all the people on his ſide, ſoon made himſelf maſter of this fortreſs, and with it again received his children, friends and ſervants, whom, on his flight into *Egypt*, *Anti-*

[q] Diodor. ibid. Plutarchus in Demetrio, Juſtin, lib. 15. cap. 1. Hecatæus Abderita apud Joſephum contra Apionem, lib. 1.

[r] Diodor. ibid. Plutarchus in Demetrio, [s] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Appianus in Syriacis.

gonus had there ſhut up in priſon, and then applied himſelf to get together ſuch an army, as might enable him to keep what he had gotten. For he had not long been in poſſeſſion of this city, e'er *Nicanor* (who was governor of *Media* for *Antigonus*) put himſelf upon the march with an army to drive him thence. *Seleucus*, on his having received intelligence of it, paſſed the *Tigris* to meet him, and having gotten him at a diſadvantage, ſtormed his camp in the night, and put his whole army to the rout; whereon *Nicanor*, with ſome few of his friends, fled through the deſarts to *Antigonus*; and all his forces that ſurvived the rout, part through diſlike of *Antigonus*, and part through fear of the conqueror, joined with him. Whereby having gotten a great army under him, he ſeized *Media*, *Suſiana*, and other neighbouring provinces and places, and thereby firmly fixed his intereſt and his power in thoſe parts; which he daily improved by the clemency of his government, and the juſtice, equity and humanity, which he practiſed towards all that were under it; and by theſe means, from ſo low a beginning, as I have mentioned, he grew up at length to be the greateſt of all *Alexander*'s ſucceſſors.

FROM this retaking of *Babylon* by *Seleucus*, [t] began the famous æra of the *Seleucidæ*, made uſe of all over the eaſt, by heathens, *Jews*, chriſtians and mahometans. It is called by the *Jews* [u] the æra of contracts, becauſe, after they fell under the government of the *Syro-Macedonian* Kings, they were forced to uſe it in all their contracts, and other inſtruments of civil affairs; and it afterwards grew ſo much in uſe among them, that till a thouſand years after Chriſt, they had no other way whereby to compute their time but this æra of contracts only. For it was not till then that they began to reckon by the years from the creation of the world. As long as they continued in the eaſt, they continued in the eaſtern uſage of computing by the æra of contracts, (as they called it) but when about the year of our Lord 1040, they were driven out of the eaſt, and forced to remove into theſe weſtern parts, and here ſettled in *Spain*, *France*, *England* and *Germany*, they learned from ſome of the chriſtian chronologers of theſe countries to compute by the years from the creation. The firſt year of this æra, according to their reckoning, falls in the year of the *Julian* period 953, and takes its beginning from the autumnal equinox of that year. But the true year of the creation of the world, according to *Scaliger*'s computation, was one hundred and eighty nine years, and according to others, two hundred and forty nine years higher up than where this æra of the *Jews* placeth it. However, the æra of contracts is not at this time out of uſe among thoſe people: For they continue ſtill to reckon by it, as well as by the other. The *Arabs* call it *Taric Dilcarnain*, i. e. *The æra of the two horned*. The reaſon of this name ſome deduce from *Alexander*, [v] who is in the alcoran and other *Arabic* books frequently called, *The two horned*. And he is often found with two horns on his coins. This moſt likely proceeded from the fond vanity which he had of being thought the ſon of *Jupiter Hammon*. For that god of the heathens being uſually repreſented with two rams horns on his head, *Alexander* might cauſe him-

[t] Vide Scaligerum, Petavium, Calviſium alioſq; Chronologos de hac Æra. [u] Vide Voriſii Zemach David, p. 61. & Diſſertationem R. Azariæ apud eundem in obſervationibus ad Zemach David, p. 247, 248, &c. [v] Vide Golii notas ad Alfraganum, p. 57, 58. & Alfraganum ipſum, cap. 1. §. De Æris, p. 6.

ſelf to be ſo repreſented too, the better to make the fiction paſs, that he was his ſon. But this æra hath no relation to *Alexander*, although it hath been by ſome ignorantly derived from him, and alſo called by his name, *The æra of Alexander*. For *Alexander* was dead twelve years before it began; and its commencement only was from the recovery of *Babylon* by *Seleucus*. And therefore it is moſt proper to deduce the origin of this *Arabic* name, *Taric Dilcarnain*, from *Seleucus*; and [x] *Appian* gives us in him a ſufficient reaſon for it. For he tells us, that *Seleucus* being a perſon of that great ſtrength, that laying hold of a bull by the horn he could ſtop him in his full career, the ſtatuaries for this reaſon uſually made his ſtatues with two bulls horns on his head. And therefore it is moſt likely that he, and not *Alexander*, was firſt meant by *the two horned* in the *Arabic* name of this æra: For it was from him, and not from *Alexander*, that it had its origin. It is in the books of the *Maccabees* [y] called, *The æra of the kingdom of the Greeks*, and they both of them compute by it. But whereas the firſt book of the *Maccabees* begins the years of this æra from the ſpring, the ſecond begins them from the autumn following, and ſo did the *Syrians*, *Arabs* and *Jews*, and all others that anciently did, or now do uſe this æra, excepting the *Chaldeans*. For they not reckoning *Seleucus* to be thoroughly ſettled in the poſſeſſion of *Babylon* till the ſpring in which *Demetrius* made that retreat from thence, which we ſhall ſpeak of in the next year following, they began not this æra till from the ſpring, and for the ſame reaſon reckoned the beginning of all the years of it from that ſeaſon alſo. So that whereas all other nations, that computed by this æra, began it from the autumn of the year before *Chriſt* 312, it had not its commencement among the *Chaldeans* till from the ſpring of the year next after following.

IN the interim, [z] *Ptolemy* having again made himſelf maſter of all *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Cœle-Syria*, ſent *Cilles*, one of his generals, to take poſſeſſion of the *upper Syria* alſo, and drive *Demetrius* thence, who was then retreated thither. But *Cilles*, out of contempt of the baffled enemy he had to deal with, making his encampments negligently and looſely, *Demetrius*, on his having an account hereof from his ſpies, by a long and ſpeedy march came upon him before he was aware, and ſurprizing him in the night, got an abſolute victory over him, taking his camp, and making him and ſeven thouſand of his men priſoners of war; which equalling the defeat he had before received at *Gaza*, again ballanced the matter between him and *Ptolemy*; and alſo put it in the power of *Demetrius* (for the ſake of which he moſt valued this victory) to make a return to *Ptolemy* of the kindneſs he had before received from him. For after this victory, he ſent back unto him *Cilles*, and all his friends, without ranſom, in the ſame manner as *Ptolemy* had before ſent back to him all his friends after the victory which he had gotten over him at *Gaza*.

ANTIGONUS [a] receiving an account at *Celenæ* in *Phrygia* (where he then reſided) of this victory of his ſon's over *Cilles*, haſtned thence into *Syria*, to proſecute there the advantages of it: and having paſſed mount *Taurus*, joined his ſon in the *upper Syria*; whereon *Ptolemy* finding him-

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[x] In Syriacis editionis Tollianæ Amſtelodami, p. 201. [y] 1 Maccab. i. 10.
[z] Diodor. lib. 19. Plutarchus in Demetrio. [a] Diodor. & Plutarchus, ibid.

ſelf not ſtrong enough to encounter the joint forces of the father and ſon together, diſmantled *Ace*, *Joppa*, *Samaria*, and *Gaza*, and retreated again into *Egypt*, carrying with him moſt of the riches, and a great number of the inhabitants of the countrey. Whereon all *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Cœle-Syria*, returned again under the power of *Antigonus*.

THE inhabitants of thoſe countries, whom *Ptolemy* carried with him into *Egypt*, on his retreat, followed him thither rather voluntarily, and out of free choice, than by compulſion. For he being a perſon of a very benign temper, and having always ſhewn great clemency and humanity to all under his government, this ſo far captivated the hearts of thoſe people to him, that they rather choſe to follow him into a ſtrange countrey, than tarry the coming of *Antigonus* in their own, (from whom they expected a contrary treatment) and that eſpecially ſince they had terms of great advantage offered them by *Ptolemy*, to invite them to this removal. For his mind being then much ſet upon the making of *Alexandria* to be the capital of *Egypt*, was glad of all that he could get to come thither to inhabit the place, and offered great privileges and immunities to draw them thither. And here *Ptolemy* planted all thoſe that followed him in this retreat, among whom were a great number of the *Jews*. [c] *Alexander* had planted ſeveral of that nation there before; and *Ptolemy*, after his firſt irruption into *Judea*, had brought from thence many more of them thither, where they enjoy'd the benefit of a plentiful countrey, a ſecure protection, and many other advantages. The report whereof coming into *Judea*, excited in many others there a deſire to follow them, and accordingly many did ſo on this occaſion. For *Alexander* had, on his firſt building this city, given them, for their encouragement to plant there, the ſame privileges and immunities with his *Macedonians*, and *Ptolemy* had continued the ſame to them. By which means the *Jewiſh* quarter in that city encreaſed to the number of ſeveral thouſands of families; and [d] many *Samaritans*, as well as *Jews*, upon the like encouragement, became inhabitants of this place, and there multiplied to a great number.

AMONG thoſe that followed *Ptolemy* into *Egypt* on this occaſion, one was [e] *Hezekias*, a perſon of eminent note among that people, and one of their chief prieſts. *Hecatæus* the hiſtorian being then with *Ptolemy*, makes particular mention of him, as a perſon of great wiſdom and prudence, a powerful ſpeaker, and one that thoroughly underſtood the world, being then about ſixty years old. And farther, he ſaith, that he having contracted an acquaintance with him, they had frequent conferences together; and that in them he learn'd from him what was the religion, policy, and manner of living of the *Jews*, wherein they differed from other nations; all which, he ſaith, this *Hezekias* had with him written in a book; which book, no doubt, was the book of the law of *Moſes*. And, I doubt not, it was by this perſon that he was induced to have ſo favourable an opinion of the *Jews*, and their religion; and that it was from him that he received the information of moſt of that which he wrote of them. For [f] he compoſed a particular hiſtory of the *Jews*, therein treating of them from *Abraham* down to his time; in which he ſpeaks ſo honourably of

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[b] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. & contra Apionem, lib. 1. & lib. 2. [c] Joſeph. contra Apionem, lib. 2. [d] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. [e] Joſeph. contra Apionem, lib. 1. [f] Euſeb. præp. evang. lib. 9. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 8. & contra Apionem, lib. 1.

them,

them, and their religion, that [g] *Origen* tells us, *Herennius Philo*, [h] an heathen writer, who flourished about the time of *Trajan* the *Roman* emperor, did for this reason raise a doubt, whether it were the genuine work of *Hecatæus* or no; making this inference from hence concerning it, that either it was composed by some *Jew* under the name of *Hecatæus*, or else, if he were the true author of it, he was corrupted to the *Jewish* religion when he wrote it. If one of these two must be the truth (tho' I see no necessity for it) the latter is as possible as the other. This [i] *Hecatæus* was of *Abdera*, a *Grecian* city in *Thrace*, which had been famous for the birth of *Democritus*, *Protagoras*, and other learned men. He was bred up with *Alexander*, and followed him in all his wars, and after his death put himself under the protection of *Ptolemy*, and lived with him in *Egypt*; where having from the conversation which he had with this learned *Jew*, and others of that nation, who followed *Ptolemy* thither, fully informed himself of their laws, customs, and religion, he wrote that history of them which I have mentioned. Out of which *Josephus* hath extracted several passages in his writings, especially in his first book against *Apion*; but the book it self is not now extant. There was another very noted historian of the same name, but he was a *Milesian*, and lived long before, in the time of *Darius Hystaspis*.

JOSEPHUS [k] tells us of another *Jew* called *Mosollam*, who about this time followed *Ptolemy*, and had listed himself an horseman in his army, and out of the same *Hecatæus* gives us a very remarkable story of him; the words of *Hecatæus* are as followeth: "As I was travelling towards the "*Red Sea*, there was in company with us a certain *Jew* called *Mosollam*, "one of a *Jewish* troop of horse, that was sent to be our convoy, a very "valiant man, and remarkable for his great skill in archery, in which he ex-"celled even all the *Greeks* and *Barbarians* of his time. As several of us "were travelling on in this journey together, a certain southsayer, who "took upon him to foretel the fortune of our journey, bad us all stand still, "and we did so. Whereon this *Jew* asked us what we stood for? Look "ye, answered the cunning man, and shewed him a bird: If that bird "stands, said he, ye are to stand, and if he riseth and flies on, you are to "go forward too; but if the bird takes its flight the contrary way, you "must all go back again. The *Jew* hereat, without a word speaking, "lets fly an arrow and kills the bird; whereon the diviner, and some of "the company, had great indignation, and fell on him in most outragious "terms. Why certainly, saith the *Jew* to them, are ye not all mad to "make such a bustle about a foolish bird? How could that poor wretched "creature pretend to foreshew us our fortune, that knew nothing of its "own? If this bird could have foretold good or evil to come, it would "have kept out of this place for fear of being slain by the arrow of *Mo-*"*sollam* the *Jew*." Thus far *Hecatæus*, who it is plain tells this story of purpose to expose and condemn the superstition of the heathens, which then obtained concerning such matters, and to commend and extol the wisdom of the *Jews*, in rejecting and despising all those follies.

ANTIGONUS having thus recovered all *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judea*, *An.* 311. Alexander Ægus 6.

[g] Contra Celsum, lib. 1. [h] Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 2. cap. 10.
[i] Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 1. cap. 10. [k] Contra Apionem, lib. 1.

out

out of the hands of *Ptolemy*, [l] ſent *Athenæus*, one of his lieutenants, with an army againſt the *Nabathæan Arabs*. They being a clan of thieves, had made inroads upon the countries now under his command, and carried off much plunder from them; and to be revenged of them for it, *Antigonus* ſent theſe forces againſt them. The chief city of thoſe *Arabs* was *Petra*, which ſtanding on an high rock in the deſarts, was from thence called by the *Greeks Petra*, by the *Hebrews* [m] *Sela*, and by the *Arabs Hagar*. For [n] *Hagar* ſignifieth the ſame in *Arabic* that *Sela* doth in *Hebrew*, and *Petra* in *Greek*, that is, a *rock*. And hence it is that St. *Paul* [o] calls mount *Sinai Hagar*. For that was all a rocky mountain, which beginning at the *Red-Sea*, runs a great way into *Arabia*, and on part of it the city of *Petra* was built. There [p] being a certain mart at ſtated ſeaſons held in the neighbourhood, the *Nabathæans* having left their wives, children, and aged, with their goods under a guard at *Petra*, were gone to this mart. *Athenæus* craftily laying hold of this opportunity, by long marches got to *Petra* in their abſence, and having ſurprized the place ſlew the guards, and carried off all the plunder that he found in the place, and then marched back with as much ſpeed as he came; and when he had gotten at ſuch a diſtance, that he thought himſelf out of the reach of the enemy, he ſtopped to refreſh his men with reſt, now tired out with ſo long a march; but not taking ſufficient care to ſecure his encampment, the enemy having gotten early notice of what he had done, made a ſpeedy purſuit after him, and falling upon him in the night, while his men were all drowned in ſleep and wearineſs, they cut off all of them, excepting only fifty horſemen that eſcaped, and recovered the whole booty. After this returning to *Petra*, they from thence wrote letters to *Antigonus* in the *Syriac* language, accuſing *Athenæus* of the wrong he had done them. To which *Antigonus*, temporiſing with the preſent neceſſity, returned ſuch an anſwer, as diſowned the enterprize of *Athenæus*, and allowed the revenge as juſt which they had taken of him. But as ſoon as he had gotten more forces ready, he [q] ſent his ſon *Demetrius* with them to execute that vengeance upon thoſe robbers, which the other failed of. Who having received his orders, marched with all the haſte he could, hoping to be upon them before they ſhould know of his coming. But his march being diſcovered, notice was given of it by fires all over the countrey, which immediately brought them all together to *Petra*, where they having left a ſtrong garriſon, and divided the booty between them, which had been there laid up, fled with it into the deſarts, driving all their flocks and herds with them. So that *Demetrius*, on his coming thither, finding the place too well provided to be taken, made peace with thoſe people upon the beſt terms he could, and returned; and after a march of three hundred furlongs, (which is about thirty ſix of our miles) he came to the lake *Aſphaltites*, and there encamped. This was alſo called by ſome *the ſea of Sodom*, by others *the dead ſea*, and in ſcripture [r] *the ſalt ſea*. It was called *the ſea of Sodom*, becauſe there *Sodom* once ſtood; *the dead Sea*, becauſe it is a ſtagnated water, without any motion, and in which no living creature is ſaid to be

[l] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. [m] Iſaiah xvi. 1. 2 Kings xiv. 7. [n] Vide Bochart; geographiam ſacram, part 1. lib. 4. cap. 27. [o] *In the epiſtle to the* Galatians, *ch.* iv. *ver.* 25. [p] Diodor. ibid. [q] Plutarchus in Demetrio. Diodor. ibid. [r] Gen. xiv. 3. Numb. xxxiv. 3, 12. Deut. iii. 17. Joſh. iii. 16.

found;

found; *the ſalt ſea*, becauſe of its exceeding ſaltneſs, and *Aſphaltites*, from the *Greek* word *Aſphaltus*, which ſignifieth *bitumen*; [t] which it produceth in great quantities, and the beſt that can any where be found. And this laſt is the name by which the *Greeks* and *Latins* called it. At preſent the adjacent inhabitants [u] call it the lake of *Lot*. It [x] extends from north to ſouth, about ſeventy of our miles in length, and is about eighteen miles over in the broadeſt place. On the eaſt ſide of it anciently lay the land of *Moab*; and on the weſt ſide, that part of the land of *Canaan* which was the portion of the tribe of *Judah*; and towards the ſouth, it abbutted upon the land of *Edom*. The rivers *Jordan* and *Arnon* run into it at the north end, and are there loſt For nothing runs out of it again; but like the *Caſpian ſea*, it receives brooks and rivers into it, and emits none out; wherein it is of a contrary nature to the ſea, or lake of *Tiberias*, (called [y] *the ſea of Galilee*, and [z] *the lake of Genezaret* in the goſpels) on which our Saviour was ſo converſant. For that as it receiveth the river *Jordan* at one end, ſo emits it again at the other. But when it falls from thence into the lake *Aſphaltites*, it is there abſorbed and no more heard of. *Demetrius*, on his encamping on this lake, [w] obſerving the nature of it, and that a good revenue might be made of the *bitumen* which it yielded, gave *Antigonus* an account of it on his return. *Antigonus*, tho' no way pleaſed with the peace which he had made with the *Nabathæans*, whom he ſent him to deſtroy, yet applauded him for the diſcovery he had made, of a way for the augmenting of his revenue by the *bitumen* of this lake; and immediately ſent thither *Jerom the Cardian* to take care of it. But when he had, according to his inſtructions, gotten ready ſeveral boats fit for the purpoſe, and was gathering into them all the *bitumen* of the lake, to carry it all to one place, there to be diſpoſed of for the benefit of *Antigonus*, the *Arabs* to the number of ſix thouſand men fell upon him, and having deſtroyed his boats, and ſlain moſt of his men employed in them for this work, drove him thence, and thereby put an end to this project. This [x] *Jerom* being a fellow-citizen of *Eumenes*, followed his party to the time of his death; but being then taken priſoner by *Antigonus*, he after that entered into his ſervice, and was appointed by him to this employment. Many years after this he was [y] governor of *Syria*, for *Antiochus Soter* the ſon of *Seleucus*. For he lived to a great age, [z] being an hundred and four years old at the time of his death; and his eminent skill in all affairs, both of the camp and cabinet, recommended him to the favour and firſt reſpects of the princes under whom he ſerved. He wrote the hiſtory of *Alexander* and his ſucceſſors, and their poſterity, down to the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and beyond it; but tho' he had lived long in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, firſt under *Antigonus*, and afterwards under *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus* his ſon, and therefore was well acquainted with the ſtate and affairs of the *Jews*, and had many occaſions in his hiſtory to make mention of them, yet he paſſed them over in a total ſilence, not ſpeaking as much

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[t] Plin. lib. 5. cap. 16. [u] Baudrandi geographia ſub voce *Aſphaltites*.
[x] *See* Maundrel's *journey to* Jeruſalem, *p.* 83, 84. Thevenot's *travels*, *part* 1. *book* 2. *chap.* 41.
[y] Matth. iv. 18. *Ch.* xv. 29. Mark i. 16. John vi. 1. [z] Luke v. 1.
[w] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. [x] Vide Voſſium de hiſtoricis Græcis, lib. 1. cap. 11.
[y] Joſeph. contra Apionem, lib. 1. *Where obſerve the tranſlators here put* Antigonus *inſtead of* Antiochus, *by a wrong variation from the* Greek *text*. [z] Lucianus de Longævis.

as one word of them. For which he is [a] faulted by *Joſephus*, as if this his neglect of them proceeded from his malice and envy towards thoſe people.

ANTIGONUS receiving an account from *Nicanor* of the ſucceſſes of *Seleucus* in the eaſt, [b] ſent *Demetrius* his ſon with an army to *Babylon* to drive him thence, and recover that province out of his hands. In the interim, he himſelf marched towards the maritim parts of *leſſer Aſia*, to ſuppreſs the power of the three confederated princes, which was there growing againſt him, and appointed a time for his ſon to come thither to him, after he ſhould have executed the commiſſion on which he ſent him to *Babylon*. *Demetrius*, according to his father's order, having gathered his forces together at *Damaſcus*, marched thence to *Babylon*; and *Seleucus* being then abſent in *Media*, he entered that city without oppoſition. For *Patrocles*, whom *Seleucus* had left his lieutenant in that place, finding himſelf not ſtrong enough to encounter *Demetrius*, had retreated with thoſe forces he had with him into the fens; where being ſurrounded with rivers, ditches and moraſſes, he there protected himſelf by the inacceſſableneſs of the place, and ordered all the reſt to flee out of the city; whereof ſome paſſing the *Tigris*, and others retreating into the deſarts, and others in other places of ſafety, thereby ſaved themſelves till the enemy was again retreated. *Demetrius* finding the city deſerted, laid ſiege to the caſtles. For there were two of them in that city well garriſon'd, and of large extent. Theſe were the two palaces which I have above deſcribed; of which one ſtood on the one ſide of the *Euphrates*, and the other on the other ſide, juſt over-againſt it. One of theſe he took, and having expelled the garriſon of *Seleucus*, placed one of his own in it of ſeven thouſand men. The other held out to the time limited to him by his father for his return. And therefore leaving *Archelaus*, one of his principal commanders, with a thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot to continue the ſiege, he marched back with the reſt of his army into *leſſer Aſia*, to the aſſiſtance of his father, having firſt plundered the whole province of *Babylon* of all he could lay his hands on in it; by which he abſolutely alienated the hearts of all the people from *Antigonus*, and firmly united them to *Seleucus* and his intereſt ever after. For even thoſe, who had till then been for *Antigonus*, concluding, that his forces would never have uſed them ſo, had there been any intentions for their returning to them again, took this act of depredation to be a declaration of their reſolutions to deſert them for the future; and therefore they made their peace with *Seleucus*, and all went without any farther reſerve entirely over to his intereſt. So that on his returning to *Babylon* after the retreat of *Demetrius*, he ſoon expelled the forces he had there left, recovered the caſtle which he had garriſon'd, and thenceforth ſettled his intereſt in thoſe parts upon ſo firm a foundation, that it could be never after any more ſhaken. And therefore from this year the *Babylonians* began the *Epocha* of his kingdom, tho' all the other nations of *Aſia* placed its commencement in the year before, as I have already obſerved.

DEMETRIUS [c] on his return into *leſſer Aſia*, having raiſed the

[a] Libro primo contra Apionem. [b] Diodor. lib. 19. Plutarchus in Demetrio.
[c] Diodor. & Plutarchus, ibid.

ſiege

siege of *Halicarnassus*, which was besieged by *Ptolemy*, this brought on a treaty of peace between the confederated princes and *Antigonus*, in which it was agreed, that *Cassander* should have the command of all in *Macedonia*, till *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* should be grown up; that *Lysimachus* should have *Thrace*; *Ptolemy Egypt*, and the adjacent parts of *Libya* and *Arabia*; and *Antigonus* all *Asia*; and that all the *Grecian* cities should enjoy their liberties. But this agreement did not last long. For many infractions of it being pretended on both sides, as soon almost as it was made, this brought them all again into the war. But the true reason was the great power of *Antigonus*, and the daily growing of it was a continual terror to the other three, and therefore they could not sit quiet till they had suppressed it.

ALEXANDER the son of *Roxana* being grown up to the fourteenth year of his age, [d] *Cassander* thought it not consistent with his ambitious designs to let him live any longer. For he being resolved to seize the kingdom of *Macedon* for himself, it was necessary for him first to make away with the true heir; and therefore sent to the castle of *Amphipolis*, where he had for several years shut up him and his mother, and caused them both to be there privately murthered. However *Ptolemy* in his canon continues to reckon the years of his reign in the same manner as if he were alive, till at length those who had divided the empire of *Alexander* among them, after having long usurped the regal authority, took also the regal style, and declared themselves Kings, each in the particular countries which they had taken possession of. *An.* 310. Alexander Ægus 7.

POLYSPERCHON, who governed in *Peloponnesus*, hearing of the death of *Roxana* and her son, [e] laid hold of this occasion to make loud exclamations against *Cassander* for the fact, accusing him every where for the villany of it, that he might thereby excite the odium of the *Macedonians* against him. All this he pretended to do out of his zeal and affection for the house of *Alexander*; and to make the greater shew hereof, he sent for *Hercules* the other son of *Alexander*, which he had by *Barsina* the widow of *Memnon*, and having gotten him and his mother to him from *Pergamus*, where hitherto he had been brought up, he proposed to the *Macedonians* the instating of him in his father's kingdom; which very much terrifying *Cassander*, soon brought him to an agreement with him on his own terms, and when he had gained those terms, having obtained all that he proposed, for the better securing of himself in the possession of them, he was easily induced by *Cassander* to cut off this son of *Alexander*'s also. And therefore the next year following, he caused him and his mother to be put to death in the same villanous manner, as *Cassander* had the other son and his mother before. And thus each acted his part in destroying the heirs, that after their death they might with the better safety share the inheritance between them.

PTOLEMY [f] having renewed the war against *Antigonus* for the reason I have mentioned, took by his lieutenants several cities from him in *Cilicia* and elsewhere. But *Demetrius* soon dispossessed him again of all in *Cilicia*; and other of *Antigonus*'s lieutenants had the same success against him in other places. Only in *Cyprus*, *Ptolemy* having, by the cutting off

[d] Diodor. lib. 19. Pausanias in Bœoticis. [e] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Pausanias in Bœoticis.
[f] Diodor. ibid.

of *Nicocles* King of *Paphos*, extinguiſhed all the intereſt that *Antigonus* had in that iſland, thereby ſecured it wholly to himſelf.

THIS year *Epicurus* being thirty two years old, firſt began to poiſon the world with his impious philoſophy. He firſt taught it at *Mitylene* in the iſle of *Lesbus*, and afterwards at *Lampſacus* on the *Helleſpont*, and after that at *Athens*, of which city he originally was. He returned thither in the thirty ſeventh year of his age, and there kept his ſchool in a garden, till the ſixty third year of his age, in which he died. According to him all things were firſt made, and have ever ſince ſubſiſted by chance. For he denied that the world was created by the power of God, or is at all governed by his providence. He held alſo that there is no future ſtate, but that this world is every man's all, and that the higheſt felicity attainable here is the higheſt good that man is capable of, and this he placed in indolence of body, and tranquility of mind; but held that virtue and morality were the only true means of attaining thereto. And therefore, tho' our modern infidels build their impious doctrines upon *Epicurus*'s philoſophy, yet they cannot their immoral and wicked lives. For if virtue alone be the only true way, whereby to attain that indolence of body, and tranquility of mind, in which, according to this ſcheme, the higheſt felicity of man doth conſiſt, it muſt certainly be every man's higheſt wiſdom to practiſe it. Out of this impious ſchool have ſprung the *Sadducees* of the *Jews*, the *Zendichees* of the *Arabs*, and the *Deiſts* of the preſent age. The firſt of thoſe, it is to be acknowledged, went no farther than to the denial of angels, ſpirits, and a future ſtate. For they acknowledged the world to be created by the power of God, and to be governed by his providence; and therefore they received the law of *Moſes*, but with the expectation of none other, than of temporal bleſſings for the reward of keeping it; but the other two go thorough ſtich with the whole of this impious ſcheme, excepting only that part of it which recommends a virtuous life.

An. 309. Alexander Ægus 8. *PTOLEMY*, to make himſelf amends for his loſſes in *Cilicia*, [h] invaded *Pamphylia* and *Lycia*, and other maritim parts of *Aſia*, and diveſted *Antigonus* of *Phaſelis*, *Caunus*, *Mindus*, and ſeveral other cities, which he before held on thoſe coaſts.

An. 308. Alexander Ægus 9. AND then [i] ſailing into the *Ægean* ſea, now called the *Archipelago*, he took in the iſland of *Andrus*, and from thence paſſing to the continent, there poſſeſſed himſelf of *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, and ſeveral other places. While he was in thoſe parts, he entertained a correſpondency with *Cleopatra*, the ſiſter of *Alexander*. She was the ſame that was married to *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, at the time when her father *Philip* was ſlain, and had ever ſince the death of her husband (who fell in his wars in *Italy*) lived a widow, and for ſeveral years paſt had her reſidence at *Sardis* in *Lydia*; but being there ill uſed by *Antigonus*, under whoſe power that city was, *Ptolemy* took that opportunity to draw her over to his party, and invited her to him, hoping to make her preſence with him turn to his advantage in his war with *Antigonus*. But when ſhe had put herſelf upon the journey to go to him, *Antigonus*'s lieutenant, who governed for him at *Sardis*, ſtopped her on the road; and having brought her back thither again, cauſed her a little after, by the order of *Antigonus*, private-

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[g] Laertius in vita Epicuri. *See* Stanley's *Hiſtory of Philoſophy*, Part. 13. [h] Diodor. lib. 20.
[i] Diodor. Sic. ibid.

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ly to be put to death. Whereon *Antigonus* coming himſelf to *Sardis*, condemned to death thoſe women of her retinue, by whoſe hands the murther was committed, and then celebrated the funeral of the dead lady in a very ſolemn and ſumptuous manner, thinking thereby to avoid the odium and infamy of the fact; whereas ſuch hypocritical devices do moſt an end prove thoſe facts, which they are contrived to diſown, and rather enereaſe than prevent the deteſtation that is due to the authors of them. But this was not the only vile fact he committed. *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* built their intereſt upon the clemency and juſtice of their government, whereby they eſtabliſhed to themſelves laſting empires, which continued in their families for many generations after. But *Antigonus* being a man of a quite contrary diſpoſition, acted all by violence, ſticking at nothing that he thought would promote his intereſt, how wicked and vile ſoever; and therefore according to his rule of proceeding, every thing, and every perſon, was to be removed, that ſtood in the way of his deſigns, without any regard had either to juſtice or humanity; and thus he proceeded to ſupport himſelf by force only, till at length that failing, he loſt both his empire and his life with it; and may ſuch be the fate of all others that follow the ſame courſes.

OPHELLAS, prince of *Libya* and *Cyrene*, [k] being ſlain by *Agathocles* King of *Sicily*, *Ptolemy* again recovered theſe provinces. *Ophellas* was a ſoldier of *Alexander*'s, and after his death followed the fortune of *Ptolemy*, and went with him into *Egypt*. From thence he was ſent by him to reduce *Libya* and *Cyrene* to his obedience, theſe being provinces aſſigned to *Ptolemy*, as well as *Egypt* and *Arabia*, on the diviſion of the empire; in which expedition having ſucceeded, and being thereon made governor for *Ptolemy* of theſe countries, he ſeized them for himſelf; and *Ptolemy*'s other engagements, againſt *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, not giving him leiſure to look that way, he continued undiſturbed in the poſſeſſion of them till this year. But *Agathocles* being now in *Africa* making war againſt the *Carthaginians*, and finding he wanted more ſtrength to carry it on, invited *Ophellas* into an alliance with him, promiſing him no leſs than the empire of all *Africa* for the reward of the undertaking. This bait was readily ſwallowed by *Ophellas*; and therefore having gotten together an army of twenty thouſand men, after a long march he joined *Agathocles* with them, in the territories of the *Carthaginians*. But the wicked tyrant, when ſtrengthened by ſo great a reinforcement, having gained all that he intended, treacherouſly cut off *Ophellas*, and uſed his army only for his own intereſt. How this ſucceeded with him I ſhall not here relate. All that is to my purpoſe is, to ſhew how *Ptolemy* after this again recovered the provinces of *Libya*, and *Cyrene*. For *Ophellas* being thus ſlain, and this ill projected expedition having drained thoſe countries of all their forces, they forthwith fell again under the power of *Ptolemy* without oppoſition, and he and his ſucceſſors continued to hold them as provinces of the kingdom of *Egypt* for ſeveral ages after. And under the protection of thoſe princes, the colony of the *Jews*, which had been there planted by this firſt *Ptolemy*, (as hath been above-mentioned) encreaſed, and grew to a great number. For [l] in the time of *Veſpaſian*, no fewer

An. 307. Alexander Ægus 10.

[k] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Juſtin, lib. 22. cap. 7. [l] Joſephus de bello Judaico, lib. 7. cap. 31.

than three thouſand of them were put to death in that countrey for one mutiny; and yet within a few years after, [m] under the reign of *Trajan*, they maſtered the whole province, and ſlew of the other inhabitants of it above two hundred thouſand perſons; which could not have been done, had not they been a great number that effected it. This *Ophellas* [n] had for his wife *Eurydice*, a fair *Athenian* lady, of the deſcendants of *Miltiades*. On the death of her husband ſhe returned to *Athens*, where *Demetrius* meeting her the next year after fell in love with her, and took her to wife.

An. 306. Alexander Ægus 11.

FOR *Demetrius* [o] came thither in the beginning of that year, to reſtore, as he pretended, the liberties of that and the other cities of *Greece*; but in reality to expel thence the garriſon of *Caſſander*, and depreſs his power in thoſe parts; which having fully effected, by driving *Demetrius Phalereus* out of that city, he returned again to his father.

THIS *Demetrius Phalereus* [p] had governed *Athens* under *Caſſander* ten years. And never were the *Athenians* under a [q] more juſt government, or enjoyed greater peace and happineſs, than while he preſided over them; and in acknowledgment hereof, they erected for him [r] as many ſtatues in that city, as there were days in the year, and than this a greater honour was never done to any citizen of that place; and of all this, and much more, was he well deſerving. For he was not only a learned philoſopher, but alſo a perſon of great wiſdom, juſtice and probity, and theſe virtues he exerciſed in a very eminent degree, through all the acts of his government. On his now being diſpoſſeſſed of it, he retired to *Caſſander*, and after his death went into *Egypt* to *Ptolemy*, and is ſaid there [s] to have had the chief management of *Ptolemy*'s library, and to have procured for it that tranſlation of the *Hebrew* ſcriptures into *Greek*, which we now call the *ſeptuagint*; of which we ſhall treat hereafter in its proper place, where we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of him.

DEMETRIUS, on his return from *Athens*, [t] was ſent by his father, with a great fleet and army, to diſpoſſeſs *Ptolemy* of the iſland of *Cyprus*; and therefore ſailing thither, he made a deſcent upon it at *Carpaſia*; and having taken that city and *Urania*, he marched to *Salamine*, the capital of the whole iſland. *Menelaus* the brother of *Ptolemy*, who was then chief commander for him in *Cyprus*, being at that time with moſt of his forces in *Salamine*, went forth on his approach to that place, and gave him battel; but being overborn by the number and valour of the enemy, he was forced to retreat into the city, with the loſs of a thouſand of his men ſlain, and three thouſand taken priſoners, and there prepare for the bearing of a ſiege. From whence *Ptolemy* having an account ſent him of his misfortune, got ready a great fleet with all the expedition he was able, and ſailed thither for his ſuccour. This brought on a great fight at ſea between the contending princes, in which *Demetrius* having obtained the victory, *Ptolemy* was forced to take his flight back into

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[m] Xiphilin in Trajano. [n] Plutarchus in Demetrio. [o] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus in Demetrio. [p] Laertius in vita Demetrii Phalerei. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18.

[q] Cicero de Legibus, lib. 2. & in Oratione pro Rabirio. Ælian. Hiſt. Var. lib. 3. cap. 17.

[r] Laertius, ibid. Plinius, lib. 34. cap. 5. Strabo, lib. 9. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade. Plutarchus in libro de Reipublicæ gerendæ Præceptis. [s] Ariſteas. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2. [t] Plutarchus in Demetrio. Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Juſtin, lib. 15. cap. 2.

Egypt with eight ſhips only, leaving all behind him in the power of the conqueror; whereon the whole iſland of *Cyprus*, with all the forces, ſhipping and magazines, that *Ptolemy* had therein, fell into his hands. The priſoners at land amounted to about ſeventeen thouſand men, beſides the mariners taken on board the fleet. *Menelaus* the brother, and *Leontiſcus* the ſon of *Ptolemy*, being among the captives, *Demetrius* ſent them both home, with their friends and dependants, without ranſom, in remembrance of the like kindneſs ſhewn him by *Ptolemy* after the battle of *Gaza*. All the reſt he incorporated into his own forces; ſo that hereby he very much encreaſed his military ſtrength, both by ſea and land, as well as enlarged his father's dominions, by adding this large and rich iſland to them.

ANTIGONUS, on the news of this victory, being very much elated by it, thenceforth [t] aſſumed the title of King, and wore a crown; and ſent another crown to *Demetrius*, and gave the title of King to him alſo; and from this time they both uſed it in all their epiſtles, orders, decrees, and other writings; which the *Egyptians* hearing of, that *Ptolemy*, to whom they bore great affection, might not ſeem leſſened by his misfortunes, they gave him alſo the ſame title. This example being followed by *Lyſimachus*, *Caſſander*, and *Seleucus*, they alſo about the ſame time aſſumed the title of Kings, each in their reſpective territories; in which they had all along before uſurped the regal authority.

By this time *Seleucus* [u] was grown very great in the *Eaſt*. For having ſlain *Nicanor* in battel, who was ſent againſt him by *Antigonus*, he not only ſecured to himſelf hereby *Media*, *Aſſyria*, and *Babylon*, but carrying his arms farther, reduced under him *Perſia*, *Bactria*, *Hyrcania*, and all the other provinces on this ſide the *Indus*, which *Alexander* had before made himſelf maſter of. *An.* 305. Alexander Ægus 12.

ANTIGONUS, to [w] purſue the blow which *Demetrius* had given *Ptolemy* in *Cyprus*, drew together into *Syria* an army of near an hundred thouſand men for the invading of *Egypt*, hoping there to get as eaſy a victory over him, as he had at *Cyprus*, and ſo diſpoſſeſs him of that countrey alſo. While he marched thither with his bulky army, *Demetrius* his ſon coaſted him with as great a fleet at ſea, till they came both to *Gaza*, where having concerted matters between them, *Demetrius* ſailed to make a deſcent upon the countrey at one of the mouths of the *Nile*, while *Antigonus* invaded it by land. It was not without great difficulties that *Antigonus* paſſed the deſarts, that lay between *Paleſtine* and *Egypt*, and when he was arrived in *Egypt* he found much greater. And *Demetrius* met with no leſs at ſea. For ſtorms had much ſhattered his fleet, and *Ptolemy* had ſo well guarded all the mouths of the *Nile*, that he could find no acceſs to put on ſhore at any of them; neither could *Antigonus* make any better progreſs with his army at land. For *Ptolemy* had ſo carefully provided againſt him in all places, and ſo ſtrongly guarded all paſſes and avenues, that he could make no impreſſion upon him any where; and (what afflicted him moſt) great numbers of his men daily deſerted from him to the enemy. For *Ptolemy* having ſent boats to ſeveral places on the river,

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[t] Plutarchus in Demetrio. Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Juſtin, lib. 15. cap. 2. 1 Maccab. i. 9.
[u] Appian in Syriacis. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19, & 20. Juſtin, lib. 15. cap. 4.
[w] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus in Demetrio.

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where *Antigonus*'s ſoldiers came for watering, cauſed it to be there proclaimed from thoſe boats, within their hearing, that whoever ſhould come over to him from *Antigonus*'s army, if he were a common ſoldier he ſhould have [x] two mina's, and if a commander [y] a talent; whereon great numbers of them, as well commanders as private ſoldiers, eſpecially of the mercenaries, went over to him, and that not only for the ſake of the reward, but eſpecially out of the greater liking they had to *Ptolemy*. For *Antigonus* being a crabbed [z] old man, and very haughty, moroſe, and ſevere, *Ptolemy*, by reaſon of the benignity of his temper, and his humah and courteous carriage to all he had to do with, had the affections of all men much beyond him. *Antigonus* therefore, after he had in vain hovered over the out-skirts of *Egypt*, till all his proviſions were ſpent, finding he could gain no advantage on *Ptolemy*, but that his army daily diminiſhed by ſickneſs and deſertions, and he could no longer ſubſiſt the remainder in that countrey, was forced to return back into *Syria* with baffle and diſgrace, having loſt great numbers of his men at land, and many alſo of his ſhips at ſea, in this unſucceſsful expedition. Hereon *Ptolemy* wrote to *Lyſimachus*, *Caſſander*, and *Seleucus*, of his ſucceſs, and having renewed his league with them againſt this their common enemy, he became thenceforth firmly ſettled in his kingdom, and was never after any more diſturbed in it. And therefore *Ptolemy* the aſtronomer here placeth the beginning of his reign, and from hence reckoneth the years of it in his chronological canon. Therein, till now, he continued to compute by the years of *Alexander Ægus*, tho' he had been ſlain five years before. But this fortunate turn in favour of *Ptolemy*, and the firm ſettlement which he obtained hereby in the throne, gave him a new *epocha* after that to go by, which took its beginning from the ſeventh day of *November*, nineteen years after the death of *Alexander*.

An. 304. Ptolemy Soter 1.

THE [a] *Rhodians* ſubſiſting chiefly by their trade with *Egypt*, for this reaſon adhered to the intereſt of *Ptolemy*; and when ſent to by *Antigonus* for the aſſiſtance of ſome of their ſhipping in the *Cyprian* war, they refuſed to aid him with any for that undertaking. *Antigonus* therefore, as ſoon as the *Egyptian* expedition was over, ſent *Demetrius* with a fleet and army to reduce that iſland to his obedience. But after a year's time ſpent in the ſiege of *Rhodes*, the chief city in it, not being able to take the place, he was content to make a peace with them upon terms, that they ſhould aſſociate with *Antigonus* in all his wars, except only againſt *Ptolemy*. For it being chiefly by the aſſiſtance of *Ptolemy* that they were enabled to ſuſtain ſo long a ſiege, and were at length ſo happily delivered from it, they would make no peace which ſhould oblige them to act any thing againſt him; and when the enemy was gone, in acknowledgment of the aid which he had given them in this dangerous war, having, for the greater ſolemnity, firſt conſulted the oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* about it, they conſecrated unto him a grove; and, for his greater honour, made it a very ſumptuous work. For it being a furlong ſquare, they ſurrounded it with a moſt ſtately *portico* on every ſide, and from his name called it *the Ptolemeum*; and there, according to the impious flattery of thoſe times, they

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[x] i. e. *About ſix pound five ſhillings of our money.* [y] i. e. *About one hundred eighty eight pound of our money.* [z] *He was now about eighty years old.* [a] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus in Demetrio.

paid

paid divine honours unto him; and in commemoration of their being thus ſaved by him in this war, [b] they gave him the additional name of *Soter*, that is, the ſaviour; by which he is commonly called by hiſtorians, to diſtinguiſh him from the other *Ptolemies* that after reigned in that countrey.

SELEUCUS having ſecured himſelf in the poſſeſſion of all the countries, from the *Euphrates* to the river *Indus*, [c] made war upon *Sandrocottus*, for the making of himſelf maſter of *India* alſo. This *Sandrocottus* [d] was an *Indian* by birth, and of a very mean original; but giving out that he would deliver his countrey from the tyranny of foreigners, under this pretence got together an army, and by degrees having encreaſed it to a great number, took the advantage, while *Alexander*'s ſucceſſors were engaged in war againſt each other, to expel the *Macedonians* out of all thoſe *Indian* provinces which *Alexander* had conquered, and ſeized them to himſelf. To recover theſe provinces *Seleucus* marched over the *Indus*; but finding that *Sandrocottus* had by this time brought all *India* under his power, and from the ſeveral parts of it drawn into the field an army of ſix hundred thouſand men, and had in it a vaſt number of elephants managed for the war, he thought not fit to run the hazard of engaging ſo great a power, and therefore coming to a treaty with him, he agreed, that on his receiving from *Sandrocottus* five hundred of his elephants, he ſhould on that conſideration quit to him all his pretenſions in *India*; and on theſe terms peace was made between them. And *Seleucus* having thus ſettled this matter, marched back into the weſtern parts to make war againſt *Antigonus*; the neceſſity whereof was one main cauſe that haſtned this peace with *Sandrocottus*.

An. 303. Ptolemy Soter 2.

FOR [e] *Demetrius*, after he had ended his war with the *Rhodians*, failed a ſecond time with a great fleet and army into *Greece*, under the ſame pretence of freeing the *Grecian* cities, but in reality to weaken and ſuppreſs the power of *Ptolemy* and *Caſſander* in thoſe parts, and there diſpoſſeſs'd *Ptolemy* of *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, and moſt of the other places which he held in *Greece*, and preſſed ſo hard upon *Caſſander*, that he was forced to ſue to him for peace. But when he found that none could be had, but upon the terms of reſigning himſelf abſolutely to the will and pleaſure of *Antigonus*, he and *Lyſimachus* having had conſultation hereupon, agreed both of them to ſend embaſſadors to *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy*, with a repreſentation of the caſe; by which it being made appear, that the deſigns of *Antigonus* were to ſuppreſs all the other ſucceſſors of *Alexander*, and uſurp the whole empire to himſelf, it was thought time for them all to unite together againſt him, for the bringing down of his over-growing power. And therefore *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Caſſander*, and *Lyſimachus*, having confederated together for this purpoſe, this haſtned *Seleucus* out of *India* back again into *Aſſyria*, there to provide for the war. The firſt operations of it began on the *Helleſpont*. For *Caſſander* and *Lyſimachus* having concerted matters together on that ſide, it was agreed between them, that while the former remained in *Europe* to make a ſtand againſt *Demetrius* in thoſe parts, the other, with as many forces as could be ſpared

An. 302. Ptolemy Soter 3.

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[b] Pauſanias in Atticis. [c] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Juſtin, lib. 15. cap. 4. Appianus in Syriacis. [d] Juſtin. Diodor. Appian, ibid. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Strabo, lib. 16. Arrianus de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 5. [e] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Juſtin, lib. 15. cap. 4.

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[b] Pauſanias in Atticis. [c] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Juſtin, lib. 15. cap. 4. Appianus in Syriacis. [d] Juſtin. Diodor. Appian, ibid. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Strabo, lib. 16. Arrianus de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 5. [e] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Juſtin, lib. 15. cap. 4.

from

from both their territories, ſhould make an invaſion upon the provinces of *Antigonus* in *Aſia*. And accordingly *Lyſimachus* paſſed the *Helleſpont* with a great army; and partly by force, and partly by defertions and revolts, reduced *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Lycaonia*, and moſt of the countries from the *Propontis* to the river *Meander* under his power. *Antigonus* was at *Antigonia*, a new city built by him in the *upper Syria*, and was there celebrating ſolemn games, which he had appointed in that place, when the news of this invaſion was firſt brought to him. On his hearing hereof, and the many revolts which had been made from him, he immediately broke up his ſports, and diſmiſſing the aſſembly forthwith, ſet himſelf to prepare for a march againſt the enemy; and as ſoon as he had gotten all the forces together which he had in thoſe parts, he haſtned with them over mount *Taurus* into *Cilicia*; and having, at *Quinda* in that province, taken out of the publick treaſury (which was there kept) what money he thought neceſſary, he therewith recruited and augmented his forces to a number ſufficient for his purpoſe, and then marched directly againſt the enemy, retaking in his way many of thoſe places which had revolted from him. *Lyſimachus* not finding himſelf ſtrong enough to encounter *Antigonus*, ſtood upon the defenſive only, till *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* ſhould come up to his aſſiſtance; and in this manner wore out the year's war, till both ſides were forced to go into winter quarters.

An. 301. Ptolemy Soter 4.

IN the beginning of the next year, [f] *Seleucus* having gotten together a great army at *Babylon*, marched thence into *Cappadocia*, for the purſuing of the war againſt *Antigonus*. Of which *Antigonus* having notice, ſent for *Demetrius* out of *Greece* to his aſſiſtance; who immediately obeying his father's orders, tranſported himſelf to *Epheſus*, and recovered again that city to *Antigonus*, and many other adjacent places, which on the coming of *Lyſimachus* into *Aſia* had revolted from him.

PTOLEMY, on *Antigonus*'s leaving *Syria*, took the advantage of his abſence to invade that countrey, and ſoon recovered again all *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Cœle-Syria*, excepting only *Tyre* and *Sidon*, which being well garriſon'd, held out againſt him for *Antigonus*. For the reduction of them he firſt laid ſiege to *Sidon*; but as he was carrying of it on, being informed that *Antigonus* had beaten *Seleucus* and *Lyſimachus*, and was marching againſt him for the relief of the place, he ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed on by this falſe report, and therefore forthwith making a truce with the *Sidonians* for five months, raiſed the ſiege, and returned into *Egypt*.

IN the mean time the forces of the confederated Princes being got together, under the command of *Seleucus* and *Lyſimachus* on the one hand, and *Demetrius* having joined *Antigonus* on the other, the controverſy between them was ſoon brought to a deciſive iſſue in a fierce battel, wherein they engaged with their whole forces againſt each other, near a city in *Phrygia* called *Ipſus*; in which *Antigonus* being ſlain, and his army broken and defeated, the confederates gained an abſolute victory. *Antigonus* was paſs'd eighty years old, ſome ſay paſs'd eighty four, when he thus fell. *Demetrius* finding the battel loſt, and his father ſlain, made his eſcape to *Epheſus*, with five thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, which were all

[f] Diodor. & Plutarchus, ibid. Appian in Syriacis.

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the remains which he could pick up of near ninety thouſand men, with which he and his father entered the field of battel. With theſe he went on board his fleet, which he had there left on his coming out of *Greece*. And ſhifting from place to place, ſometimes met with good fortune and ſometimes with bad; and altho' he ſtill retained ſome territories in *Greece* and elſewhere, and afterwards for ſome years reigned in *Macedonia*, yet he could never recover his father's empire; but for the ſeventeen years which he afterwards lived, met with diſappointments in all attempts which he made towards it; till at length falling into the hands of *Seleucus*, he died in the priſon which he confined him to. Among the territories which he retained for ſome time after this battel, were *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and the iſland of *Cyprus*.

AFTER the death of *Antigonus*, [f] the four confederated princes divided his dominions between them, and hereby the whole empire of *Alexander* became parted, and ſettled into four kingdoms. *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*; *Caſſander*, *Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lyſimachus*, *Thrace*, *Bithynia*, and ſome other of the provinces beyond the *Helleſpont* and the *Boſphorus*; and *Seleucus* all the reſt. And theſe four were the [g] four horns of the he-goat, mentioned in the prophecies of the prophet *Daniel*, which grew up after the breaking off of the firſt horn. That firſt horn [h] was *Alexander* King of *Grecia*, who overthrew the kingdom of the *Medes* and *Perſians*; and the [i] other four horns were theſe four Kings who ſprung up after him, and divided his empire between them. And theſe alſo were the four heads of the leopard, [k] ſpoken of in another place of the ſame prophecies. And their four kingdoms were the four parts, into which, according to the ſame prophet, the *kingdom of the mighty King (i.e.* of *Alexander) ſhould be broken, and divided towards (i.e.* according to the number of) *the four winds of heaven*, among thoſe four Kings, *who ſhould not be of his poſterity*, as neither of the four above-mentioned were. And therefore, by this laſt partition of the empire of *Alexander*, were all theſe prophecies exactly fulfilled. There were indeed former partitions of it into provinces among governors, under the brother and ſon of *Alexander*. But this laſt only was a partition of it into kingdoms among Kings; and therefore of this only can theſe prophecies be underſtood. For it's plain, they ſpeak of the four ſucceſſors of *Alexander* as [l] of four Kings; where they are repreſented by four horns, they are [m] expreſsly called ſo; and where they are repreſented by [n] four heads, the very ſymbol ſpeaks them ſo. For who are heads of kingdoms, but the Kings that reign over them? The leopard in that propheſy was the empire of the *Macedonians*, and the four heads were the four Kings, that after *Alexander* divided it into four kingdoms, and as Kings reigned over them. But none of *Alexander*'s ſucceſſors were Kings, till about three years before this laſt diviſion of his empire was made. At firſt indeed there were five Kings of theſe ſucceſſors. But *Antigonus* not being King above three years, and his kingdom being abſolutely extinguiſhed in his death, for this reaſon theſe prophecies take no notice of him, but confine the ſucceſſion of the great horn to theſe four only, who conquered him. And

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[f] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Appian in Syriacis. Polybius, lib. 5.
[g] Dan. viii. [h] Dan. viii. 21. xi. 3. [i] Dan. viii. 22. xi. 4. [k] Dan. vii. 6.
[l] Dan. viii. 21, 22. xi. 4. [m] Dan. viii. 21. [n] Dan. vii. 6.

it is farther to be obſerved, that tho' *Antigonus* and the other four called themſelves Kings three years before the battel of *Ipſus*, which produced this laſt partition, yet it was till then only a precarious title, which each aſſumed by his own authority only. But after this battel there being a league made between the four ſurvivors, who conquered in it, whereby each of them had their dominions ſet out to them into ſo many kingdoms, and each of them were authoriſed by the conſent of all to govern them as Kings independent of all ſuperiors, from this time only can their reſpective diviſions be truly and properly reckoned as kingdoms, and they as Kings to preſide over them. And in all their conteſts, which they or their ſucceſſors afterwards had about the limits of their ſeveral kingdoms, they always appealed to this league, as the original charter by which they held their kingdoms, and that regal authority by which they reigned over them. And therefore from the making of this league only, can they properly and in the trueſt ſenſe be called Kings; and they were four only, that is, *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Caſſander* and *Lyſimachus*, that were ſo by virtue of it. And to theſe four do the prophecies refer.

An. 300. Ptolemy Soter 5. *ONIAS*, the firſt of that name, high-prieſt of the *Jews*, being dead, he was [o] ſucceeded in the high-prieſthood by *Simon* his ſon, who from the holineſs of his life, and the great righteouſneſs which ſhone forth in all his actions, was called *Simon the Juſt*. He was the firſt of that name that was high-prieſt, and lived in that office nine years.

SELEUCUS, after his victory over *Antigonus*, having ſeized the *upper Syria*, [p] there built *Antioch*, on the river *Orontes*, which afterwards for many ages became the Queen of the *Eaſt*. For here the *Syrian* Kings had the ſeat of their empire, and here the *Roman* governors who preſided over the affairs of the *Eaſt* had their reſidence; and when chriſtianity prevailed, it became the ſee of the chief patriarch of the *Aſian* churches. It was ſituated on the river *Orontes*, at the diſtance of about twenty miles from the place, where it falls into the *Mediterranean ſea*. It is [q] reckoned to be in the mid way by land, between *Conſtantinople* and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and to be about ſeven hundred miles diſtant from each. He called it *Antioch*, ſay ſome, from the name of his father, others from the name of his ſon, and others from that of both. For *Antiochus* was the name of his father, as well as of the ſon that ſucceeded him in his kingdom. He built ſixteen other cities, which he called by the ſame name, whereof one was in *Piſidia*, of which [r] mention is made in the ſcripture; but *Antioch* on the *Orontes* was the moſt remarkable of them. *Antigonus* had not long before [s] built a city in the neighbourhood, which from his name he called *Antigonia*, and intended to have made it the chief ſeat of his empire. This *Seleucus* raſed to the ground, and having employed the materials to build this new city, tranſplanted all the inhabitants thither. Theſe cities having both ſtood on the *Orontes*, and very near each other, the benefit of the river, and the ſmallneſs of the diſtance, made the tranſportation the more eaſy. He [t] built alſo ſeveral other cities in that coun-

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[o] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2. Chronicon. Alexandrinum. Euſebii Chron. Syncellus ex Africano. [p] Johannes Antiochenus Malela. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 749, 750, &c. Appian in Syriacis. Juſtin, lib. 15. cap. 4. Diodor. lib. 20. Julianus in Miſopogone. [q] Baudrandi Geographia de Antiochia magna. [r] Acts xiii. 14. [s] Strabo, & Diodorus Siculus, ibid. [t] Strabo, ibid.

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trey, whereof there were three of eſpecial note; one of them he called *Seleucia* from his own name; another *Apamia* from *Apama* his wife, the daughter of *Artabazus* the *Perſian*; and the third *Laodicea*, from *Laodice* his mother. *Apamia* and *Seleucia* ſtood upon the ſame river with *Antioch*, the former above it, and the other fifteen miles below it, and five from the place where that river falls into the ſea. And upon the ſame coaſt, towards the ſouth, lay *Laodicea*. For the ſake of theſe four cities, the countrey in which they ſtood had the name of *Tetrapolis*, i. e. *the countrey of the four cities*, not but that there were ſeveral other cities in it. But theſe being of more eminent note, and making four diſtinct governments, on which all the reſt were dependents, from hence they gave occaſion for the name to that countrey, and indeed it was no more than an occaſional name given it for this reaſon. The true name of it was *Seleucis:* This *Seleucus* gave it from his own name, and it extended ſouthward as far as *Cœle-Syria*. For *Syria* was divided into three parts, *Syria* properly ſo called, *Cœle-Syria*, or the hollow *Syria*, and *Syria Paleſtina*. The firſt of theſe, which I call the *upper Syria*, contained *Commagena*, *Cyrrheſtica*, *Seleucis*, and ſome other ſmall diſtricts, and extended from the mountain *Amanus* on the north, to the mountain *Libanus* on the ſouth, and was afterwards called *Syria Antiochena*. The ſecond reached from *Libanus* to *Anti-Libanus*, including *Damaſcus* and its territories, which conſiſting moſtly of deep vallies between high mountains, it was for this reaſon called *Cœle-Syria*, *i. e.* the *hollow Syria*. From *Anti-Libanus* to the borders of *Egypt* was *Syria Paleſtina*, and the maritim parts of the two latter, from *Aradus* to *Gaza*, was that which the *Greeks* called *Phœnicia*. But not only *Seleucis*, but *Antioch* it ſelf, was alſo called *Tetrapolis*, but from another reaſon; that is becauſe it conſiſted of four quarters as of ſo many cities; the firſt of them only was built by *Seleucus*, the ſecond by thoſe who flocked thither on its being made the capital of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire, the third by *Seleucus Callinicus*, and the fourth by *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Each of theſe quarters had its proper wall, whereby it was ſeparated from the reſt, and were alſo encloſed by one common wall encompaſſing the whole. The place where it ſtood was very liable to earthquakes, and it often ſuffered exceedingly by them. However, it continued for near ſixteen hundred years to be the chief city of the *Eaſt*, till at length, [v] *anno domini* 1265, it was taken from the weſtern chriſtians by *Bibars* ſultan of *Egypt*, and utterly deſtroyed by him. Since that *Aleppo* hath ſucceeded in its ſtead, to be the metropolis of thoſe eaſtern parts. [w] All the walls are ſtill remaining, that is, the walls of each quarter, as well as thoſe which ſurround the whole; but all being deſolated within excepting ſome few houſes, which make only a ſmall and contemptible village, thoſe four quarters of the city look only as ſo many fields within their encloſures. It is now called *Anthakia*, but is remarkable for nothing elſe but its ruins. The [x] patriarchal ſee, which once adorned it, hath ſince its deſolation been tranſlated to *Damaſcus*. But he that hath at preſent the title of patriarch of *Antioch* in that place, ſcarce reacheth the figure formerly born by the meaneſt deacon of that church; to ſo low a condition is the ſtate of chriſtianity now ſunk in thoſe parts.

[v] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 281.
[w] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 280.
[x] Golius, ibid.

DAPHNE [y] was reckoned a ſuburb of this city, tho' at the diſtance of about four or five of our miles from it. There *Seleucus* planted a grove which was ten miles in compaſs, and in the middle of it built a temple, and conſecrated both to *Apollo* and *Diana*, making the whole an aſylum. This was the ſame to *Antioch*, that *Baiæ* was to *Rome*, and *Canopus* to *Alexandria*; that is, the place where the inhabitants reſorted for their pleaſures, for which it was excellently fitted. For [z] it had moſt delicious fountains and rivulets of the beſt water, moſt pleaſant walks of *Cypreſs* trees in the grove, and the pureſt air, and every thing elſe that nature could afford for pleaſure and delight; which being farther improved by all the arts of luxury, whatſoever could any way adminiſter to a voluptuous enjoyment, [a] was there to be had in the utmoſt exceſs; and the *Antiochians*, as their corrupt inclinations led them, there reſorted for it. So that tho' the place had been conſecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, it was by the *Antiochians* in reality wholly devoted to *Bacchus* and *Venus*, which made it ſo infamous, that *Daphnicis moribus vivere*, i. e. *to live after the manners of Daphne*, grew into a proverb, to expreſs the moſt luxurious and diſſolute way of living; and all that had any regard to their reputation for virtue and modeſty avoided to go thither. And *Caſſius* the *Roman* general, on his coming to *Antioch*, by publick proclamation prohibited all his ſoldiers from going to that place, under the penalty of being caſhier'd, that they might not be corrupted by the luxury and debaucheries of it. It was ſo noted a place, that to diſtinguiſh this *Antioch*, near which it lay, from the many other cities that were of the ſame name elſewhere, as it was ſometimes called *Antioch* on the *Orontes*, ſo was it as often called *Antioch* [b] ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ, i. e. *Antioch near Daphne*.

An. 299. Ptolemy Soter 6.

LYSIMACHUS, to ſtrengthen himſelf in his kingdom, [c] made a ſtrict alliance with *Ptolemy*, and for the firmer cementing of it, took to wife *Arſinoe* one of his daughters, and ſome time after married another of them to *Agathocles* his ſon. *Seleucus* following this example, contracted the like alliance with *Demetrius*, and married his daughter *Stratonice*, which he had by *Phila* the ſiſter of *Caſſander*. She being a very beautiful lady, *Seleucus* on the fame of it deſired her in marriage, and *Demetrius* being then in a low condition, was glad of ſo potent an ally, and therefore readily laid hold of the propoſal, and forthwith ſailing from *Greece*, where he had ſtill ſome towns, carried her with the whole fleet that he had then remaining into *Syria*. In his way thither he made a deſcent upon *Cilicia*, which was then held by *Pliſtarchus* brother of *Caſſander*, by the gift of the four kings after the death of *Antigonus*. Hereon *Pliſtarchus* went to *Seleucus* to complain of the wrong, and to expoſtulate with him for making an alliance with the common enemy, without conſent of the other Kings, which he apprehended to be contrary to the league that was made between them. *Demetrius* having intelligence hereof, marched immediately to *Quinda*, where the publick treaſury of the countrey was kept, and having ſeized all the money he found in it, which amounted to twelve hundred talents, haſtened back to his fleet with the prey, and putting it all on board, ſailed to *Oniaſſus*, a maritim town in *Syria*, where he met *Seleucus*, and delivered to him his bride; and after ſome days there ſpent

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[y] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 750. [z] Procopius Perſicorum, lib. 2. [a] Chryſoſtomi ſermo in Babylam Martyrem. [b] Strabo, lib. 15. p. 719. [c] Plutarchus in Demetrio.

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in nuptial feaſts, and mutual treats and entertainments, he ſailed back again into *Cilicia*, and made himſelf maſter of the whole province, and then ſent *Phila* his wife to *Caſſander* her brother to excuſe the matter.

An. 298. Ptolemy Soter 7.

BY this means the power of *Demetrius* began again to grow in thoſe parts; for he had there on this acquiſition all the province of *Cilicia*, the whole iſland of *Cyprus*, and the two ſtrong and wealthy cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*; which making *Seleucus* jealous of his neighbourhood, [d] he would have bought him out of *Cilicia* for a large ſum of money, which he offered him for the purchaſe. But *Demetrius* not accepting the bargain, he would have picked a quarrel with him about *Tyre* and *Sidon*, demanding them of him in great anger, as cities belonging to *Syria*, of which he was King. To which *Demetrius* returned as angry an anſwer, telling him, that tho' he ſhould be vanquiſhed a thouſand times over, he would never buy a ſon-in-law at ſuch a rate, and immediately hereon ſailed to both thoſe cities, and having ſtrengthened the garriſons he had in them with more forces, and furniſhed them with all things neceſſary for their defence, he defeated for the preſent the deſign which *Seleucus* then had of taking them from him. So that *Seleucus* got nothing hereby but an ill name. For he was generally blamed and reflected on for his unſatiable greedineſs, in that having ſo large an extent of dominion, as reached from the river *Indus* to the *Mediterranean* ſea, he would not let his father-in-law quietly enjoy theſe poor remains of his broken fortunes.

ABOUT this time [e] flouriſhed *Megaſthenes*, who wrote an hiſtory of *India*. For he was a confident of *Seleucus*'s; and having been employed by him in his tranſactions [f] with *Sandrocottus* King of *India*, and reſided with him ſome time in that countrey, and gone over a great part of it, he then gathered up thoſe materials out of which he afterwards compoſed his book. Some fragments of it are preſerved by [g] *Joſephus*, and [h] *Euſebius*, wherein he makes mention of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the greatneſs of his power. And he is often quoted by [i] *Strabo*, and other ancient writers, as *Athenæus*, *Arrian*, *Cicero*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*. But the Book it ſelf is not now extant. *Annius*, a lying monk of *Viterbo* in *Italy*, who was born *anno* 1437, and flouriſhed towards the end of that century, counterfeited ſeveral books under old names, of which number were *Manetho*, *Beroſus*, and *Megaſthenes*, whom he calls *Metaſthenes* out of a miſtake, which he was led into by *Ruſinus*'s *Latin* verſion of *Joſephus*, and this firſt gave occaſion for the diſcovery of the cheat. Thoſe books he publiſhed with a comment upon them, and for ſome time they went for the genuine works of the authors whoſe name they bore, but are now exploded every where as fictions, framed of purpoſe to impoſe a cheat upon the world. And of the ſame ſtamp are *Inghiramius*'s *Etruſcan* antiquities, and *Jeffrey of Monmouth*'s *Britiſh* hiſtory. For all theſe are no other than the fictions of the firſt editors. They framed them to perpetuate their names by the publication, and they have truly done ſo. For they are ſtill remembred for it; but no otherwiſe, than under the ſtyle of infamous impoſtors.

[d] Plutarchus in Demetrio. [e] Vide Voſſium de hiſtoricis Græcis, lib. 1. cap. 11.
[f] Arrian de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 5. & de rebus indicis. [g] Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 11. & contra Apionem, lib. 1. [h] Præp. evang. ex Abydeno, lib. 9. [i] Lib. 15. p. 687. *Where he quotes out of* Megaſthenes *the ſame paſſage concerning* Nebuchadnezzar *(whom he calls* Navocodroſor) *that* Joſephus *doth.*

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CASSANDER [1] having governed *Macedon* from the death of his father nineteen years, dyed of a dropſy; leaving behind him, by *Theſſalonice* his wife, one of the ſiſters of *Alexander the Great*, three ſons, *Philip*, *Antipater*, and *Alexander*. *Philip*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom, dying ſoon after, left the crown to be conteſted for between his two brothers that ſurvived.

An. 297. Ptolemy Soter 8. *PYRRHUS*, the famous King of *Epirus*, [m] being in *Egypt*, there married *Antigone* one of *Ptolemy*'s family. He, having been kept out of his kingdom by *Neoptolemus* an uſurper, followed *Demetrius* in his wars while very young, and fought valiantly in his cauſe in the battel of *Ipſus*, and after that continued with him till the marriage of *Seleucus* with *Stratonice*. Then, by the interpoſition of *Seleucus*, peace and reconciliation having been made between *Demetrius* and *Ptolemy*, *Pyrrhus* was delivered to *Ptolemy* as an hoſtage on the part of *Demetrius* for the performance of the articles, and carried by him into *Egypt*; where having, by his generous and noble deportment, gained much upon the favour of that prince, he gave him in marriage *Antigone*, the daughter of *Berenice* his beſt beloved wife. *Ptolemy* had another wife called *Eurydice*, who was the daughter of *Antipater*, and ſiſter to *Caſſander*. When *Antipater* ſent this lady into *Egypt* to be married to *Ptolemy*, he ſent with her for a companion *Berenice*, ſhe being then the widow of one *Philip* a *Macedonian*, newly deceaſed, by whom ſhe had this *Antigone*. On her arrival in *Egypt* ſhe ſoon grew ſo much into the liking of *Ptolemy*, that he married her alſo, and loved her much more than any other wife he had. And therefore on *Pyrrhus*'s having married her daughter, ſhe prevailed with *Ptolemy* to aſſiſt him with a fleet and money; by means whereof he recovered his kingdom, and from this beginning grew up to be the moſt eminent perſon of the age in which he lived.

An. 296. Ptolemy Soter 9. *DEMETRIUS* from *Tyre* made an inroad upon the *Samaritans*, and waſted *Samaria*; ſo ſaith [n] *Euſebius*; and it's certain, that at this time *Demetrius* was in poſſeſſion of *Tyre* and *Sidon*; but it is more likely that this was done by *Demetrius*'s lieutenants in thoſe parts, than by *Demetrius* himſelf in perſon. For according to all other hiſtories, *Demetrius*'s wars in *Greece* detained him there all this year, and alſo the next.

An. 295. Ptolemy Soter 10. FOR [o] the *Athenians* having revolted from *Demetrius*, after the reduction of the *Meſſenians* (which had been the work of the former year) he employed a whole year in the ſiege of *Athens*, and at length, by famine, forced them to a ſurrender.

AFTER *Demetrius* had ſettled his affairs at *Athens*, [p] he formed a deſign for the ſubduing of the *Lacedemonians*, and having overthrown them in two battels, would certainly have ſucceeded in the enterprize, but that when he was going to make an aſſault upon the city of *Lacedemon*, and muſt in all likelihood have taken it, a meſſage came to him, that *Lyſimachus* having with a great army invaded his territories in *Aſia*, had taken from him all the cities which he had in thoſe parts; and immediately after that another, that *Ptolemy* had made a deſcent upon *Cyprus*, and taken from him all that iſland, except only the city of *Salamine*, into which

[1] Dexippus & Porphyrius in Chronico Euſebii, p. 57, 59, & 63. [m] Plutarchus in Pyrrho. Pauſanias in Atticis. [n] In Chronico. [o] Plutarchus in Demetrio.

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his mother, his wife and children were retired, and that he preſſed that place with an hard ſiege. All theſe grievous tidings, coming one upon the back of the other, drew back *Demetrius* from *Lacedemon* to look after his other affairs, when he was juſt ready to have taken that city. And not long after he had an account, that *Salamine* was alſo loſt. But *Ptolemy* was ſo generous, that on his maſtering the place he ſent him his mother, and his wife and children, without ranſom, with all the perſons, equipage and effects, that belonged to them, adding alſo ſeveral magnificent preſents, and all manner of honour at their diſmiſſion. And when *Ptolemy* had thus made himſelf maſter of *Cyprus*, then moſt likely was it, that *Tyre* and *Sidon* fell into his hands alſo; it not being poſſible, that after the loſs of *Cyprus*, *Demetrius* could any longer keep them.

AT the ſame time it ſeems moſt likely *Demetrius* alſo loſt *Cilicia* to *Seleucus*. For from this time we find the latter only in the poſſeſſion of this province, and all the cities in it. And no time ſeems more proper for *Seleucus* to have ſeized it, than when this declenſion of *Demetrius*'s fortunes in thoſe eaſtern parts had put it out of his power any longer to defend it againſt him

THE conteſt [p] going on between *Antipater* and *Alexander*, the ſons of *Caſſander*, about the kingdom of *Macedon*; and *Theſſalonice*, the mother of both, favouring the younger ſon, this ſo exaſperated *Antipater*, the eldeſt of them againſt her, that in an impious rage he fell upon her, and ſlew her with his own hands, notwithſtanding ſhe earneſtly ſupplicated to him, by the breaſts with which ſhe had nouriſhed him, to ſpare her life. This accident gave a favourable turn to the fortunes on *Demetrius*. For *Alexander*, the other brother, to be revenged on *Antipater* for this horrid fact, called in *Demetrius* to his aſſiſtance; which opened him a way to the throne of *Macedon*. For the wicked parricide of *Antipater*, in murthering his mother, having created a general deteſtation of him, by that time *Demetrius* had with his army reached the borders of *Macedon*, he was deſerted of all men, and forced to fly into *Thracia*, where he ſoon after periſhed in baniſhment. *Alexander* being thus rid of his brother, deſired to be rid of *Demetrius* alſo; in order whereto he laid a deſign to cut him off; which *Demetrius* having notice of, was beforehand with him, and firſt cut off *Alexander*, by ſlaying him at an entertainment, in the ſame manner as *Alexander* had laid the plot to have ſlain him, and thereon got to be King of *Macedon* in his ſtead, where he reigned ſeven years, till another croſs turn of fortune threw him again out of that kingdom, and a while after he was caſt out of every thing elſe that he had been poſſeſſed of. *An.* 394. Ptolemy Soter II.

BY the death of *Theſſalonice* and her two ſons, the whole royal family of *Philip* King of *Macedon* was utterly extirpated, as that of *Alexander* had been before in the death of *Alexander Ægus* and *Hercules* his ſons. And ſo theſe two Kings, who by their oppreſſive and deſtructive wars had made many tragedies in other princes families, had them all at length, by the juſt ordination of providence, brought home to their own, both *Philip* and *Alexander*, their wives, and all that were deſcended of them, dying violent deaths.

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[p] Plutarchus in Demetrio & Pyrrho. Juſtin, lib. 16. cap. 1. Pauſanias in Bœoticis.

ABOUT

An. 393. Ptolemy Soter 12.

ABOUT this time [q] *Seleucus* built *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, at the diſtance of forty miles from *Babylon*. It was placed on the weſtern ſide of that river, over-againſt the place where now *Bagdad* ſtands on the eaſtern ſide, which ſoon grew to be a very great city. For *Pliny* [r] tells us, it had in it ſix hundred thouſand inhabitants, and there are not much above an hundred thouſand more in *London*, which is now (waving the fabulous account which is given of *Nankin* in *China)* beyond all diſpute the biggeſt city in the world. For by reaſon of the breaking down of the banks of the *Euphrates*, the countrey near *Babylon* being drowned, and the branch of that river which paſſed thorough the middle of the city, being ſhallowed and rendred unnavigable, this made the ſituation of *Babylon* by this time ſo very inconvenient, that when this new city was built, it ſoon drained the other of all its inhabitants. For it being ſituated much more commodiouſly, and by the founder made the metropolis of all the provinces of his empire beyond the *Euphrates*, and the place of his reſidence, whenever he came into thoſe parts, in the ſame manner as *Antioch* was for the other provinces which were on this ſide that river; for the ſake of theſe advantages the *Babylonians* in great numbers left their old habitations, and flocked to *Seleucia*. And beſides, *Seleucus* having called this city by his own name, and deſigned it for an eminent monument thereof in after ages, gave it many privileges above the other cities of the eaſt, the better to make it anſwer this purpoſe; and theſe were a farther invitation to the *Babylonians* to tranſplant themſelves to it. And by theſe means, in a ſhort time after the building of *Seleucia*, *Babylon* became wholly deſolated, ſo that nothing was left remaining of it but its walls. And therefore [s] *Pliny* tells us, *That it was exhauſted of its inhabitants, and brought to deſolation, by the neighbourhood of* Seleucia *on the* Tigris, *which* Seleucus Nicator *built there on purpoſe for this end.* And [t] *Strabo* ſaith the ſame, as doth alſo *Pauſanias* in his *Arcadicis*, where he tells us, *That* Babylon, *once the greateſt city that the ſun ever ſaw, had in his time* (i. e. [v] about the middle of the ſecond century) *nothing left but its walls.* Theſe remained long after. For the ſpace within being made a park by the *Parthian* Kings, for the keeping of wild beaſts in it for their hunting, the walls were kept up to ſerve for a fence to the encloſure; and in this ſtate it was in *Jerom*'s time, who lived in the fourth century. For he tells us, [w] *That excepting the walls, which were repaired for the encloſing of the wild beaſts, that were there kept, all within was deſolation:* And in [x] another place, *That* Babylon *was nothing elſe, in his time, but a chaſe for wild beaſts kept within the compaſs of its ancient walls for the hunting of the King*; that is, of *Perſia*. For after the *Parthians*, there reigned in *Jerom*'s time over thoſe countries a race of *Perſian* Kings, and continued there to the time of the *Saracen* empire, by which they were extinguiſhed. When, or how thoſe walls became demoliſh'd, is no where ſaid, no writer for ſeveral hundred years after *Jerom*'s time ſpeaking any more of this place. The firſt after him that makes mention of it is *Benjamin*, a *Jew* of *Tudela* in *Navar*, who, in his *Itinerary*, which he wrote near ſix hundred years

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[q] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 738, & 743. Plin. lib. 6. cap. 26. [r] Ibid. [s] Lib. 6. cap. 36. [t] Lib. 16. p. 738. [v] *For he lived in the time of* Adrian *and* Antoninus Pius. *See* Voſſius de Hiſtoricis Græcis, lib. 2. cap. 14. [w] Comment in Eſaiæ, cap. 14. [x] Comment in Eſaiæ, cap. 13.

ſince,

ſince, (for he died in the year of our Lord 1173) tells us, that he was upon the place where this old city formerly ſtood, and found it then wholly deſolated and deſtroyed; only he [y] ſaith, *Some ruins of* Nebuchadnezzar's *palace were then ſtill remaining, but men were afraid to go near them, by reaſon of the many ſerpents and ſcorpions that were then in the place.* *Texeira*, a *Portugueſe*, [z] in the deſcription of his travels from *India* to *Italy*, tells us, *That there was nothing then remaining of this old and famous city, but only ſome few footſteps of it, and that there was no place in all that countrey leſs frequented than that tract of ground whereon it formerly ſtood.* And *Rauwolf*, a *German* traveller, who paſſed that way in the year of our Lord 1574, tells us the ſame thing. [a] His words are as followeth. "The village of *Elugo* lieth on the place where formerly old "*Babylon*, the metropolis of *Chaldea*, did ſtand. The harbour lieth a "quarter of a league off, whereunto thoſe uſe to go, that intend to tra"vel by land to the famous city of *Bagdad*, which is ſituated farther to "the eaſt on the river *Tigris*, at a day and a half's diſtance. This coun"trey is ſo dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and ſo bare, that I "ſhould have doubted very much, whether this potent and powerful city "(which once was the moſt ſtately and famous one of the world, ſituated "in the pleaſant and fruitful countrey of *Sinar*) did ſtand there, if I ſhould "not have known it by its ſituation, and ſeveral ancient and delicate an"tiquities that ſtill are ſtanding hereabout in great deſolation. Firſt, by the "old bridge which was laid over the *Euphrates*, whereof there are ſome "pieces and arches ſtill remaining built of burnt brick, and ſo ſtrong, "that it is admirable— Juſt before the village of *Elugo*, is the hill where"on the caſtle did ſtand, in a plain, whereon you may ſtill ſee ſome ruines "of the fortification, which is quite demoliſhed and uninhabited. Be"hind it, and pretty near to it, did ſtand the tower of *Babylon*.—— "This we ſee ſtill, and it is half a league in diameter, but is ſo mightily "ruined and low, and ſo full of venemous reptiles, that have bored holes "through it, that one may not come near it within half a mile, but on"ly in two months in the winter, when they come not out of their holes. "Among theſe reptiles there are chiefly ſome in the *Perſian* language cal"led *Eglo* by the inhabitants, that are very poiſonous. They are bigger than "our lizards", *&c.* All which ruins here mentioned by *Rauwolf*, are no doubt the ſame which *Benjamin* of *Tudela* ſaith were the ruins of the palace of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that is, the old palace which ſtood on the eaſtern ſide of the river. For it is of that only, that *Benjamin* and *Rauwolf* ſpeak. Of the ruines of *Babylon* on the weſtern ſide, where the new palace ſtood, which *Nebuchadnezzar* himſelf built, neither of them do take any notice. All this put together, ſhews how fully and exactly hath been fulfilled all that, which the prophet *Iſaiah* propheſied of this place. For his words concerning it (*ch.* 13. *ver.* 19—22.) are as followeth. *And* Babylon, *the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the* Chaldees *excellency, ſhall be as when God overthrew* Sodom *and* Gomorrha, *it ſhall never be inhabited, neither ſhall be dwelt in from generation to generation, neither ſhall the* Arabian *pitch tent there, neither ſhall the ſhepherds make their*

[y] Benjaminis Itinerarium, p. 76. [z] Cap. 8. [a] *See Mr.* Ray's *Edition of theſe Travels in* Engliſh. *Part* 2. *Chap.* 7.

folds there, but wild beaſts of the deſart ſhall be there, and their houſe ſhall be full of doleful creatures, and owls ſhall dwell there, and ſatyres ſhall dance there, and the wild beaſts of the iſland ſhall cry in their deſolate houſes, and dragons in their pleaſant palaces, and her time is near to come, and her days ſhall not be prolonged. Thus far *Iſaiah*; and beſides this, there are ſeveral other prophecies in the other prophets to the ſame purpoſe, which have been already taken notice of. It muſt be acknowledged, that there is mention made of *Babylon*, as of a city ſtanding long after the time where I have placed its deſolation, as [b] in *Lucan*, [c] *Philoſtratus*, and others. But in all thoſe authors, and wherever elſe we find *Babylon* ſpoken of as a city in being after the time of *Seleucus Nicator*, it muſt be underſtood, [d] not of old *Babylon* on the *Euphrates*, but of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*. For as that ſucceeded in the dignity and grandeur of old *Babylon*, ſo alſo did it in its name. At firſt it was called *Seleucia Babylonia*, that is, the *Babylonic Seleucia*, or *Seleucia* of the province of *Babylon*, to diſtinguiſh it from the other *Seleucia's* which were elſewhere, and after that [e] *Babylonia* ſimply, and at [f] length *Babylon*. That *Lucan*, by his *Babylon* in the firſt book of his *Pharſalia*, means none other than *Seleucia*, or the new *Babylon*, is plain. For he there ſpeaks of it as the metropolis of the *Parthian* kingdom, where the trophies of *Craſſus* were hung up after the vanquiſhing of the *Romans* at *Carrhæ*, which can be underſtood only of the *Seleucian*, or new *Babylon*, and not of the old. For that new *Babylon* only was the ſeat of the *Parthian* Kings, but the old *Babylon* never. And in another place, where he makes mention of this *Babylon*, (*i. e.* book vi. ver. 50.) he deſcribes it as ſurrounded by the *Tigris* in the ſame manner as *Antioch* was by the *Orontes*: But it was the *Seleucian* or the new *Babylon*, and not the old, that ſtood upon the *Tigris*. And as to *Philoſtratus*, when he brings his *Apollonius* (the *Don Quixot* of his romance) to the royal ſeat of the *Parthian* King, which was at that time at *Seleucia*, then called *Babylon*, he was led by that name into this groſs blunder, as to miſtake it for the old *Babylon*, and therefore [g] in the deſcribing of it, he gives us the ſame deſcription which he found given of old *Babylon* in *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, and other writers. But it is no unuſual thing for romancers often to make blunders and miſtakes in geography of the places where they lay the ſcenes of their fables; and that the whole ſtory of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, as written by *Philoſtratus*, is no more than a romance and a fable, is well known. And perchance the giving of the name of *Babylon* to *Seleucia*, was that which gave riſe to the preſent vulgar error, that *Bagdad* is now ſituated in the very place, where formerly old *Babylon* ſtood. For when *Bagdad* was firſt built, it [h] truly was upon the ſame plat of ground, where formerly *Seleu-*

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[b] Lib. 1. ver. 10. [c] Lib. 1. cap. 17, 18, 19. [d] Plutarch *indeed, in the life of* Craſſus, *ſpeaks of* Babylon *and* Seleucia, *as of two diſtinct cities then in being. For in a political remark, he reckons is as a great error in* Craſſus, *that in his firſt irruption into* Meſopotamia, *he had not directly marched on to* Babylon *and* Seleucia, *and ſeized thoſe two cities. And* Appian, *in his* Parthic's, *ſays the ſame thing. But* Plutarch *was miſtaken herein, taking for two cities then in being, what were no more than two names then given one and the ſame place, that is,* Seleucia. *For as to old* Babylon, *it appears from the authors I have mentioned, that it was deſolated long before the time of* Craſſus. *And as to* Appian, *he doth no more than recite the opinion of* Plutarch. *For he writes word for word after him as to this matter.* [e] Plin. lib. 6. cap. 26. [f] Stephanus Byzantinus in Βαβυλὼν.
[g] Lib. 1. cap. 18. [h] Bocharti Geographia ſacra, Part 1. lib. 1. cap. 8. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 121, 122. Sionitæ Deſcriptio Bagdadi ad calcem Geographiæ Nubienſis, cap 2.

cian

cia or new *Babylon* ſtood. For as old *Babylon* was exhauſted by *Seleucia*, ſo afterwards was *Seleucia* by *Cteſephon* and *Almadayen*, and theſe two again by *Bagdad*; it being the humour of the princes of thoſe ages, to build new cities to be monuments of their names, and to deſolate old ones in the neighbourhood for the peopling of them. By this means *Seleucia* being reduced to a deſolation, as well as *Babylon*, at the times when *Abu Jaafar Almanſur*, caliph or emperor of the *Saracens*, begun his reign, (which was in the year of our Lord 754) it had nothing upon it, but the cell of a chriſtian monk, called *Dad*, and a garden adjoyning to it. From whence it had the name of *Bagdad*, that is, in the language of that countrey, *the garden of Dad*. And upon [i] this place was the city firſt built, which hath ever ſince been called by this name of *Bagdad*. For the ſame *Almanſur* being reſolved, out of diſlike to *Haſhemia*, where his predeceſſor before reſided, to build him a new city, to be the capital ſeat of his empire, choſe that place for it where this garden lay, and there, in the year of our Lord 762, erected this city upon the very foundations on which formerly *Seleucia* had ſtood, on the weſt ſide of the *Tigris*. But not long after it was tranſlated over to the other ſide, and there it at preſent ſtands about three miles above the place, where *Cteſephon* was formerly ſituated on the ſame ſide of the river, that is, on the eaſtern ſide; and that which was firſt built on the weſtern ſide is now no more than a ſuburb to it. This city, from the reign of *Almanſur*, was for many years the capital of the *Saracen* empire, and ſtill remains a place of great note in the eaſt: But they are much miſtaken, who think it the ſame with old *Babylon*. For that was upon the *Euphrates*, but *Bagdad* is upon the *Tigris*, at the diſtance of forty miles from the place where that old city ſtood.

SELEUCUS built many other cities both in the *greater* and *leſſer Aſia*; [k] ſixteen of which he called *Antioch*, from the name of *Antiochus* his father; nine *Seleucia*, from his own name; ſix *Laodicea*; from the name of *Laodice* his mother; three *Apamea*, from *Apama* his firſt wife; and one *Stratonicea*, from *Stratonice* his laſt wife; in all which he [l] planted the *Jews*, giving them equal privileges and immunities with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*: eſpecially at *Antioch* in *Syria*; where they ſettled in great numbers, and became almoſt as conſiderable a part of that city, as they were at *Alexandria*. And from hence it was, that the *Jews* became diſperſed all over *Syria*, and the *leſſer Aſia*. In the eaſtern countries beyond the *Euphrates*, they had been ſettled before, ever ſince the *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* captivities, and there multiplied in great numbers. But it was *Seleucus Nicator* that firſt gave them ſettlements in thoſe provinces of *Aſia*, which are on this ſide the *Euphrates*. For they having been very faithful and ſerviceable to him in his wars, and other truſts and intereſts, he for this reaſon gave them theſe privileges through all the cities which he built. But it ſeems moſt likely that they were the *Babyloniſh Jews* that firſt engaged him to be thus favourable to this people. For the *Jews* of *Paleſtine* being under *Ptolomy*, were not in a capacity to be ſerviceable to him. But *Babylon* being the place where he laid the firſt foundations of his power,

[i] Elmacini Hiſtoria Saracenica ſub Anno Heg. 145. Abul Pharagii Hiſtoria Dinaſtiarum Editionis Pocockianæ, p. 141. Eutychii Annales, Tom. 2. p. 399. Geographia Nubienſis, p. 204.

[k] Appianus in Syriacis, p. 201. Editionis Tollianæ. [l] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3. & contra Apionem, lib. 2. Euſebius in Chronico.

and the *Jews* in thoſe parts being as numerous as the *Jews* of *Paleſtine*, if not more; it is moſt likely, that there they unanimouſly adhered to his intereſt, and were the prime ſtrength that he had for the advancement of it, and that for this reaſon he ever after ſhewed ſo much favour to them; and it is ſcarce probable, that any thing leſs than this could be a ſufficient cauſe to procure ſuch great privileges from him, as he afterwards gave to all of that nation.

An. 292. Ptolemy Soter 13. *SIMON the Juſt*, high-prieſt of the *Jews*, dying, after he had been [n] nine years in that office, left behind him a ſon called *Onias*; but he being an infant, and therefore incapable of ſucceeding in the high-prieſthood, *Eleazar* the brother of *Simon* was ſubſtituted high-prieſt in his ſtead. This *Simon*, as he had by the uprightneſs of his actions, and the righteouſneſs of his converſation both towards God and man, merited the ſirname of the *Juſt*; ſo alſo was he in all reſpects a very extraordinary perſon, which the character given of him in the fiftieth chapter of *Eccleſiaſticus* ſufficiently ſhews. There many of his good works, for the benefit both of the church and ſtate of the *Jews*, are mentioned with their due praiſe. But his chiefeſt work was the finiſhing of the canon of the ſcriptures of the *Old Teſtament*. What was done herein by *Ezra* hath been above related. The books afterwards added, were the two books of *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Eſther* and *Malachi*. That theſe could not be put into the canon by *Ezra* is plain. For four of thoſe books are, upon juſt ground, ſuppoſed to have been written by himſelf, (that is, the two books of *Chronicles*, and the books of *Ezra* and *Eſther*) and the book of *Nehemiah* was written after his time, and ſo moſt likely was the book of *Malachi* alſo. And therefore a later time muſt be aſſigned for their inſertion into the canon, and none is more likely, than that of *Simon the Juſt*, who is ſaid to have been [o] the laſt of the men of the great ſynagogue. For what the *Jews* call the great ſynagogue, were a number of elders amounting to one hundred and twenty, who ſucceeding ſome after others in a continued ſeries, from the return of the *Jews* again into *Judea*, after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, to the time of *Simon the Juſt*, laboured in the reſtoring of the *Jewiſh* church and ſtate in that countrey; in order whereto, the holy ſcriptures being the rule they were to go by, their chief care and ſtudy was to make a true collection of thoſe ſcriptures, and publiſh them accurately to the people. *Ezra*, and the men of the great ſynagogue that lived in his time, compleated this work as far as I have ſaid. And as to what remained further to be done in it, where can we better place the performing of it, and the ending and finiſhing of the whole thereby, than in that time, where thoſe men of the great ſynagogue ended, that were employed therein, that is, in the time of *Simon the Juſt*, who was the laſt of them? And that eſpecially ſince there are ſome particulars in thoſe books, which ſeem neceſſarily to refer down to times, as late as thoſe of *Alexander the Great*, if not later. For in the third chapter of the firſt book of *Chronicles*, we have the genealogy of the ſons of *Zerubbabel* carried down for ſo many deſcents after him, as may well be thought to reach the time of *Alexander*; and in the xii[h] chapter of *Nehemiah* (ver. 22.) we

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[n] Euſebius in Chronico. [o] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2. [o] *See* Maimonides *and the reſt of the Rabbies, who all ſay that the men of the great ſynagogue were an hundred and twenty perſons, and that* Simon the Juſt *was the laſt of them.*

have

have the days of *Jaddua* ſpoken of, as of days paſt; but *Jaddua* out-lived *Alexander* two years. I acknowledge theſe paſſages to have been interpolated paſſages, both put in after the time of *Ezra*, and after the time of *Nehemiah*, (who were the writers of thoſe books) by thoſe who compleated the canon. To ſay they were inſerted by thoſe holy men themſelves, who wrote the books, the chronology of their hiſtory will not bear. For then they muſt have lived down beyond thoſe times which thoſe paſſages refer us to, but this is inconſiſtent with what is written of them. And to ſay, that they were put in by any other than thoſe, who by the direction of the holy Spirit of God, compleated the canon of the ſcriptures, will be to derogate from their excellency. And therefore we muſt conclude, that ſince *Simon the Juſt* was the laſt of thoſe that were employed in this work; it was by him that the laſt finiſhing hand was put thereto, and that it was in his time, and under his preſidency, and chiefly by his direction, that the canon of the holy ſcriptures of the *Old Teſtament*, by which we now receive them, was perfected, and finally ſettled in the *Jewiſh* church. And thus far having brought down this hiſtory through the ſcripture times, till the canon of the ſcriptures of the *Old Teſtament* was fully perfected, I ſhall here end the firſt part of it. After this followed [p] the *Miſhnical* times, that is, the times of traditions. Hitherto the ſcriptures were the only rule of faith and manners, which God's people ſtudied. But thenceforth traditions began to be regarded, till at length they overbore the word of God it ſelf, as we find in our Saviour's time. The collection of thoſe traditions they call the *Miſhnah*, that is, the ſecond law, and thoſe who delivered and taught them, were ſtiled the *Miſhnical* doctors. From the death of *Simon the Juſt* their time begun, and they continued to be known by that name, till *Rabbi Judah Hakkadoſh* collected all thoſe traditions together, and wrote them into the book which they call the *Miſhnah*; which was done about an hundred and fifty years after *Chriſt*, as hath been above related. The ages in which they flouriſhed till the time of *Chriſt*, ſhall be the ſubject of the ſecond part of this hiſtory.

[p] *See* David Gantz *in* Zemach David, *and the reſt of the Jewiſh writers, by whom all thoſe, who living after the men of the great ſynagogue, are quoted in the* Miſhnah *for any tradition, are called the* Miſhnical *doctors.*

A Chro-

A Chronological Table To the Foregoing HISTORY.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of *Judah*.	Kings of *Babylon*.	Kings of *Assyria*.	
3967	747	12	1	1	The beginning of the kingdoms of *Assyria* and *Babylon*.
8	746	13	2	2	
9	745	14	3	3	
3970	744	15	4	4	
1	743	16	5	5	
2	742	1	6	6	*Rezin* King of *Damascus*, and *Pekah* King of *Israel*, make war against *Ahaz*, and besiege *Jerusalem*, but without success.
		Ahaz.			
3	741	2	7	7	*Ahaz* vanquished, and *Judah* greatly oppressed by *Rezin* and *Pekah*.
4	740	3	8	8	*Ahaz* calls in *Tiglath Pileser* King of *Assyria* to his help, who slays *Rezin*, and leads part of *Israel* into captivity.
5	739	4	9	9	
6	738	5	10	10	*Ahaz* revolts from God, and wholly suppresseth his worship in *Judah*. *Pekah* slain by *Hoshea*.
7	737	6	11	11	
8	736	7	12	12	
9	735	8	13	13	
3980	734	9	14	14	
			Nadius.		
1	733	10	1	15	
2	732	11	2	16	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Assyria.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	
3983	731	12	1	17			
4	730	13	2	18			
5	729	14	3	19			*Tiglath Pileſer* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Salmaneſer*.
6	728	15	4	*Salmaneſer.* 1			*Salmaneſer* invadeth *Paleſtine*, and maketh *Samaria* tributary to him.
7	727	1. 16	5	2	*Sabacus.* 1		*Ahaz* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Hezekiah*. *Sabacon* or *So*, the *Æthiopian*, made King of *Egypt*.
		Hezekiah.					
8	726	2	1	3	2		*Hezekiah* reſtor'd the true worſhip of God in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*.
9	725	3	2	4	3		
3990	724	4	3	5	4		*Salmaneſer* lays ſiege to *Samaria*.
1	723	5	4	6	5		
2	722	6	5	7	6		
3	721	7	1	8	7		*Salmaneſer* took *Samaria*, and extinguiſh'd the kingdom of *Iſrael*. *Tobit* led into captivity at the end of the ſixth *Jewiſh* year of the reign of *Hezekiah*.
4	720	8	2	9	8		*Salmaneſer* maketh war upon *Tyre*, and beſiegeth it five years.
5	719	9	3	10	*Sevechus.* 1		*Sevechus* ſucceedeth *So* in the kingdom of *Egypt*.
6	718	10	4	11	2		
7	717	11	5	12	3		
8	716	12	6	13	4		
9	715	13	7	14	5		*Salmaneſer* dyeth, and is ſucceeded by *Sennacherib*.
4000	714	14	8	*Sennacherib.* 1	6		*Sennacherib* invadeth *Judea*. *Hezekiah*'s ſickneſs.
1	713	15	9	2	7		*Merodach Baladan*'s embaſſy to *Hezekiah*. *Sennacherib* invadeth *Egypt*.
2	712	16	10	3	8		
3	711	17	11	4	9		
4	710	18	12	5	10		*Sennacherib*, on his return from *Egypt*, invadeth *Judea*, and loſeth all his army, it being ſmitten by the hand of God.
5	709	19	1	6	11	*Deioces.* 1	The *Medes* revolt from *Sennacherib*, and make *Deioces* King.
6	708	20	2	7	12	2	
7	707	21	3	8	13	3	
8	706	22	4	*Eſarhaddon.* 1	14	4	*Sennacherib* being ſlain, is ſucceeded by *Eſarhaddon* his ſon.
9	705	23	5	2	*Taracus.* 1	5	*Tirhakah* ſucceedeth *Sevechus* in the kingdom of *Egypt*.
4010	704	24	1	3	2	6	
1	703	25	2	4	3	7	
2	702	26	*Interregnum.* 1	5	4	8	
3	701	27	2	6	5	9	
4	700	28	3	7	6	10	
5	699	29	1	8	7	11	
6	698	*Manaſſeh.* 1	2	9	8	12	*Hezekiah* being dead, is ſucceeded by *Manaſſeh* his ſon.
7	697	2	3	10	9	13	
8	696	3	4	11	10	14	
9	695	4	5	12	11	15	
4020	694	5	6	13	12	16	

Belibus. *Apronadius.* *Arkianus.* *Mardoc Empadus.* *Jugeus.* *Chinziras* and *Porus.*

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of *Judah.*	Kings of *Babylon.*	Kings of *Assyria.*	Kings of *Egypt.*	Kings of *Media.*	
4021	693	6	1	14	13	17	
2	692	7	1	15	14	18	
3	691	8	2	16	15	19	
4	690	9	3	17	16	20	
5	689	10	4	18	17	21	
6	688	11	1	19	18	22	
7	687	12	2	20	1	23	On the death of *Tirhakah* ended the reign of the *Ethiopian* Kings in *Egypt*, and an *Interregnum* of two years succeeded.
8	686	13	3	21	2	24	
9	685	14	4	22	1	25	Twelve princes seize the kingdom of *Egypt*, and govern it by a joint confederacy fifteen years.
4030	684	15	5	23	2	26	
1	683	16	6	24	3	27	
2	682	17	7	25	4	28	
3	681	18	8	26	5	29	
4	680	19	1	27	6	30	*Esarhaddon*, King of *Assyria*, is made King of *Babylon*.
5	679	20	2	28	7	31	
6	678	21	3	29	8	32	
7	677	22	4	30	9	33	*Esarhaddon* invadeth *Palestine*, planteth a colony of foreigners in *Samaria*, takes *Manasseh* prisoner, and carries him in chains to *Babylon*.
8	676	23	5	31	10	34	*Manasseh* is restored, and the *Cutheans* in *Samaria* are infested with lions.
9	675	24	6	32	11	35	
4040	674	25	7	33	12	36	
1	673	26	8	34	13	37	
2	672	27	9	35	14	38	
3	671	28	10	36	15	39	
4	670	29	11		1	40	*Psammitichus*, one of the twelve confederated princes of *Egypt*, having destroyed the rest, seizeth the whole kingdom to himself.
5	669	30	12		2	41	
6	668	31	13		3	42	
7	667	32	1		4	43	*Esarhaddon* being dead, is succeeded by *Saosduchinus* in the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* kingdoms.
8	666	33	2		5	44	
9	665	34	3		6	45	
4050	664	35	4		7	46	
1	663	36	5		8	47	
2	662	37	6		9	48	
3	661	38	7		10	49	
4	660	39	8		11	50	
5	659	40	9		12	51	
6	658	41	10		13	52	
7	657	42	11		14	53	*Deioces* is kill'd in battel by the King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*.

Regilibus. *Mesessimordacus.* *Interregnum.* *Assaradinus.* *Interregnum.* The government of the twelve. *Psammitichus.* *Saosduchinus.*

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	
4058	656	43	12	15	1	*Phraortes* his son succeeds him.
9	655	44	13	16	2	*Olofernes* invadeth *Judea*, and is slain by *Judeth*.
4060	654	45	14	17	3	
1	653	46	15	18	4	
2	652	47	16	19	5	
3	651	48	17	20	6	
4	650	49	18	21	7	
5	649	50	19	22	8	
6	648	51	20	23	9	
7	647	52	1	24	10	
8	646	53	2	25	11	
9	645	54	3	26	12	
4070	644	55	4	27	13	
1	643	1	5	28	14	*Manasseh* being dead, is succeeded by *Ammon* his son.
2	642	2	6	29	15	
3	641	3	7	30	16	*Ammon* is murther'd by his servants.
4	640	1	8	31	17	He is succeeded by *Josiah* his son.
5	639	2	9	32	18	
6	638	3	10	33	19	
7	637	4	11	34	20	
8	636	5	12	35	21	
9	635	6	13	36	22	*Phraortes* besieging *Niniveh*, is there slain.
4080	634	7	14	37	1	*Cyaxares* his son succeeds him.
1	633	8	15	38	2	*Josiah*'s first reformation of religion in *Judea*. The *Scythians* invade the *upper Asia*.
2	632	9	16	39	3	
3	631	10	17	40	4	
4	630	11	18	41	5	
5	629	12	19	42	6	*Josiah*'s second reformation of religion in *Judea*.
6	628	13	20	43	7	*Jeremiah* first called to the prophetic office.
7	627	14	21	44	8	
8	626	15	22	45	9	*Nabopollasar* rebels against the King of *Assyria*, and makes himself King of *Babylon*.
9	625	16	1	46	10	
4090	624	17	2	47	11	
1	623	18	3	48	12	*Josiah*'s third reformation of religion in *Judea*.
2	622	19	4	49	13	
3	621	20	5	50	14	
4	620	21	6	51	15	
5	619	22	7	52	16	
6	618	23	8	53	17	
7	617	24	9	54	18	*Psammitichus*, King of *Egypt*, dies.
8	616	25	10	1	19	Is succeeded by *Necus* his son, called *Pharaoh Necho* in the holy scriptures.
9	615	26	11	2	20	
4100	614	27	12	3	21	
1	613	28	13	4	22	
2	612	29	14	5	23	*Niniveh* destroyed by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*.
3	611	30	15	6	24	
4	610	31	16	7	25	*Josiah* slain in battel by *Necho* King of *Egypt*.

Ammon. *Josiah.* *Cbyniladanus.* *Nabopollasar.* *Necus.* *Cyaxares.*

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	The Captivity of Judah.		The Captivity of Jeconiah.
4105	689	*Jehoiakim.* 1	17	8	26		First *Jehoahaz*, and after him *Jehoiakim* succeeded in his ſtead.	
6	688	2	18	9	27			
7	687	3	19	10	28			
8	686	4	20	11	29	1	*Nebuchadnezzar* takes *Jeruſalem*, from whence begin the ſeventy years captivity of the *Jews*.	
9	685	5	21	12	30	2	*Nabopollaſar*, K. of *Babylon*, dies, and is ſucceeded by *Nebuchadnezzar* his ſon.	
4110	684	6	*Nebuchadnezzar.* 1	13	31	3		
1	683	7	2	14	32	4	*Daniel* interprets *Nebuchadnezzar*'s dream. *Jehoiakim* rebels againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*.	
2	682	8	3	15	33	5		
3	681	9	4	16	34	6		
4	680	10	5	*Pſammis.* 1	35	7	*Darius* the *Median* born.	
5	679	11	6	2	36	8	*Cyrus* born. *Jehoiakin* ſlain.	
6	678	*Zedekiah.* 1	7	3	37	9		1
7	677	2	8	4	38	10	*Jeconiah* carry'd into captivity, and *Zedekiah* made King in his ſtead.	2
8	676	3	9	5	39	11		3
9	675	4	10	6	40	12		4
4120	674	5	*Apries.* 11	1	*Aſtiages.* 1	13	*Ezekiel* call'd to the prophetic office. *Pharaoh Hophra* King of *Egypt*.	5
1	673	6	12	2	2	14		6
2	672	7	13	3	3	15	*Zedekiah* confederates with *Pharaoh Hophra*,	7
3	671	8	14	4	4	16	And rebels againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*.	8
4	670	9	15	5	5	17	*Nebuchadnezzar* beſiegeth *Jeruſalem*.	9
5	669	10	16	6	6	18	Forceth *Pharaoh Hophra* to retreat, who came to relieve it.	10
6	668	11	17	7	7	19	Takes the city, and utterly deſtroys it with the temple.	11
7	667		18	8	8	20	Returns to *Babylon*, and erects the golden image in the plains of *Dura*.	12
8	666		19	9	9	21	Comes again into *Paleſtine*, and beſiegeth *Tyre* thirteen years.	13
9	665		20	10	10	22		14
4130	664		21	11	11	23	The remainder of the *Jews* and *Iſraelites* carried away by *Nebuzaradan*.	15
1	663		22	12	12	24		16
2	662		23	13	13	25		17
3	661		24	14	14	26		18
4	660		25	15	15	27		19
5	659		26	16	16	28		20
6	658		27	17	17	29		21
7	657		28	18	18	30		22
8	656		29	19	19	31		23
9	655		30	20	20	32		24
4140	654		31	21	21	33		25

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	Captivity of Judah.	Captivity of Jeconiah.	
4141	573	34. 32	22	22	34	26	*Tyre* taken, and *Egypt* invaded by *Nebuchadnezzar*.
2	572	35. 33	23	23	35	27	*Nebuchadnezzar* ravageth *Egypt*.
3	571	36. 34	24	24	36	28	Appoints *Amasis* King, and returns to *Babylon*.
4	570	37. 35	25	25	37	29	*Pharaoh Hophra* slain by *Amasis*.
5	569	38. 36	1	26	38	30	*Nebuchadnezzar* distracted.
6	568	39. 37	2	27	39	31	
7	567	40. 38	3	28	40	32	
8	566	41. 39	4	29	41	33	
9	565	42. 40	5	30	42	34	
4150	564	43. 41	6	31	43	35	
1	563	44. 42	7	32	44	36	*Nebuchadnezzar* restored to his senses.
2	562	45. 43	8	33	45	37	Dies in the thirty seventh year of *Jehoiachin*'s captivity.
3	561	1	9	34	46		*Jehoiachin* released and advanced.
4	560	2	10	35	47		*Evilmerodach* slain by a conspiracy against him, and *Astyages* dies in *Media*.
5	559	1	11	1	48		*Nerigliſſar* succeeds in *Babylon*, and *Cyaxares* (the *Darius Medus* of the scriptures) in *Media*. *Cyrus* comes to the aid of the *Medes* against the *Babylonians*.
6	558	2	12	2	49		Great preparations made by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, for war against each other.
7	557	3	13	3	50		
8	556	4	14	4	51		*Cyrus* being general of the *Medes* and *Persians*, under *Cyaxares*, slays *Nerigliſſar* in battel. *Laborosoarchod* succeeds, and is slain.
9	555	1	15	5	52		*Nabonadius* (the *Belshazzar* of the scriptures) succeeds *Laborosoarchod*.
4160	554	2	16	6	53		
1	553	3	17	7	54		*Daniel* saw the vision of the ram and the he-goat, *Chap.* viii.
2	552	4	18	8	55		
3	551	5	19	9	56		*Belshazzar* goes into *lesser Asia*, and there hires a great army against *Cyrus*, of which *Crœsus* takes the command.
4	550	6	20	10	57		*Cyrus* sends a spy into *Crœsus*'s army, by whom he hath intelligence of all there done.
5	549	7	21	11	58		*Cyrus* vanquisheth *Crœsus* at the river *Halys*, pursues him to *Sardis*, and takes the city, and *Crœsus* in it.
6	548	8	22	12	59		*Cyrus* brings all the *lesser Asia* under his dominion.
7	547	9	23	13	60		
8	546	10	24	14	61		
9	545	11	25	15	62		
4170	544	12	26	16	63		*Cyrus* having settled all affairs in the *lesser Asia*, subdues *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Arabia*.
1	543	13	27	17	64		

Evilmerodach. Nerigliſſar. — *Belshazzar.* — *Cyaxares, or Darius Medus.*

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of *Babylon.*	Kings of *Egypt.*	Kings of *Media.*	Captivity of *Judah.*	After the Captivity.	High-priests of *Judah.*	
4172	542	14	28	18	65			*Cyrus* marcheth into the *upper Asia*, and reduceth all there under his obedience.
3	541	15	29	19	66			*Cyrus* returns into *Assyria*, and lays siege to *Babylon.*
4	540	16	30	20	67			
5	539	17	31	21	68			*Cyrus* takes *Babylon* and slays *Belshazzar.*
6	538	1	32	22	69			*Cyrus* places his uncle *Darius* on the throne at *Babylon*, and makes an expedition into *Syria.*
7	537	2	33		70			*Darius* dies at *Babylon*, and *Cyrus* succeeds in the whole empire.
		Darius.						
8	536	1	34			1	*Jeshua.* 1	*Cyrus* restores the *Jews*, and puts an end to their captivity after seventy years.
9	535	2	35			2	2	The *Jews* return to *Jerusalem*, and begin to rebuild the city and temple.
4180	534	3	36			3	3	The *Samaritans* obstruct them in it.
1	533	4	37			4	4	The *Samaritans* corrupt the officers of *Cyrus* to discourage the work.
2	532	5	38			5	5	
3	531	6	39			6	6	
4	530	7	40			7	7	*Cyrus* dies, being seventy years old.
5	529	1	41			8	8	*Cambyses* his son succeeds in the empire.
6	528	2	42			9	9	
7	527	3	43			10	10	
8	526	4	44			11	11	He invadeth *Egypt.*
9	525	5	1			12	12	Vanquisheth *Psamminitus*, who newly succeeded *Amasis* his father in the kingdom, and conquereth the whole kingdom.
4190	524	6				13	13	Makes an expedition against the *Ethiopians*, and returns with loss.
1	523	7				14	14	Slays the *Egyptian* god *Apis*, and commits many outrages among them.
2	522	8				15	15	Returns into *Syria*, and there dies. The *Magians* seize the kingdom.
3	521	1				16	16	The *Magians* slain, and *Darius Hystaspis* chosen King.
4	520	2				17	17	The rebuilding of the temple resumed by the *Jews.*
5	519	3				18	18	The *Samaritans* again disturb them, till a decree was obtained for the going on with the work.
6	518	4				19	19	Which decree is brought to *Jerusalem*, and there executed.
7	517	5				20	20	The *Babylonians* revolting from *Darius*, are besieged by him.
8	516	6				21	21	*Babylon* taken by *Darius*, after a siege of twenty months.
9	515	7				22	22	The temple rebuilt and dedicated.
4200	514	8				23	23	The *Jews* obtain sentence from *Darius* against the *Samaritans*, about the tribute of *Samaria.*

Cambyses. *Psamminitus.* *Darius Hystaspis.*

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of *Persia*.	After the Captivity.	High-priests of *Judah*.	
4201	513	9	24	24	*Darius* passeth the *Bosphorus* and the *Danube* to make war against the *Scythians*, and returns with the loss of half his army.
2	512	10	25	25	Subdues *Thrace*, and returns to *Susa*.
3	511	11	26	26	
4	510	12	27	27	The *Scythians* ravage *Thrace*, and drive *Miltiades* out of the *Chersonesus*.
5	509	13	28	28	*Darius* sends *Scylax* with a fleet down the *Indus* to discover *India*.
6	508	14	29	29	
7	507	15	30	30	*Scylax* returns by the way of the ocean, and the *Red-Sea*, and gives *Darius* an account of his discoveries.
8	506	16	31	31	*Darius* invades and conquers *India*.
9	505	17	32	32	
4210	504	18	33	33	
1	503	19	34	34	The *Persians*, under the command of *Aristagoras* of *Miletus*, make an attempt upon *Naxus*, and miscarry in it. *Tyre* restored.
2	502	20	35	35	*Aristagoras* and the *Ionians* revolt from *Darius*.
3	501	21	36	36	The *Athenians* enter into a confederacy with the *Ionians* against *Darius*.
4	500	22	37	37	They burn *Sardis*, which gave the first rise to the *Persian* war against the *Greeks*.
5	499	23	38	38	The *Persians* prevail against the *Ionians*. *Aristagoras* flees into *Thrace*. *Hestiæus Milesius* returns into *Ionia*, and joins the revolters.
6	498	24	39	39	*Aristagoras* slain in *Thrace*.
7	497	25	40	40	*Miletus* taken; the *Ionians* reduced, and an end put to that war.
8	496	26	41	41	*Hestiæus* taken by the *Persians*, and crucifyed.
9	495	27	42	42	The *Persians* reduce the *Hellespont* and *Thracian Chersonesus*, and force *Miltiades* to flee to *Athens*.
4220	494	28	43	43	*Mardonius* being sent by *Darius* to make war against the *Greeks*, miscarries in the expedition, and returns with great loss.
1	493	29	44	44	*Darius* sends heralds to demand earth and water of the *Greeks*.
2	492	30	45	45	Two other generals sent against the *Greeks* in the place of *Mardonius*. *Zoroastres* appears at the *Persian* court.
3	491	31	46	46	The *Persians* invade *Attica*, and are defeated at *Marathon*.
4	490	32	47	47	*Darius* makes great preparations to invade *Greece* in person.
5	489	33	48	48	
6	488	34	49	49	
7	487	35	50	50	The *Egyptians* revolt from *Darius*.
8	486	36	51	51	*Darius* declares *Xerxes* his successor, and dies.
9	485	*Xerxes.* 1	52	52	*Xerxes* confirms to the *Jews* all their privileges.
4230	484	2	53	53	Reduceth *Egypt*.
1	483	3	54	*Joakim.* 1	Resolves on a war with the *Greeks*, and makes great preparations for it.
2	482	4	55	2	Enters into a league with the *Carthaginians* against the *Greeks*.
3	481	5	56	3	Comes with a prodigious army to *Sardis*, and there winters.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of *Perſia*.	After the Captivity.	High-prieſts of *Judah*.	
4234	480	6	57	4	Paſſeth the *Helleſpont*, marcheth into *Greece*, loſeth the battel of *Salamis*, and returns with diſgrace to *Sardis*. The *Carthaginians* vanquiſh'd in *Sicily* by *Gelo*.
5	479	7	58	5	The *Perſians* vanquiſhed at *Platæa* and *Mycale* on the ſame day.
6	478	8	59	6	*Xerxes* deſtroys the temple of *Bel* at *Babylon*.
7	477	9	60	7	*Pauſanias* and *Ariſtides* purſue the war againſt the *Perſians*.
8	476	10	61	8	*Pauſanias*, ſuſpected of treaſon by the *Lacedæmonians*, is recalled.
9	475	11	62	9	Still carries on the treaſon for the betraying of *Greece* to *Xerxes*.
4240	474	12	63	10	Is tryed for it, and acquitted for want of full evidence.
1	473	13	64	11	Full diſcovery being made of his treaſon, he is put to death for it.
2	472	14	65	12	*Themiſtocles* being accuſed by the *Lacedæmonians* of the ſame treaſon, is acquitted of it at *Athens*.
3	471	15	66	13	*Themiſtocles* being baniſhed *Athens* for ten years, is again accuſed of the ſame treaſon by the *Lacedæmonians*, before the ſtates of *Greece*, and thereby forced to flee into *Perſia*.
4	470	16	67	14	*Cimon*, general of the *Athenians*, gains two victories over the *Perſians* near the river *Eurymedon* on the ſame day, the firſt by ſea, and the ſecond by land.
5	469	17	68	15	He makes many other conqueſts for the *Athenians* on the *Helleſpont* and elſewhere.
6	468	18	69	16	*Xerxes* diſcouraged by ſo many defeats, gives over the *Grecian* war.
7	467	19	70	17	
8	466	20	71	18	
9	465	21	72	19	*Xerxes* ſlain by the treaſon of *Artabanus*.
4250	464	1	73	20	*Artaxerxes* (the *Ahaſuerus* of the book of *Eſther*) ſucceeds, and ſlays *Artabanus*.
1	463	2	74	21	He conquers his brother *Hyſtaſpes*, and thereby becomes thoroughly ſettled in the throne.
2	462	3	75	22	Hereon he makes a great feaſt for all his nobles, and divorceth *Vaſhti* his Queen.
3	461	4	76	23	A collection of virgins made for the King, of which *Eſther* was one.
4	460	5	77	24	*Eſther* pleaſeth the King, and becomes his concubine. The *Egyptians* revolt, and make *Inarus* their King.
5	459	6	78	25	*Achæmenides*, brother of the King, being ſent againſt the *Egyptians*, is vanquiſh'd and ſlain, and the remainder of his army beſieged in *Memphis*.
6	458	7	79	26	*Ezra* ſent to be governor of *Judea*. *Eſther* is made Queen.
7	457	8	80	27	*Ezra* ſeparated the *Jews* from their ſtrange wives. *Mordecai* diſcovers the treaſon of *Bigthan* and *Tereſh*.
8	456	9	81	28	*Artabazus* and *Megabyſus* raiſe the ſiege of *Memphis*, defeat *Inarus*, and beſiege him and his *Athenian* auxiliaries in the iſland *Proſopitis*.
9	455	10	82	29	

Artaxerxes Longimanus.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of *Persia*.	After the Captivity.	High-priests of *Judah*.	
4260	454	11	83	30	They force *Prosopitis*, take *Inarus* prisoner, drive the *Athenians* out of *Egypt*, and again reduce all that countrey under the *Persian* King.
1	453	12	84	1	*Haman* plotteth the destruction of the *Jews*.
2	452	13	85	2	*Haman*'s plot defeated in his own destruction, and the feast of *Purim* instituted in remembrance of it.
3	451	14	86	3	
4	450	15	87	4	*Cimon* sent by the *Athenians* to *Cyprus* with a great fleet:
5	449	16	88	5	Where he beats the *Persians* both by sea and land, and then dies at *Citium*. *Artaxerxes* makes peace with the *Athenians*.
6	448	17	89	6	*Inarus* crucifyed, and *Megabyzus* rebels.
7	447	18	90	7	*Megabyzus* defeats the first army sent against him.
8	446	19	91	8	He defeats the second army sent against him, and is reconciled to the King.
9	445	20	92	9	*Nehemiah* sent governor to *Judea*, and rebuilds the walls of *Jerusalem*. *Megabyzus* banished to *Cyrta* on the *Red-Sea*.
4270	444	21	93	10	He re-peoples *Jerusalem*, and proceeds to reform church and state in *Judah*. *Ezra* publisheth his edition of the *Hebrew* scriptures.
1	443	22	94	11	
2	442	23	95	12	
3	441	24	96	13	
4	440	25	97	14	*Megabyzus* returns to the *Persian* court.
5	439	26	98	15	
6	438	27	99	16	
7	437	28	100	17	
8	436	29	101	18	
9	435	30	102	19	
4280	434	31	103	20	
1	433	32	104	21	*Nehemiah* goes from *Jerusalem* to the *Persian* court.
2	432	33	105	22	*Meto* begun his cycle.
3	431	34	106	23	The *Peloponnesian* war began. A great plague broke out in the *East*.
4	430	35	107	24	It came to *Athens*, and grievously afflicted that city.
5	429	36	108	25	About this time flourished *Malachi* the prophet.
6	428	37	109	26	*Nehemiah* comes again to *Jerusalem* with a new commission. *Plato* the philosopher born.
7	427	38	110	27	*Nehemiah* goes on farther to reform the *Jewish* church and state.
8	426	39	111	28	The plague again broke out at *Athens*, which produced a law there for polygamy.
9	425	40	112	29	
4290	424	41	113	30	*Artaxerxes* dying, *Xerxes* his son succeeds. He is slain by *Sogdianus*, and *Sogdianus* by *Ochus*, who with the crown assumes the name of *Darius*.
1	423	*Darius Nothus.* 1	114	31	*Darius* (commonly called *Darius Nothus*) begins his reign.
2	422	2	115	32	Vanquisheth *Arsites* his brother, and puts him to death.
3	421	3	116	33	
4	420	4	117	34	
5	419	5	118	35	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High-priests of Judah.	Kings of Egypt.	
4298	418	6	119	36		
7	417	7	120	37		
8	416	8	121	38		
9	415	9	122	39		
4300	414	10	123	40		*Pisuthnes* rebels against *Darius* in *lesser Asia*, and is vanquish'd and put to death by *Tissaphernes*, one of *Darius*'s lieutenants.
1	413	11	124	Joiadah. 1	1	The *Egyptians* revolt from *Darius*, and make *Amyrtæus* their King.
2	412	12	125	2	2	*Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* governors of *lesser Asia* for *Darius*.
3	411	13	126	3	3	
4	410	14	127	4	4	
5	409	15	128	5	5	The last act of reformation by *Nehemiah*, forty nine years after it had been begun by *Ezra*, where end the first seven weeks of *Daniel*'s prophecy.
6	408	16	129	6	6	The temple on mount *Gerizim* began to be built by *Manasseh*.
7	407	17	130	7	Amyrtæus. 1	*Cyrus*, the younger son of *Darius*, sent to govern in *lesser Asia*.
8	406	18	131	8	2	
9	405	19	132	9	3	*Cyrus* recalled to the *Persian* court. *Darius* dies, and *Artaxerxes Muemon* succeeds him.
4310	404	1	133	10	4	*Athens* taken, and the *Peloponnesian* war ended. *Cyrus* sent back again to his government in *lesser Asia*.
1	403	2	134	11	5	He designeth war against his brother, and lists forces for this purpose.
2	402	3	135	12	6	
3	401	4	136	13	Psammitichus. 1	He marcheth towards *Babylon*, is vanquished in battel, and slain.
4	400	5	137	14	2	*Thimbro* sent by the *Lacedæmonians* into *lesser Asia* to make war against the *Persians*. *Xenophon* brings home the *Greeks* that followed *Cyrus*, and joins him.
5	399	6	138	15	3	*Dercillydas* succeeds *Thimbro*: *Socrates* put to death by the *Athenians*.
6	398	7	139	16	4	*Dercillydas* vigorously carries on the war against the *Persians*.
7	397	8	140	17	5	
8	396	9	141	18	6	*Agesilaus* passeth into *Asia*, to carry on the war there against the *Persians*.
9	395	10	142	19	Nepherites. 1	Vanquisheth *Tissaphernes*, who is thereon put to death by *Artaxerxes*.
4320	394	11	143	20	2	*Agesilaus* called home to defend his countrey against a confederacy of the *Greeks* against them. *Conon* wins the victory of *Cnidus*.
1	393	12	144	21	3	*Conon* rebuilds the walls of *Athens*, and again restores that city.
2	392	13	145	22	4	The *Lacedæmonians* renew the war in *Asia* against the *Persians*, but without success.
3	391	14	146	23	5	*Artaxerxes* makes great preparations for war against *Cyprus*.
4	390	15	147	24	6	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of *Persia.*	After the Captivity.	High-priests of *Judah.*	Kings of *Egypt.*	
4325	389	16	148	25	1 *Acoris.*	
6	388	17	149	26	2	The *Athenians* ſent *Chabrias* to the aſſiſtance of *Euagoras* King of *Cyprus*, who reduceth the whole iſland to him.
7	387	18	150	27	3	The peace of *Antalcidas* made between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Perſians*.
8	386	19	151	28	4	The *Perſians* invade *Cyprus* with three hundred thouſand men,
9	385	20	152	29	5	And make an abſolute conqueſt of that iſland.
4330	384	21	153	30	6	*Artaxerxes* invades the *Caduſians* with ill ſucceſs. *Ariſtotle* born.
1	383	22	154	31	7	
2	382	23	155	32	8	
3	381	24	156	33	9	
4	380	25	157	34	10	
5	379	26	158	35	11	
6	378	27	159	36	12	
7	377	28	160	37	13	*Artaxerxes* reſolves on a war to reduce *Egypt*.
8	376	29	161	38	14	*Pharnabazus* appointed general for this war.
9	375	30	162	39	1 *Nectanabis.*	He makes great preparations for it.
4340	374	31	163	40	2	Invades *Egypt*, and is forced to return with ill ſucceſs.
1	373	32	164	1 *Johanan.*	3	
2	372	33	165	2	4	
3	371	34	166	3	5	The *Lacedæmonians* beaten at *Leuctra* by the *Thebans*.
4	370	35	167	4	6	
5	369	36	168	5	7	
6	368	37	169	6	8	
7	367	38	170	7	9	
8	366	39	171	8	10	*Johanan*, high-prieſt of the *Jews*, kills his brother *Jeſhua* in the temple, for which the *Perſian* governor lays a mulct upon the *Jews* for ſeven years.
9	365	40	172	9	11	
4350	364	41	173	10	12	
1	363	42	174	11	1 *Tachus.*	The battel of *Mantinea*, between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Thebans*, in which the former loſe the victory, and the latter their general *Epaminondas*.
2	362	43	175	12	2	*Ageſilaus* goes into *Egypt* with an army to aſſiſt *Tachus*.
3	361	44	176	13	1 *Nectanebus.*	He deſerts *Tachus*, and makes *Nectanebus* King.
4	360	45	177	14	2	He vanquiſheth the enemies of *Nectanebus*,
5	359	46	178	15	3	And fully ſettles him in the kingdom of *Egypt*. *Artaxerxes* dies.
6	358	1 *Ochus.*	179	16	4	He returns homeward, and dies in the way on the coaſts of *Africa*. Great revolts in the *Perſian* empire on the ſucceſſion of *Ochus*.
7	357	2	180	17	5	
8	356	3	181	18	6	*Alexander the Great* born at *Pella* in *Macedonia*.
9	355	4	182	19	7	
4360	354	5	183	20	8	
1	353	6	184	21	9	
2	352	7	185	22	10	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High-priests of Judah.	Kings of Egypt.	
4363	351	8	186	23	11	The *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians* revolting from *Ochus*, are again reduced. *Sidon* taken and destroyed by *Ochus*.
4	350	9	187	24	12	*Ochus* invades *Egypt*, expels *Nectanebus*, and reduceth the whole countrey.
5	349	10	188	25		*Mentor* made governor of *lesser Asia*. *Memnon* his brother enters into the *Persian* service.
6	348	11	189	26		*Plato* the philosopher dies.
7	347	12	190	27		
8	346	13	191	28		
9	345	14	192	29		
4370	344	15	193	30		
1	343	16	194	31		
2	342	17	195	32		
3	341	18	196	Jaddua. 1		
4	340	19	197	2		
5	339	20	198	3		
6	338	21	199	4		*Bagoas* the eunuch poisoneth *Ochus*, and maketh *Arogus* or *Arses* King in his stead.
7	337	Arogus. 1	200	5		*Philip* King of *Macedon*, after the victory of *Chæronea*, made general of *Greece* against the *Persians*.
8	336	2	201	6		*Bagoas* poisons *Arogus*, and *Pausanias* slays *Philip* King of *Macedon*: *Darius* succeeds the former, and *Alexander* the latter.
9	335	Darius. 1	202	7		*Darius* puts *Bagoas* to death. *Alexander* destroys *Thebes*, and is appointed general of the *Grecians* against the *Persians*, in the place of his father.
4380	334	2	203	8		*Alexander* passeth into *Asia*, and wins the battel of *Granicus*.
1	333	3	204	9		He reduceth all *lesser Asia*, and wins the battel of *Issus*.
2	332	4	205	10		He destroys *Tyre* and *Gaza*, and conquers *Egypt*.
3	331	Alexander. 1	206	11		He passeth the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, wins the battel of *Arbela*, and takes *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persepolis*, and the provinces belonging to them.
4	330	2	207	12		*Darius* slain by *Bessus*. *Alexander* subdues the *Medes*, *Parthians*, *Hyrcanians*, *Arians*, and several other nations: Puts *Philotas* and *Parmenio* to death.
5	329	3	208	13		He subdues the *Bactrians* and *Sogdians*, and puts *Bessus* to death.
6	328	4	209	14		He marries *Roxana*, passeth into *India*, and conquers all to the river *Indus*.
7	327	5	210	15		He passeth the *Indus*, vanquisheth *Porus*, and subdues all as far as the river *Hyphasis*.
8	326	6	211	16		He puts his army on board his fleet, and saileth down the *Indus*, conquering several nations in his way.
9	325	7	212	17		Having passed down to the mouth of the *Indus*, he sends *Nearchus* with his fleet thorough the ocean to *Babylon*, and marcheth thitherward with his army by land.
4390	324	8	213	18		He conquers the *Cossæans*, and enters *Babylon*,

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of *Persia.*	After the Captivity.	High-priests of *Judah.*	
4391	323	*Philippus.* 1	214	19	And there dies. *Aridæus* his brother made nominal King, and the commanders of the army divide the provinces of the empire among themselves.
2	322	2	215	20	*Perdiccas* and *Eumenes* make war againſt *Antipater*, *Craterus*, and *Ptolemy*.
3	321	3	216	*Onias.* 1	*Eumenes* vanquiſheth *Craterus*, and ſlays him in battel. *Perdiccas* is ſlain by his own ſoldiers in *Egypt*. *Ariſtotle* dies.
4	320	4	217	2	*Antigonus* being ſent againſt *Eumenes*, vanquiſheth him in battel. *Ptolemy* ſeizeth *Judea*, *Phœnicia*, and *Cœle-Syria*, and taketh *Jeruſalem*.
5	319	5	218	3	*Antipater* being dead, *Caſſander* ſeizeth *Macedon*, and *Antigonus* all *leſſer Aſia*, and ſhuts up *Eumenes* in the caſtle of *Nora*.
6	318	6	219	4	*Eumenes* being got out of *Nora*, paſſeth into *Cilicia*, and having there gotten together an army, marcheth into *Syria*, and from thence into *Meſopotamia*.
7	317	7	220	5	*Eumenes* marcheth to *Suſa*, and is there joined by the governors of the eaſtern provinces. *Aridæus* ſlain by *Olympias*.
8	316	*Alexander Ægus.* 1	221	6	*Antigonus* marcheth into the *Eaſt* againſt *Eumenes*.
9	315	2	222	7	*Eumenes* betray'd into the hands of *Antigonus* by his own ſoldiers, and put to death. *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy*, *Caſſander*, and *Lyſimachus*, confederate againſt *Antigonus*.
4400	314	3	223	8	*Antigonus* diſpoſſeſſeth *Ptolemy* of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judea*.
1	313	4	224	9	*Antigonus* leaveth *Demetrius* his ſon, with part of his army, in *Phœnicia*, and marcheth with the other againſt *Caſſander*.

The Æra of *Seleucus.*	Kings of *Syria.*	
2	312	5	10	1	1	*Ptolemy* ſeizeth *Cyprus*, beats *Demetrius* at *Gaza*, and again recovers *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and loſeth them all again by the defeat of *Cylles* his lieutenant. *Seleucus* ſeizeth *Babylon*.
3	311	6	11	2	2	*Demetrius* marcheth to *Babylon* againſt *Seleucus*, and returns without ſucceſs.
4	310	7	12	3	3	*Caſſander* ſlays *Alexander Ægus*, with *Roxana* his mother. *Epicurus* firſt teacheth his impious philoſophy.
5	309	8	13	4	4	*Ptolemy* takes ſeveral cities from *Antigonus* in *leſſer Aſia*.
6	308	9	14	5	5	He takes the iſle of *Andros*, and *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and ſeveral other cities on the continent of *Greece*.
7	307	10	15	6	6	*Ophellas* ſlain by *Agathocles*, and *Ptolemy* recovers *Libya* and *Cyrene*.
8	306	11	16	7	7	*Demetrius* gains a great victory over *Ptolemy* at *Cyprus*, and diſpoſſeſſeth him of that whole iſland. *Antigonus* hereon takes the title of King.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of *Persia.*	High-priests of *Judah.*	The Æra of *Seleucus.*	Kings of *Syria.*	Kings of *Egypt.*	
4409	305	12	17	8	8		*Antigonus* invadeth *Egypt*, and is repuls'd with loss.
4410	304		18	9	9	1	*Demetrius* besiegeth *Rhodes* without success.
1	303		19	10	10	2	*Seleucus* having made himself master of all the provinces of *Alexander*'s empire beyond the *Euphrates*, invadeth *India*, and maketh peace with *Sandrocottus*.
2	302		20	11	11	3	*Seleucus*, *Ptolemy*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*, confederate against *Antigonus*.
3	301		21	12	12	4	They vanquish and slay him at *Ipsus* in *Phrygia*.
4	300		1	13	13	5	After this victory *Ptolemy* had *Judea*, *Phœnicia*, and *Cœle-Syria*; and *Seleucus* the *upper Syria*, where he builds *Antioch*.
5	299		2	14	14	6	*Demetrius* gives his daughter *Stratonice* in marriage to *Seleucus*, and seizeth *Cilicia*.
6	298		3	15	15	7	*Cassander* dies in *Macedonia*.
7	297		4	16	16	8	*Pyrrhus* marries *Antigone* the daughter of *Berenice*, *Ptolemy*'s best beloved wife, and by his assistance recovers his kingdom of *Epirus*.
8	296		5	17	17	9	*Samaria* wasted by *Demetrius*'s soldiers from *Tyre*.
9	295		6	18	18	10	*Ptolemy* recovers *Cyprus* from *Demetrius*.
4420	294		7	19	19	11	*Demetrius* made King of *Macedon*, and there reigns seven years.
1	293		8	20	20	12	*Seleucus* builds *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*.
2	292		9	21	21	13	*Simon the Just*, high-priest of the *Jews*, dies, and is succeeded by *Eliezar* his brother.

Simon the Just.

The End of the First Part.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM